













CORPUS INSCRIPTIONUM INDICARUM

VOL. I

INSCRIPTIONS OF ASOKA

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VOL. I  
INSCRIPTIONS OF ASOKA  
NEW EDITION

BY

E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.

EDITED BY C. LEA, M.A., F.R.S.

WITH 55 PLATES

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## PREFACE

THE printing of this volume was stopped in 1914 by the outbreak of war. In 1920 the Government sanctioned a resumption of printing, and the re-composition of those sheets which had been already struck off, but had become antiquated in the meantime owing to fresh researches. I have tried to sift critically, and to quote, when necessary, whatever has been written by scholars on the subject in the course of nearly a century. The transcripts of the texts are based on mechanical copies furnished by the Archaeological Survey Department under orders of Sir John MARSHALL. The most perfect among these were contributed by my former assistant, now Government Epigraphist for India, Rao Bahadur H. KRISHNA SASIRI. The plates issued with this volume are collotype reproductions of negatives which were prepared under my personal supervision by Mr Carl PFUEHLER. With the exception of the two Shāhāzgarhī edicts VII and XII, the impressions of the two Kharoshthī versions of the fourteen rock-edicts proved unsuitable for reproduction, partly owing to the extreme roughness of the rocks on which these records are engraved, and partly because Sir Aurel STEIN's careful estampages of them had become torn and damaged by frequent use. It is a pleasant duty to thank those scholars who have rendered me valuable assistance. Before the war I could avail myself of the ever ready advice of my late friend Dr J. F. FIFER. To the late Professor Arthur VENIS I am indebted for detailed criticisms of my rendering of the Girnār and Kalsi versions. Professor A. A. MACDONELL kindly looked at the proof-sheets of portions of the texts and translations. The proofs of the introduction were minutely examined by two old friends, Mr. Robert SEWELL and Professor Th. ZACHARJAH.

E. HULTZSCH

HALLE,  
*October, 1922.*



## POSTSCRIPT

THE issuing of this volume was still delayed by the printing of the colotype plates when I received from Mr. H. HARGREAVES, Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Frontier Province, Peshawar, a fresh set of inked estampages of the two north-western versions of the rock-edicts. These estampages have been made with great care and skill, and enable me at the last moment to furnish illustrations of the whole of the Shahbazgarhi and Mansehra edicts. The overlapping sections were clipped and pinned together in my presence by Mr. P. L. FINER. In this way the creases and slips disfiguring other facsimiles which I had received in a pasted condition were avoided. Although, owing to the rough surface of the rocks, the new estampages are not quite perfect in every detail, they are the first ever made which admit of reproduction by photography, and they will thus allow students to check the transcripts of those valuable ancient records, and to acquire a first-hand knowledge of the whimsical and often ambiguous Kharōshthī characters. Scholars will feel much indebted to Mr. HARGREAVES, who has now supplied this want, and to Sir John MARSHALL, at whose instance the new impressions were prepared by him.

E. H.

HALL,  
*January, 1924.*

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# ABBREVIATIONS

- AJP = American Journal of Philology.  
 ASSI = Archaeological Survey of Southern India.  
 ASWI = Archaeological Survey of Western India  
 BRWW = Buddhist Records of the Western World (Beal).  
 CR = Comptes Rendus. Académie des Inscriptions & Belles-Lettres.  
 EI = Epigraphia Indica.  
 GGA = Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen.  
 GN = Nachrichten der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen.  
 Grammatik = Grammatik der Präkrit-Sprachen (Fischel).  
 IA = Indian Antiquary.  
 IF = Indogermanische Forschungen.  
 Ind. Alt. = Indi-sche Alterthumskunde (Lassen).  
 Ind. Pal. = Indian Paleography (Bühler).  
 JA = Journal Asiatique.  
 Jaartelling = Over de Jaartelling der Zudelijke Buddhisten (Kern).  
 JAOS = Journal of the American Oriental Society  
 JASB = Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.  
 JBBRAS = Journal of the Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society.  
 JPASB = Journal & Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal  
 JRAS = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society  
 KZ = Kuhn's Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung.  
 Lotus = Le Lotus de la Bonne Loi (Burnouf).  
 Memoirs, ASB = Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal  
 SBE = Sacred Books of the East  
 Skt = Sanskrit  
 SPAW = Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.  
 VOJ = Vienna Oriental Journal.  
 ZDMG = Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft

# INTRODUCTION

## CHAPTER I. DESCRIPTION OF THE INSCRIPTIONS

### FIRST PART THE ROCK-EDICTS

THE above term is meant to comprise (1) the existing versions of the well-known 'fourteen edicts', and (2) the two 'separate edicts' which the Dhauḷi and Jaugada versions substitute for edicts XI to XIII. It does not include the minor rock-inscriptions, which will be treated in the fourth part.

#### I THE GIRNAR ROCK (Text, p. 1)

This famous set of Aśoka's fourteen edicts is found about a mile to the east of Junāgarh, the capital of the Junāgarh State in the Kathiāwār Peninsula, 'and at the entry of the dell or gorge which leads into the valley that girdles the mighty and sacred **Girnār**' mountain.<sup>1</sup> The inscription 'covers considerably over a hundred square feet of the uneven surface of a huge rounded and somewhat conical granite boulder, rising 12 feet above the surface of the ground, and about 75 feet in circumference at the base'.<sup>2</sup> The boulder bears, beside Aśoka's edicts, two other valuable documents. An inscription of the *Mahākṣhatrāpa* Rudradāman records the restoration of the lake Sudarśana, which had been 'originally constructed by the *Vaṭya* Pushyagupta, the provincial governor (*śāstṛiya*) of the Maurya king Chandragupta, and subsequently adorned with conduits by the Yavana king Tushāspa for Aśoka the Maurya'.<sup>3</sup> Among local names it mentions **Girinagara**, i.e. the town of Junāgarh or its ancient representative, and **Ūrjayat**, i.e. the mountain now called Girnār.<sup>4</sup> The third inscription on the boulder is dated in the reign of the Gupta king Skandagupta and records further repairs of the lake Sudarśana made in A.D. 456-7 by Chakrapālita, the son of Parnadatta who was governor of **Surāshṭra**.<sup>5</sup>

The Aśoka inscription occupies the north-east face of the boulder. The fourteen edicts are arranged in two columns and divided from one another by straight lines. As may be seen on the third of the plates issued with Wilson's article in JRSB, 12, 153 ff., the left column consists of edicts I to V and the right one of edicts VI to XII, and

<sup>1</sup> ASWJ, 2, 94. The position of the inscribed stone is marked on Lieutenant Postans' sketch of Girnār in JASB, vol. 7, plate 74.

<sup>2</sup> ASWJ, 2, 97. A photograph of the boulder is given on the plate facing page 94 of the same volume.

<sup>3</sup> Liders, *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions* (EI, vol. 10, Appendix), p. 99.

<sup>4</sup> EI, 8, 42. The later (Prākṛit) form of Ūrjayat is Ujjayanta. Cf. Hāmchandra's *Anikārthasamgraha*, III, 279, and his *Abhidhanachintāmaṇi*, IV, 97. ASWJ, 2, 174 ff. and 8, 328 ff., Tawney's translation of Mātṛunga's *Prabandhachintāmaṇi*, Index. Another name of the Girnār mountain is Raivata or Raivataka. See e.g. Hāmchandra's two Kōśas, loc. cit., Māgha's *Śūlapālavadha*, IV, 1, GN, 1921, 41.

<sup>5</sup> Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 57 f.



edicts XIII and XIV are placed below V and XII. When Major James Tod visited Gīrnār in December 1822, the inscription seems to have been intact.<sup>1</sup> Subsequently portions of edicts V and XIII were blasted with gunpowder by the workmen of a pious merchant who constructed a causeway from Junāgarh to Gīrnār.<sup>2</sup> At the recommendation of the late Dr. Burgess a shed has been specially built to protect the boulder from the sun and rain.

The first decipherment of the Brāhmī alphabet and, with it, of the Gīrnār inscription, is due to the learning and ingenuity of James Prinsep.<sup>3</sup> His transcript and translation were based on tracings on cloth which had been taken in 1835 by Captain Lang for the Rev. Dr J. Wilson of Bombay.<sup>4</sup> Fresh copies were made by Lieutenant Postans and Captain Lang in 1838,<sup>5</sup> and by Captain (afterwards General) Le Grand Jacob and Professor Westergaard in 1842.<sup>6</sup> These materials were utilized by Mr E. Norris for drawing up an improved plate of the Gīrnār inscription, from which Professor H. H. Wilson's transcript and translation in JRAS, vol. 12 (1850), were made. No better materials were available to three other scholars who examined the Gīrnār version, viz. Professor Chr. Lassen (*Indische Alterthumskunde*), E. Burnouf (*Lotus de la Bonne Loi*; Paris, 1852), and Professor H. Kern (*Over de Jaartelling der Zuidelyke Buddhisten en de Gedenkstukken van Aśoka den Buddhist*, Amsterdam, 1873).

The first perfectly mechanical estampages of the Gīrnār edicts were prepared in 1875 by Dr. J. Burgess. These were reproduced by colotype in 1876 in ASWI, 2. 98 ff., and also in IA, 5 257 ff., with an English translation of Kern's Dutch versions of part of the edicts.

A complete edition of the Gīrnār edicts is included in Senart's *Inscriptions de Priyadasi*, vol. I. An abridged English translation of his work appeared in IA, vols. 9 and 10. In JA (8), 12. 311 ff., Senart added the results of his inspection of the Gīrnār rock *in situ*. Bühler published a number of corrections and the text of edict XIII in his *Beiträge zur Erklärung der Aśoka-Inschriften* (ZDMG, vols. 37-48), and the full text of the Gīrnār version in EI, 2 447 ff. The plates which accompany this article are much clearer than those issued in 1876, but seem to have been touched up by hand. A *Collection of Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions* printed at Bhavnagar (without year) contains the text, Sanskrit and English translations, and facsimiles, of the Gīrnār edicts.

Two fragments of the lost portion of edict XIII were recovered recently and are now preserved in the Junāgarh Museum.<sup>7</sup> Both of them were discussed by Senart (JRAS, 1900. 335 ff.), and the second of them also by Bühler (VOJ, 8. 318 ff.). Both pieces are shown in the plate which accompanies my transcript of edict XIII.

As regards the Brāhmī alphabet of the Gīrnār inscription I can refer the reader to Bühler's *Indian Palaeography*, edited by Fleet (IA, vol. 33, Appendix), § 16. The chief peculiarity of the Gīrnār alphabet is the addition of the horizontal bar, marking the length of initial ā, at the top of a, while it is elsewhere attached to the middle of the letter. The formation of groups of consonants, and the peculiar way in which the letter r is expressed in combination with other consonants, will be discussed in the chapter on the Gīrnār dialect (below, p. lviii. f.).

<sup>1</sup> ASWI, 2 95.

<sup>2</sup> JASB, 7 (1838) 219 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Id., p. 871 ff.

<sup>4</sup> They may be identical with two fragments picked up by Lieutenant Postans in 1838;

see JASB, 7. 874.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. JASB, 7. 874.

<sup>6</sup> Id., pp. 157, 228, 334, 336.

<sup>7</sup> JBBRAS, 1 257 f., and 2. 410

## II. THE KĀLSĪ ROCK (Text, p. 27)

This set of the fourteen edicts is engraved near **Kālsī**, a town in the Chakrātī tahsil of the Dehra Dūn district of the United Provinces. About one and a half miles to the north of Kālsī 'is a huge boulder of quartz on the western bank of the Jumna, just above the junction of the Tons river, and about fifteen miles to the west of Mussooree.'

'The block is 10 feet long and 10 feet high, and about 8 feet thick at bottom. The south-eastern face has been smoothed, but rather unevenly, as it follows the undulations of the original surface. The main inscription is engraved on this smoothed surface, which measures 5 feet in height, with a breadth of 5½ feet at top, which increases towards the bottom to 7 feet 10½ inches. The deeper hollows and cracks have been left unsmoothed, and the lines of letters are undulating and uneven. Towards the bottom, beginning with the tenth edict, the letters increase in size until they become about thrice as large as those of the upper part. Owing either to this enlargement of the letters, or, perhaps, to the latter part of the inscription being of later date, the prepared surface was too small for the whole record, which was therefore completed on the left-hand side of the rock. On the right-hand side an **elephant** is traced in outline.'

'When first found by Mr Forrest early in 1860, the letters of the inscription were hardly visible, the whole surface being encrusted with the dark moss of ages, but on removing this black film, the surface becomes nearly as white as marble.'

Senart's edition of the Kālsī text in his *Inscriptions de Priyadasi*, vol. I, was based on Cunningham's eye-copy of the inscription. Buhler published both the text and a translation from a rubbing supplied by Cunningham (ZDMG, vols 37 and 40), and a revised version of the text of edict XIII from an impression prepared by Burgess (id., 43, 162 ff.). A collotype of the first half of Cunningham's rubbing was issued with ZDMG, vol 39. In EI, 2 447 ff., Buhler re-edited the Kālsī text, which was accompanied by reproductions of inked estampages by Burgess.

The Kālsī **alphabet** exhibits the following chief peculiarities. The letter *kh* has a loop at the bottom, see Buhler's *Ind. Pal.*, plate 2, No. 10, columns II and III. A similar loop is found occasionally in the centre of *j* (id., No. 15, column III) and of *s* (id., No. 39, column VII). The end of an edict is marked by a symbol resembling a crescent. From edict X the characters get larger, and the two letters *ś* and *ṣh* are frequently used. The former of these occurs already twice in edict IV, l. 13,<sup>1</sup> and the second twice in the Queen's edict on the Allahabad-Kosam pillar, ll. 1 and 4, once on the Sāmāth pillar, l. 10, and once at Maskī, l. 2. In a few lines of the first part of the Kālsī inscription (29, 33-36, 39) the punctuation mark 1, which occurs once in each of ll. 13, 25, 31, is employed many times. The same mark is found in the Sāhasrām and Maskī rock-inscriptions.

## III. THE SHĀHNAZGARĪH ROCK (Text, p. 50)

While the alphabet of the two preceding sets of the fourteen edicts is the Brahmi, this one is written in those north-western cursive characters running from the right to the left which used to be called Indo-Bactrian or Ariano-Pālī, but to which Buhler restored the indigenous name **Kharoṣṭhī**. The honour of the decipherment of this alphabet is divided between Prinsep, Lassen, Norris, and Cunningham. A number

<sup>1</sup> Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 12 f.

<sup>2</sup> Also once in each of the Bairat, Maskī, and Śiddāpura rock-inscriptions, and twice at Jātī Rāmeśvara.

<sup>3</sup> JASB, 23 714, *Ind. Pal.*, § 6.

of Kharōṣṭhī letters had been already identified from bilingual coins of the Indo-Grecian and Indo-Scythian kings, before the Shāhbāzgarhī inscription was discovered.

**Shāhbāzgarhī** is a village on the Makām river, nine miles from Mardān, the head-quarters of the Yūsufzai subdivision of the Peshāvar district of the North-West Frontier Province. The inscription is about half a mile distant from this village and two miles from the village of Kapurdagarhī.<sup>1</sup> It is engraved on a large shapeless mass of trap rock, lying about 80 feet up the slope of the hill, with its western face looking downwards towards the village of Shāhbāzgarhī.<sup>2</sup> The edicts I to XI are on the east face (edict VII being entered on the left at the top of the rock), and the edicts XIII and XIV are on the west face. Edict XII is engraved on a separate boulder, which is now enclosed within a wall.

M (afterwards General) Court, of Mahārāja Ranjit Singh's service, first notified the existence of a Kharōṣṭhī inscription near Shāhbāzgarhī in 1836 and gave a few letters copied by himself. In 1838 Captain Burnes, being at Peshāvar, sent an agent to Shāhbāzgarhī, who returned with an imperfect paper impression. In the same year Mr. C. Masson obtained through a young man a partial impression on calico. He then proceeded to the spot himself and prepared fresh copies.<sup>3</sup> His zeal deserves much praise, as at that time a journey through such an unpacified tract involved considerable personal risk. Masson's materials were brought to Europe and examined by Norris, who first read in them the word *Devanampiyaśa*. With the help of this discovery, Dowson ascertained that the portion of which a facsimile is given in JRAS, 8 (1846), 303, is a duplicate of edict VII of the Girnār inscription. Norris further found that the front of the rock contained the edicts I to XI, and traced on the back of it portions of edict XIII. He also published the text of edict VII (id., p. 306 f.). In 1850 Wilson contributed a tentative transcript of both faces of the Shāhbāzgarhī rock, accompanied by plates drawn by Norris from Masson's copies (id., 12-153 ff.). An independent eye-copy of the Shāhbāzgarhī inscription was prepared by Cunningham (*Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 10).

Senart's transcript in his *Inscriptions de Priyadasi*, vol. I, had still to be based on the same imperfect materials. Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji furnished transcripts of the Shāhbāzgarhī and other versions of edict I (IA, 10, 107) and of edict VIII (JBBRAS, 15, 284). After the return from a trip to India, Senart published the results of his examination of edicts I to XI *in situ* (JA (8), 11, 521 ff.). The missing edict XII was discovered on a separate boulder by Captain Deane and edited both by Senart (id., p. 511 ff.) and by Bühler (EI, 1, 16 ff.). The latter published the whole Shāhbāzgarhī version in ZDMG, 43, 128 ff., and a fresh transcript and a translation of it in EI, 2, 447 ff., from estampages by Burgess. The only portions of which mechanical copies have been made public so far are edict VII (ZDMG, vol. 43) and edict XII (EI, 1, 16).

#### IV. THE MĀNSEHRĀ ROCK (Text, p. 71)

Like the Shāhbāzgarhī version this set of the fourteen edicts is written in the Kharōṣṭhī alphabet. **Mānsehrā** is the head-quarters of a tahsil in the Hazara district of the North-West Frontier Province. The inscription is found to the north of the village and is engraved on three boulders. Of these, the first bears edicts I to VIII, the second edicts IX to XI on its north face and edict XII on its south face, and

<sup>1</sup> Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 8.

<sup>2</sup> Id., p. 9. For a sketch-map of the locality see Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, vol. V, plate 3.

<sup>3</sup> JRAS, 8, 293 ff.

the third edicts XIII and XIV. The two first inscribed stones were discovered by Cunningham,<sup>1</sup> and the third in 1889 by a native subordinate of the Panjāb Archaeological Survey.<sup>2</sup>

Senart was the first to transcribe edict XII (JA (8), 11 (1888) 511 ff) and, from insufficient materials, portions of edicts I to XI (id., 12. 319 ff). Bühler edited the whole Mānsehrā version first in ZDMG (43. 273 ff., and 44. 702 ff.), and a second time in EI (2. 447 ff.), from estampages by Burgess. JA (8), vol. 12 contains three plates reproduced from Cunningham's casts of edicts I to XII. These are so indistinct that they must be pronounced useless.

## V THE DHAULI ROCK (Text, p 84)

**Dhauli** is a village in the Khurdā subdivision of the Puri district, Orissa, about seven miles south of Bhuvanēśvar. The inscribed rock near the village was discovered in 1837 by Lieutenant Kittoe, who calls it 'Aswastama'.<sup>3</sup> It 'is situated on a rocky eminence forming one of a cluster of hills, three in number, on the south bank of the Dyah river.'

'The hills before alluded to rise abruptly from the plains and occupy a space of about five furlongs by three; they have a singular appearance from their isolated position, no other hills being nearer than eight or ten miles. They are apparently volcanic, and composed of upheaved breccia with quartzose rock intermixed.'

'The *Aswastama* is situated on the northern face of the southernmost rock near its summit, the rock has been hewn and polished for a space of fifteen feet long by ten in height, and the inscription deeply cut thereon.'

'Immediately above the inscription is a terrace sixteen feet by fourteen, on the right side of which (as you face the inscription) is the fore half of an elephant, four feet high, of superior workmanship, the whole is hewn out of the solid rock.'

While Prinsep was examining a lithograph of Kittoe's copies, he found that the greater part of the Dhauli inscription was identical with the Girnār edicts (JASB, 7. 157). He further ascertained that the Dhauli rock omits edicts XI to XIII of the Girnār version, but compensates for them by two separate edicts (id., p. 219). These two he edited with a tentative translation (id., p. 438 ff.), adding Kittoe's lithograph of the whole Dhauli inscription (id., plate 10). As may be seen on this plate, the inscription is arranged in three columns. The middle column contains edicts I to VI, and the right column edicts VII to X and XIV,<sup>4</sup> and below them, within a border of straight lines, the second separate edict, while the first separate edict occupies the whole of the left column.

Cunningham<sup>5</sup> showed that it would be more correct to exchange the two designations 'first and second separate edict' the separate edict engraved in continuation of edict XIV ought to be called No. I, and the one engraved separately on the left No. II. This order is confirmed by the Jaugada rock (No. VII, below) where Prinsep's No. II is actually placed above No. I. But as all editors (besides Kern) have followed

<sup>1</sup> JA (8), 11. 508.

<sup>2</sup> ZDMG, 44. 702.

<sup>3</sup> Can this name be due to a misreading of the word *gajātama* (see Text, p. 50), which is engraved below the figure of an elephant on the north face of the Kāśī rock, and which might have been originally engraved on the Dhauli rock too? See, however, Text, p. 92, n. 1.

<sup>4</sup> JASB, 7 (1838) 415-7. For a sketch of the elephant see id., plate 25, and for a photograph of it, the frontispiece of V. A. Smith's *Early History of India*.

<sup>5</sup> The commencement of each fresh edict is marked by a short horizontal dash.

<sup>6</sup> *Inscriptions of Asoka*, pp. 16, 20.

Prinsep's arrangement, a change of numbers would now lead to much confusion, and it will be sufficient to keep in mind that the separate edict No. I was engraved *after* No. II.

The two separate edicts were re-edited and translated by Burnouf (*Lotus*, p. 671 ff.) and, from Cunningham's copies, by Kern (JRAS, 1880. 379 ff.). Senart's edition of them<sup>1</sup> was based on estampages by Burgess. The same applies to Bühler's editions of the Dhauri version. He published the whole of it twice: once in German (ZDMG, 39. 489 ff., and 41. 1 ff.) and once in English (ASSI, I. 114 ff.). His second edition is accompanied by photo-lithographs (plates 64-66).

#### VI. THE JAUGADA ROCK (Text, p. 101).

A duplicate of the Dhauri edicts is engraved at **Jaugada**, a ruined fort in the Berhampur taluka of the Ganjam district, Madras, about eighteen miles north-west of Ganjam town, on the northern bank of the Rishikulya river.

The inscribed rock 'is situated in what appears to have once been an extensive but now deserted town, surrounded by the debris of a lofty wall.'

'The rock is part of a large mass of rock or rocks, rising to various heights, and covering a large space of ground, I should say many thousand square yards.'<sup>2</sup>

'The Jaugada inscriptions are written on three different tablets on the vertical face of the rock.'

'The first tablet contained the first five edicts, but about one-half has been utterly lost by the peeling away of the rock.'

'The second tablet comprised the next five edicts, namely, 6 to 10, to which was added the 14th or closing edict of the other versions. About one-third of this tablet has been lost by the peeling away of the rock.'

'The third tablet contained the two separate or additional edicts which are found at Dhauri'

'These two additional edicts are enclosed in a frame which separates them from the collected series of Aśoka's edicts.'

'The separation of these two edicts is more distinctly marked by the accompaniment of the *svastika* symbol at each of the upper corners of the upper inscription, and of the letter *m* at the upper corners of the lower inscription.'<sup>3</sup>

'Copies of the inscriptions were taken in 1850 by the present Sir Walter Elliot, who was perfectly aware that they contained only another version of Aśoka's edicts, which had already been found at Shāhbāzgarhi, Gīrnar, and Dhauri.'<sup>4</sup>

Thanks to orders of the Government of Madras, the rock is now protected by an iron roof and railing.

The two separate edicts of Jaugada were edited with those of Dhauri by Professor Kern. The first purely mechanical estampages of the rock were prepared by Burgess. On these Senart's edition of the two separate edicts was based.<sup>5</sup> Bühler published edicts I to X and XIV from a photograph by Mr. Minchin (ZDMG, vols. 37 and 40) and the two separate edicts from Burgess's estampages (id., 41 1 ff.). His

<sup>1</sup> *Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, 2. 105 ff., and IA, 19. 82 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. W. F. Grahame in IA, 1 (1872), 219.

<sup>3</sup> Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 19 f. In JPASB, 17. 232 f., Harit Krishna Deb very ingeniously explains the *svastika* symbol as a monogram consisting of two Brāhmī *o*'s, and the *m* as the final letter of the sacred syllable *om*.

<sup>4</sup> Cunningham, op. cit., p. 18. For further attempts to copy the Jaugada inscriptions I may refer to the same page, and to R. Sewall's *Lists of Antiquities*, vol. I, p. 4.

<sup>5</sup> For references see above, under Dhauri.

second edition of the whole Jaugaḍa version (ASSI, 1. 114 ff.) is accompanied by photo-lithographs (plates 67-69).

#### VII. THE BOMBAY-SOPARA FRAGMENT (Text, p. 118).

**Sōpārā** is an ancient town in the Bassein tāluka of the Thāna district, Bombay. There Pandit Bhagvanlal Indrajī discovered in 1882 a broken block of basalt bearing about one-third of the **eighth rock-edict** of Aśoka. The existing fragment suggests that a complete set of his edicts must have been engraved near Sōpārā.

'The stone was found near the Bhātela pond to the east of the town close to the old landing-place.'

The Pandit published a tracing and transcript of the fragment, along with the text of five other versions of edict VIII. The original stone is now preserved in the Museum of the **Bombay Asiatic Society**.

### SECOND PART THE PILLAR-EDICTS

This term is meant to comprise the Aśoka inscriptions on the Delhi-Tōprā pillar and on the five other pillars which bear six of the seven edicts inscribed on it. The minor pillar-inscriptions will be treated separately in the third part. The 'Queen's edict' and the 'Kauśāmbī edict', however, are included in the second part, because they are inscribed on the Allahabad-Kōsam column which bears also six of the chief pillar-edicts.

#### I. THE DELHI-TOPRA PILLAR (Text, p. 119).

This famous monument 'is a single shaft of pale pinkish sandstone, 42 feet 7 inches in length, of which the upper portion, 35 feet in length, has received a very high polish, while the remainder is left quite rough'. It used to be known by the names of 'Bhīmasēna's pillar', 'Golden pillar', 'Fīrōz Shāh's pillar', and 'Delhi-Siwalik pillar'. Shams-i Sirāj, a historian of **Fīrōz Shāh** (A.D. 1351-88), informs us that it stood originally 'in the village of Tobra, in the district of Sālaura and Khizrābād, in the hills',<sup>1</sup> that Sultan Fīrōz had it carried to Delhi, and that he erected it again on the top of his palace at Fīrōzābād. From Tobra near Khizrābād, which was ninety *kōs* from Delhi, the column was carried on a truck with forty-two wheels to the bank of the Jamnā, whence it was floated down the river to Fīrōzābād (Delhi) on a number of large boats.

Cunningham (*Arch. Reports*, 14 78 f) identified the village of Tobra, where the pillar stood originally, with the present **Tōprā**, on the direct line between Ambālā and Sirsāvā, eighteen miles to the south of Sādhōrā, and twenty-two miles to the south-west of Khizrābād. The pillar is standing to the present day on the roof of the three-storied citadel (*kōllā*) of Fīrōz Shāh outside the 'Delhi Gate' to the south-east of modern **Delhi**.<sup>2</sup> An elevation of the building, with the pillar on the top of it, was published in 1788 in the first volume of the *Asiatic Researches*, p. 379, and a sketch of it in 1803 in vol. 7, p. 175, plate 4.

<sup>1</sup> JBBRAS, 15. 282.

<sup>2</sup> Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 35.

<sup>3</sup> Elliot-Dowson's *History of India*, 3. 350.

<sup>4</sup> See a note by Lieutenant Kitchin, JASB, 6. 796 f, and the map facing p. 185 of Bardeker's *Indien*.

The Delhi-Tōprā pillar bears seven edicts of Aśoka, of which the last and longest is unique, while other specimens of the first six edicts have been discovered elsewhere. The first six edicts and the eleven first lines of the seventh edict are arranged in four columns on the north, west, south, and east faces of the pillar; the eleven remaining lines of the seventh edict run all round the pillar.

Besides the Aśoka edicts and several minor records of pilgrims and travellers,<sup>1</sup> the pillar bears three short inscriptions of the Chahamāna Visaladēva of Śākambārī, son of Annalādēva (EI, 9, 67, n 5), dated A.D. 1164, which have been edited last by Kielhorn from Fleet's impressions (IA, 19, 215 ff).

The Delhi-Tōprā pillar-inscription is the first record of Aśoka that was read and translated in 1837 by Prinsep (JASB, 6, 566 ff.). Facsimiles of this inscription had been in the possession of the Asiatic Society of Bengal 'since its very foundation, without any successful attempt having been made to decipher them' (id., p. 566).

'On searching the Society's portfolio' Prinsep 'found the five original manuscript plates of Captain Hoare, whence the engravings published in the *Researches*<sup>2</sup> seem to have been copied.'

'I found also two much larger drawings of the first and last inscription of the series, apparently of the actual dimensions—These I suppose to have been the originals presented to Sir William Jones by Colonel Polier, and therefore of themselves venerable for their antiquity' (id., p. 567).<sup>3</sup>

The ingenious manner in which Prinsep succeeded in deciphering the ancient Brahmi alphabet deserves to be recorded here in his own words

'In laying open a discovery of this nature, some little explanation is generally expected of the means by which it has been attained. Like most other inventions, when once found it appears extremely simple, and, as in most others, accident, rather than study, has had the merit of solving the enigma which has so long baffled the learned'

'While arranging and lithographing the numerous scraps of facsimiles for Plate XXVII,<sup>4</sup> I was struck at their all terminating with the same two letters, 𑀅𑀲. Coupling this circumstance with their extreme brevity and insulated position, which proved that they could not be fragments of a continuous text, it immediately occurred [to me] that they must record either obituary notices, or more probably the offerings, and presents of votaries, as is shown to be the present custom in the Buddhist temples of Ava; where numerous *dhvajās* or flag-staffs, images, and small *chatyās* are crowded within the enclosure, surrounding the chief cupola, each bearing the name of the donor. The next point noted was the frequent occurrence of the letter 𑀅, already set down incontestably as *s*, before the final word—now this I had learnt from the Saurashtra coins, deciphered only a day or two before, to be one sign of the genitive case singular, being the *sa* of the Pāli, or *śya* of the Sanskrit "Of so and so the gift", must then be the form of each brief sentence, and the vowel *a* and Anusvara led to the speedy recognition of the word *dānam* (gift), teaching me the very two letters, *d* and *n*, most different from known forms, and which had foiled me most in my former attempts. Since 1834 also my acquaintance with ancient alphabets had become so familiar that most of the remaining letters in the present examples could be named at once on re-inspection. In the course of a few minutes I thus became possessed of the whole

<sup>1</sup> See Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, 1, 167, and 5, 143 f.

<sup>2</sup> See *Asiatic Researches*, vol. 7, plates 6-10.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Asiatic Researches*, 1, 379.

<sup>4</sup> 'Inscriptions from Sanchee, taken in facsimile on paper by Capt. E. Smith, Engineers'

alphabet, which I tested by applying it to the inscription on the Delhi column' (id., p. 460 f.)

The first four edicts were examined by Burnouf in his *Lotus*, and the fourth and sixth by Kern in his *Jaartelling*. Senart's edition and translation of the Delhi Topra pillar-edicts in his *Inscriptions de Piyadasi* (2, 1 ff) were based on Cunningham's copies. In 1884 Fleet issued excellent photo-lithographs, to which Buhler added transcripts in the Nāgarī character (IA, 13, 306 ff), and which were utilized in Sir George Grierson's English translation of Senart's French article (IA, vols. 17 and 18). Finally Buhler edited and translated the seven pillar-edicts twice, in German (ZDMG, vols. 45 and 46) and in English (EI, 2, 245 ff).

## II. THE DELHI-MIRATH PILLAR (Text, p. 137)

'This pillar now stands on the so-called 'Ridge' to the north-west of modern Delhi'. Like the Delhi-Tōprā pillar, it was carried to Delhi by Firōz Shāh. Shams-i-Sirāj tells us that it stood before in the vicinity of Mirāth, now a town and the headquarters of a district of the United Provinces, and that Firōz Shāh re-erected it at Delhi on a hill in the Kushk-i-Shikar or 'Hunting Palace',<sup>1</sup> which is known to have been situated on the Ridge.'

The pillar bears, besides some modern scribbles,<sup>2</sup> a more or less damaged version of the first *five* edicts of the Delhi-Tōpra pillar. A lithograph of its inscription was published by Prinsep in JASB, vol. 6 (1837), plate 42, from impressions forwarded by Major P. L. Pew, who added the following particulars:

'This very ancient Hindu pillar was dug out of some ruins near a well, and was probably destroyed by the blowing up of a powder magazine which I understand once existed near the spot. It consists of five pieces.'

'The pillar is sandstone, and to its perishable nature is to be attributed the imperfect state of the inscriptions' (id., p. 795).

Padre Tieffenthaler, who visited Delhi towards the middle of the eighteenth century, already saw the same five pieces lying on the top of the Ridge, and also ascribed the destruction of the pillar to gunpowder.<sup>3</sup>

'There the five pieces remained undisturbed for upwards of a century, when the inscribed portion was' sawn off' and 'sent down to Calcutta to the Museum of the Asiatic Society. Within the last few years this piece has been returned to Delhi, and the pillar has again been set up in its old position.'<sup>4</sup>

IA, vol. 19 contains a facsimile of the Delhi-Mirath pillar-edicts by Fleet with transcripts by Buhler (p. 122 ff), who reprinted the text twice, in ZDMG (vols. 45 and 46) and in EI (2, 245 ff).

A fragment bearing portions of the two last lines of the *sixth* edict was offered to the British Museum in 1913. Its dimensions render it very probable that it belonged originally to the Delhi-Mirath pillar.

<sup>1</sup> The position of the pillar is marked on plate 25 (facing p. 132) of Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, vol. I. See also the map facing p. 185 of Baedeker's *India*.

<sup>2</sup> Elliot-Dowson's *History of India*, 3, 353.

<sup>3</sup> Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, 1, 168.

<sup>4</sup> Id., 5, 144.

<sup>5</sup> Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 37.

<sup>6</sup> Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, 1, 167.

<sup>7</sup> Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 37.



### III and IV. THE LAURIYA-ARARAJ AND LAURIYA-NANDANGARH PILLARS (Text, pp. 141 and 145).

The inscriptions on these two pillars were already known to Prinsep when he edited the Delhi-Tōpṛā pillar-edicts in 1837 (JASB, 6 566 ff.). Both pillars bear the first **six edicts**, the first four on the east face and the last two on the west face. Mr. B. H. Hodgson had called them the Radhia and Mathiah pillars.<sup>1</sup> Cunningham ascertained that the villages of Radhia and Mathiah are 2½ and three miles distant from them, and proposed to call them the Lauriyā-Ararāj and Lauriyā-Navandgarh pillars.<sup>2</sup> His reasons were the following. Each of the two pillars stands near a village named **Lauriyā**, the former of which is in the Champāran district, North Bihār, twenty miles NW. of Kesariyā, while the second is fifteen miles NNW. of Betiā in the same district. Both names are derived from the pillars themselves, which were mistaken by the people for *lūgas* (Hindī *laurā*). To distinguish the two different villages of Lauriyā, Cunningham combined with the former **Ararāj**, the name of a neighbouring temple of Śiva, and with the second Navandgarh, the name of a ruined fort in its vicinity. V. A. Smith (JRAS, 1902 153, note) added that 'Navandgarh' is a mistake for '**Nandangarh**'.

The Lauriyā-Ararāj pillar 'is a single block of polished sandstone, 36½ feet in height above the ground'.<sup>3</sup> According to V. A. Smith it was originally surmounted by a figure of **Garuḍa**.<sup>4</sup>

The Lauriyā-Nandangarh pillar 'is formed of a single block of polished sandstone, 32 feet 9½ inches in height'.<sup>5</sup>

'The capital, which is 6 feet 10 inches in height, is bell-shaped, with a circular abacus supporting the statue of a **lion** facing the north. The abacus is ornamented with a row of Brahmani geese pecking their food.'<sup>6</sup>

Besides the Aśoka edicts, the pillar bears a record of the emperor **Aurangzib** and a few modern scribbings. It is now worshipped as a symbol of Śiva, and its erection is ascribed to the Pandava Bhuma.<sup>7</sup>

Buhler edited the inscriptions of the Lauriyā-Ararāj and Lauriyā-Nandangarh pillars twice, in ZDMG (vols 45 and 46) and in EI (2, 245 ff). His second article was accompanied by photo-lithographs of Mr Garrick's impressions.

### V. THE RAMPURVA PILLAR (Text, p 151).

Another copy of the first **six edicts** is engraved on a lion-pillar of polished sandstone, which was discovered by Mr Carlyle at **Rāmpurvā** in the Champāran district, 32½ miles north of Betiā.<sup>8</sup> The relative positions of Lauriyā-Ararāj, Lauriyā-Nandangarh, and Rampurvā are shown on V. A. Smith's sketch map in JRAS, 1902. 162, and on plate I of Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, vol. 16.

<sup>1</sup> See JASB, 3 (1834) 481 ff., where a drawing of the Mathiah pillar and a lithograph of its inscription are given (plates 27 and 29). The first lithograph of the Radhia pillar appeared in vol. 4 (1835), p. 124, plate 7.

<sup>2</sup> *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 39 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Id.*, p. 40.

<sup>4</sup> *Asoka*, sec. ed., p. 147, and ZDMG, 65, 227.

<sup>5</sup> Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, 1, 72 f. For pictures of the pillar, see *id.*, plates 22 and 25, vol. 16, plate 27, the frontispiece of V. A. Smith's *Asoka*, sec. ed.; and plate 2 of his *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*.

<sup>6</sup> Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 41.

<sup>7</sup> Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, 22 51.

'The pillar has fallen down, and is now lying partly in water.' The upper part of the lion is gone, but the lower part of the animal, with the bell capital and circular abacus with the well-known geese and conventional flowers, is still in very fair condition. The capital was fixed to the shaft by a massive copper bolt.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Garrick prepared impressions of that side of the pillar which could then be reached. Buhler's transcripts of them (ZDMG, vols. 45 and 46, Lf. 2, 245 ff., with photo-lithograph) show that it contained portions of the first four edicts.

To Sir John Marshall we are indebted for complete impressions of the six edicts and for the discovery of the missing **lion-capital**.<sup>2</sup> The length of the shaft was found to be 44 feet 9½ inches, of which 8 feet 9 inches are left rough-dressed, having originally been buried in the ground. As on the two Lauriya pillars, the inscription is divided into two columns on opposite faces of the pillar.

The pillar has now been removed some 200 yards from its former position and lies horizontally on a small mound. To protect the inscription from the weather, a small brick shed has been erected over the centre of the pillar.<sup>3</sup>

#### VI THE ALLAHABAD-KOSAM PILLAR (Text, p. 155).

This pillar now stands inside the fort at **Allahabad**. It 'is a single shaft of polished sandstone 35 feet in length.'<sup>4</sup> 'Its total length, including the base, is forty-two feet seven inches.'<sup>5</sup>

*Habent sua fata columnae*! The history of the Allahabad pillar is as chequered and curious as that of the two Delhi pillars. On examination it is found to contain on it four strata of literary records

- (1) The original inscriptions of Aśoka, viz :
  - (a) the first six edicts of the Delhi-Tōprā pillar,
  - (b) the so-called 'Queen's edict' (to the right of 2),
  - (c) the so-called 'Kauśāmbī edict' (above d)
- (2) An inscription of the *Alahārājādhirājā* Samudragupta (below 1)
- (3) An interlineation in Nāgarī characters
- (4) An inscription of the emperor Jahāngir

A sketch of the pillar by Captain James Hoare and a rough copy of portions of its inscriptions appeared in 1801 in the *Asiatic Researches*, vol. 7, plates 13 and 14. In 1834 Lieutenant T. S. Burt published, at Prinsep's request, drawings of the pillar (JASB, vol. 3, plate 3), which was then lying on the ground, having been taken down by Colonel Kyd in 1804.<sup>6</sup> 'The common legend of the natives', he says, 'states the pillar to be the *gadā* or staff of Bhīmasena' (p. 105). Prinsep added a lithograph of Burt's copies of the Aśoka inscriptions and a classified table of letters (plates 4 and 5). Although yet unable to read the alphabet, he very shrewdly guessed the actual value of post-consonantal *ā*, *e*, and Anusvara

<sup>1</sup> See Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, vol. 22, plate 7.

<sup>2</sup> Id., vol. 16, preface, p. viii. See also plate 28.

<sup>3</sup> JRAS, 1908-1906, and plate I, fig.

<sup>4</sup> See *Annual Report of the Arch. Survey of India, Eastern Circle*, for 1912-1913, p. 36.

<sup>5</sup> Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 37.

<sup>6</sup> Lieutenant Burt in JASB, 3, 125.

<sup>7</sup> See Lieutenant Kitchin's note in JASB, 4, 127.

Six months later he recognised the consonants *y, v, s* (p. 485), and three years after he deciphered the six Aśoka edicts, together with those of the Delhi-Tōpra pillar.<sup>1</sup>

'The capital of the column was no doubt of the usual bell-shape of Aśoka's other pillars, but of this there is now no trace. The circular abacus, however, still remains, with its graceful scroll of alternate lotus and honeysuckle, resting on a beaded astragalus of Greek origin. This was once surmounted by the statue of a lion;<sup>2</sup> but the lion must have disappeared many centuries ago, as when the pillar was re-erected by Jahāngir in A.D. 1605, it was crowned by a globe, surmounted by a cone, as described and sketched by Padre Tieffenthaler in the middle of the next century.'<sup>3</sup>

In 1838 the pillar was set up again by Captain Edward Smith and provided with a newly designed lion which, according to Cunningham (*Arch. Reports*, I, 300), looks 'not unlike a stuffed poodle stuck on the top of an inverted flower pot'.

As regards the set of six edicts (1, a), 'the present confused appearance of it is due chiefly to the later inscriptions [3] that have been engraved between the original lines of writing. The most serious damage that has been done to it is due to seven entire lines and the greater part of the eighth, line 16, having been entirely destroyed to make room for a circular inscription of Jahāngir [4]'.<sup>4</sup> IA, vol. 13 contains a facsimile of the six edicts by Fleet and a Nāgarī transcript by Buhler (p. 306 ff), who reprinted the text twice, in ZDMG (vols. 45 and 46) and in EI (2, 215 ff).

'The Queen's edict (1, b) was already transcribed and translated by Prinsep,' while the Kausāmbī edict (1, c) was first noticed by Cunningham.<sup>5</sup> Both were edited by Senart<sup>6</sup> and, with Fleet's facsimiles, by Buhler (IA, 19, 122 ff). The Kausāmbī edict was re-edited by A. M. Boyer.<sup>7</sup>

The Kausāmbī edict is addressed to the *Mahāmātrav* at Kosambi (Kausāmbī in Sanskrit). Cunningham concluded from this that the Allahabad pillar must have been originally erected by Aśoka at Kausāmbī,<sup>8</sup> which is the modern Kōsam on the left bank of the Jamnā, about twenty-eight miles west by south from Allahabad.<sup>9</sup> He further suggested that the removal of the pillar from Kōsam to Allahabad was perhaps due to Firōz Shāh, who is known to have transported the Tōpra and Mirath pillars to Delhi. But, while Delhi was the capital of Firōz Shāh, Allahabad was founded, or rather refounded, two centuries after him by Akbar.<sup>10</sup> This ruler may have removed from Kōsam the Allahabad pillar, on which inscriptions of his favourite Birbal<sup>11</sup> and of his son Jahāngir are engraved. In this case the pillar would have been still standing at Kōsam when the inscription of Samudragupta (2) was incised on it. This record was last edited by Fleet in his *Gupta Inscriptions*, No. 1, it refers to 'this lofty pillar' (*ayam uchchhritah stambhak*, l. 30).

<sup>1</sup> JASB, 6 (1837) 566 ff. See also id., p. 965 f.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. JASB, 4, 127.

<sup>2</sup> Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 37. For Captain Hoare's sketch of the pillar see *Asiatic Researches*, vol. 7, plate 13.

<sup>3</sup> Fleet in IA, 13, 305.

<sup>5</sup> JASB, 6, 568 f. and 966 f., with a lithograph on plate 56, fig. 1. See also id., vol. 3, plate 4, bottom.

<sup>6</sup> *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 38.

<sup>7</sup> *Inscriptions de Priyadasi*, 2, 99 ff., and IA, 18, 308 f.

<sup>8</sup> JA (10), 10, 120 ff. and 141.

<sup>9</sup> *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 39.

<sup>10</sup> See Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 2, also Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 391 ff., and EI, 11, 91 and 141.

<sup>11</sup> Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, 1, 298. For coins struck by Akbar at Allahabad see the *British Museum Catalogue of Moghul Coins*, pp. 48 and 53, Whitehead's *Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum*, vol. II, Introduction, p. xlix, and the Catalogues by Wright (1908) and Brown (1920).

<sup>12</sup> Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 39.

The Nāgari in erlineation (3) of the Allahabad-Kōsam pillar 'is merely a series of unconnected scribbings of various dates, cut in most likely by the attendants on the pillar as a pretext for exacting a few rupees from visitors.'<sup>1</sup>

**Jahāngir's** inscription (4) records the names of his ancestors and is dated in A. H. 1014 or A. D. 1605.<sup>2</sup>

### THIRD PART: MINOR PILLAR-INSCRIPTIONS

#### I. THE SAMCHI PILLAR (Text, p. 160).

**Sāmohī** 'is an ancient site in the Bhōpāl State, Central India,  $5\frac{1}{2}$  miles from Bhilsā and about  $\frac{3}{4}$  mile from the Sanchi railway station. The Aśoka pillar 'is only a fragment of a large polished shaft, but near it there still lies a beautiful broken capital crowned by four lions, which, no doubt, once surmounted it' <sup>3</sup>. It is now lying in the jungle, but apparently it stood originally near the south gate of the great Sāmchi Stūpa.<sup>4</sup>

The beginning of the inscription on the pillar is lost, and the first preserved line is badly damaged. A facsimile was published by Burgess in EI, 2 369. The record was edited and translated by Bühler (id., p. 366 f) and by Boyer (IA (10), 10 123 ff and 141), and re-examined by myself (JRS, 1911 167 ff, and 1912. 1055 f).

#### II. THE SARNATH PILLAR (Text, p. 161).

**Sārṇāth**, about  $3\frac{1}{2}$  miles to the north of **Benares**, is believed to be the site of one of the most memorable events in the career of the Buddha: it adjoins the **Migadāya** (i. e. 'deer-park') at **Isipatana** in which he preached his first sermon.<sup>5</sup> Here Mr F. O. Oertel discovered a broken pillar of polished sandstone which bears an edict of Aśoka. He found also the former capital of the column, which 'is surmounted by four magnificent lions standing back to back, and in their middle was a large stone wheel, the sacred *dharmachakra* symbol', of which only fragments remain. 'The lions stand in a drum with four animal figures carved on it, viz. a lion, an elephant, a bull, and a horse, placed between four wheels. The upper part of the capital is supported by an elegantly shaped Persepolitan bell-shaped member.'

In the opinion of a competent judge 'it would be difficult to find in any country an example of ancient animal sculpture superior or even equal to this beautiful work of art, which successfully combines realistic modelling with ideal dignity, and is finished in every detail with perfect accuracy' <sup>6</sup>.

The Chinese traveller, **Hsuen Tsiang**, saw on the site of the Migadāya a stone pillar which stood in front of a *Stūpa* built by **Aśoka-rāja**, and which was about 70 feet high.

<sup>1</sup> Prinsep in JASB, 6. 967. Cf. Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Aśoka*, p. 38 f.

<sup>2</sup> See Lieutenant Burt in JASB, 3 108, and Prinsep's foot-note.

<sup>3</sup> Mr D. R. Bhandarkar informed me that this, and not Sañchi, is the actual pronunciation of the name.

<sup>4</sup> Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Aśoka*, p. 42.

<sup>5</sup> See EI, 2 366, n. 2, and JRS, 1902 30.

<sup>6</sup> Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, 1. 107, SBE, 11. 146, and 13. 90, *Buddhist Birth Stories*, 1 III f.

<sup>7</sup> *Arch. Survey of India, Annual Report, 1904-5*, p. 68 ff.

<sup>8</sup> V. A. Smith's *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, p. 60. For photographs of the capital see id., plate 13, and Oertel's article, plate 20.

<sup>9</sup> Beal's BRWW, 2 46.

As Oertel (op. cit., p. 69) has calculated the actual height of the Sārnāth pillar at about 37 feet above ground, Hsuen Tsiang seems to have overestimated its height, unless he refers to a different pillar.

Unfortunately the three top lines of the inscription are broken away, and the fourth line is badly damaged. But Oertel succeeded in recovering three inscribed fragments which, as Professor Vogel has proved, contain the two first *akṣaras* of each of lines 1-3, and the end of lines 3 and 4 (EI, 8. 166 f.). The remainder of the inscription was found *in situ* underground, and is in a state of nearly perfect preservation.

The stump of the pillar bears also two short records of a later date—an inscription of king *Aśvaghōṣa* which is engraved in continuation of the last line of the Aśoka edict, and a Buddhist inscription in early Gupta characters above the Aśvaghōṣa epigraph. These three records were first published, with collotypes, by Vogel in EI, 8. 166 ff., and the Aśoka edict was re-edited by Boyer (JA (10), 10. 119 ff.), Senart (CR, 1907. 25 ff.), and Venis (JPASB, 3. 1 ff.). See also my remarks in JRAS, 1912. 1053 ff.

### III. THE RUMMINDĪ PILLAR (Text, p. 164)

In December 1896 Dr. Führer found a pillar bearing an inscription of Aśoka about thirteen miles south-east of the Nigālī Sāgar pillar (below, No IV) in the Nepalese Tarai. The pillar stands near the shrine of *Rummindī*, about a mile to the north of the village of *Paṇariyā*, which is about two miles north of Bhagvanpur, the head-quarters of the Nepalese tahsil of that name, and about five miles to the north-east of Dulhā in the British district of Bastī.<sup>1</sup>

The new Aśoka pillar is a mere stump, but still *in situ* and surrounded by a brick railing. 'It is of hard sandstone of the usual yellowish colour, and rises to a height of 21 feet or so.' The inscription on it was edited, with facsimile, by Bühler in 1898,<sup>2</sup> and records that Aśoka visited the spot and erected the pillar 'because the *Buddha śākya-muni* was born here', and that the king exempted the village of *Lumbini* from taxes.

Both *Lumbini* and the modern name *Rummindī* must be identical with the *Lumbini* grove, the traditional site of the Buddha's birth.<sup>3</sup> This identification is confirmed by Hsuen Tsiang, who mentions a pillar set up by *Aśoka-rāja* in the *Lumbini* garden, and near the pillar the 'river of oil',<sup>4</sup> which is now called *Tilar-nadi*, i.e. apparently 'the tēli's or oilman's river'.<sup>5</sup> He further states that the pillar bore on the top the figure of a horse, and that it had been struck by lightning and broken off in the middle. This agrees with Mukherji's description of the *Rummindī* pillar (p. 34). He tells us that 'its upper portion is gone, and of what remains the top is split into two halves, the line of fissure coming down to near the middle height. The capital was of the usual bell-shaped form, of which the base, broken into two halves, exists . . . The stone horse, which crowned the capital, is gone with the upper portion of the shaft';

<sup>1</sup> See V. A. Smith in IA, 34. 1, and cf. plates 18 and 19 of Babu P. C. Mukherji's *Antiquities in the Tarai* (Calcutta, 1901).

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., p. 34. For a drawing of the pillar see id., plate 20, fig. 3, and for photographs of it, the plate facing p. 27 of Führer's *Monograph on Buddha Śākyamuni's Birth-place* (Allahabad, 1897) and the plate facing p. 148 of V. A. Smith's *Early History of India*.

<sup>3</sup> EI, 5. 1 f. For subsequent articles on the *Rummindī* inscription see IA, 43. 17.

<sup>4</sup> See the Introduction to the *Jātaka*, vol I, pp. 52 and 54. For other forms of the word *Lumbini* see IA, 43. 18.

<sup>5</sup> Beal's BRWW, 2. 24 f.

<sup>6</sup> See V. A. Smith's preface to Mukherji's *Antiquities*, p. 6.

but it seems to be alluded to in the inscription itself. Finally, the temple of Rummindēi contains an ancient sculpture which represents the nativity of the Buddha (op. cit., plate 24, a). This is an additional piece of evidence in favour of the identity of the locality with the *Lumbini-vana*.

#### IV. THE NIGALI SĀGAR PILLAR (Text, p. 165).

In March 1895 another Aśoka pillar of polished sandstone was discovered by Fuhrer in the Nepalese Tarāi on the western bank of a large tank called **Nigālī Sāgar**, about a mile south of **Niglivā**. This village lies about thirteen miles north-west of Rummindēi and belongs to the Nepalese tahsil of Taulivā (about seven miles north-west of Piprava in the British district of Basti)<sup>1</sup>.

The pillar is now called *Nigālī* or 'the smoking-pipe' of Bhimasena.<sup>2</sup> It is not *in situ*, and only two broken portions of it are preserved. The upper piece is about 14 feet 9½ inches long and bears a few medietal drawings and scribbles. The lower portion is about 10 feet long and bears an inscription of Aśoka in four lines, some letters at the beginning of the two last lines are broken away.<sup>3</sup>

The inscription was first edited by Buhler in VOJ, 9, 175 ff., and again, with facsimile, in EI, 5, 1 ff. It records that Aśoka 'enlarged the *Stūpa* of the **Buddha Kōṇākamana** to the double (of its original size)', and that later on he visited the spot in person and erected the pillar.

Huen Tsiang seems to mention the Nigālī Sāgar pillar.<sup>4</sup> He states that it stood in front of a *Stūpa* containing relics of **Kanakamuni Buddha**, that it was surmounted by a lion, was about 20 feet high (which is less than the length of the two preserved pieces combined), bore an inscription, and had been erected by **Aśōkarāja**. The *Stūpa* referred to by Huen Tsiang cannot be traced near the spot where the two portions of the pillar have been found.<sup>5</sup>

### FOURTH PART MINOR ROCK-INSCRIPTIONS

#### I THE RUPNATH ROCK-INSCRIPTION (Text, p. 166).

**Rūpnāth** is an out-of-the-way place of pilgrimage in the Central Provinces, four or five miles west of Sleemanabad railway station<sup>6</sup> on the line from Jabalpur to Katni.

'The Rūpnāth rock is a single flinty block of dark-red sandstone lying at the foot of the **Kaimur** range of hills, just below the fertile plateau of **Bahuriband**.<sup>7</sup> Here a small stream breaks over the crest of the Kaimur range, and, after three low falls, forms a deep secluded pool at the foot of the scarp. Each of these pools is considered holy, the uppermost being named after Rama, the next after Lakshmana, and the lowest

<sup>1</sup> For the relative positions of Niglivā and Rummindēi see plate 1 of Mukherji's *Antiquities in the Tarai*.

<sup>2</sup> Id., p. 30, and Fuhrer's *Monograph*, p. 23.

<sup>3</sup> For photographs of the pillar see plates 3, 4, 5 of Fuhrer's *Monograph*, and for a drawing of it, Mukherji's *Antiquities*, plate 16, fig. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Beal's HRWW, 2, 19.

<sup>5</sup> See V. A. Smith's preface to Mukherji's *Antiquities*, p. 3 f.

<sup>6</sup> See V. A. Smith's *Aśoka*, sec. ed., p. 133, n. 1.

<sup>7</sup> A small town thirty-two miles to the north of Jabalpur, see Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*

after Sītā. The spot, however, is best known by the name of Rūpnāth, from a *linga* of Śiva which is placed in a narrow cleft of the rocks on the right.<sup>1</sup>

The detached boulder, upon which the edict of Aśoka is inscribed, lies just above the west margin of the lower pool under a great tree, the inscription being upon its flat top and near one edge. The rock is one of many that have fallen at some time or another from the cliffs above, and it is possible that it has fallen since the inscription was cut upon it.<sup>2</sup>

The edict of Aśoka is inscribed on the upper surface of the rock, which has been worn quite smooth by people sitting upon it for hundreds of years at the annual fairs. It is now of a very dark dirty-red colour, and the inscription might easily escape observation. The lines follow the undulations of the rock, and are neither straight nor parallel with each other. The inscription is  $4\frac{1}{2}$  feet long and 1 foot broad, and consists of six lines, of which the last has only five letters.<sup>3</sup>

The Rūpnāth edict was copied in 1871-2 by Cunningham (*Arch. Reports*, 7, 59) and published with a facsimile in 1877 by Bühler (IA, 6, 149 ff.), who re-edited it twice afterwards.<sup>4</sup> Senart's treatment of it is included in his *Inscriptions de P'yadasi* (2, 165 ff.) and in Sir George Grierson's translation (IA, 20, 154 ff.). Fresh impressions of the inscription were prepared by the late Dr Bloch.<sup>5</sup>

## II. THE SAHASRĀM ROCK-INSCRIPTION (Text, p. 169).

**Sahasrām** is a town and the head-quarters of a subdivision in the Shāhābād district, South Bihar. About two miles to the east of the town rises one of the last spurs of the Kaimur range of hills called **Chandan-Pir**, after a Muhammadan saint, who took up his abode on the top of the hill.<sup>6</sup>

The edict of Aśoka is found in an artificial cave a short distance below, which is generally known as the *Chirāghdān* or 'lamp' of the saint. The roof of the cave is formed by a large projecting mass of rock that has most effectually preserved the greater part of the inscription, which is in excellent order, except in three or four places where the rock has peeled off. The entrance, which is only 4 feet high, is to the west between two built walls. By making an opening in one of these walls, my assistant, Mr Beglar, obtained a good photograph of the inscription.<sup>7</sup>

The Sahasrām edict was published three times by Bühler and twice by Senart along with the Rūpnāth one (No. I, above). In editing it the third time (IA, 22, 299), Bühler noted that Beglar's photograph still shows a number of letters which have since disappeared owing to the disintegration of the rock, and which are already missing in Fleet's facsimile (loc cit). To the kindness of Sir John Marshall I owe a copy of this valuable photograph, which I have utilized for my transcript of the text.

## III. THE BAIKAT ROCK-INSCRIPTION (Text, p. 171).

A much damaged version of the Rūpnāth-Sahasrām edict was discovered in 1871-2 by Mr Carlyle about a mile to the north-east of **Bairāt**, the head-quarters

<sup>1</sup> Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 21.

<sup>2</sup> Mr Cousens in *Progress Report*, ASWI, 1903-4, p. 35.

<sup>3</sup> Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 22.

<sup>4</sup> IA, 7, 141 ff., and, with Fleet's facsimile, *ibid.*, 22, 299 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Annual Report*, AS, *Eastern Circle*, 1907-8, p. 19.

<sup>6</sup> Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, 11, 132 f.

<sup>7</sup> Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 20 f.

of a tahsil in the Jaipur State, Rājputānā, about forty-two miles north-by-north-east of Jaipur City.

'This edict is engraved on a block lying separately, but immediately below the hill locally known as *Bhim-kī-dungri* . . . . It is inscribed on the eastern face and near the lower end of the rock.'<sup>1</sup>

The inscribed block 'is 17 feet in height by 24 feet in length from east to west, and 15 feet in thickness from north to south.'<sup>2</sup>

The inscription was edited by Buhler and Senart along with the Rūpnāth and Sahasrām ones (Nos. I and II, above). No facsimile of it has yet been published except Cunningham's eye-copy in his *Inscriptions of Asoka*, plate 14, No. x

#### IV. THE CALCUTTA-BAIRAT ROCK-INSCRIPTION (Text, p. 172)

The block which bears this very interesting and valuable record is now preserved in Calcutta by the Asiatic Society of Bengal. It was discovered in 1840 by Captain Burt 'upon a hill lying adjacent to' Bairāt, the town near which some years later Carlyle found the preceding inscription (No. III). Burt reported that he found the inscription 'on a hard, grey granite block, irregularly shaped, and measuring about two feet in two of its dimensions, and a foot and a half in the third' (JASB, 9 616). His copy of the inscription was lithographed by Captain Kittoe, and transcribed and translated by the same 'with the aid of the learned Pandit Kamala Kanta' (id., p. 617 and plate).

Burt's copy formed the basis of the editions of Burnouf (*Lotus*, p. 710 ff.), Kern (*Faartelling*, p. 32 ff.), and Wilson (JRS, 16, 357 ff, with lithograph). Senart edited the record in his *Inscriptions de l'Inde*, 2 197 ff, and published a revised edition of it, from an estampage by Burgess, in IA, 20, 165 ff. A photograph of Burgess' estampage appeared in JA (8), 9, 498.

As Burt had stated that Bairāt was six *kōs* distant from 'Bhabra' (JASB, 9 616), the inscription has been styled generally 'the Bhabra edict'. But this name implies a double mistake. the town from which it is derived is not called 'Bhabra', but Bhābrū, and the latter is twelve miles distant from Bairāt, the finding-place of the block. According to Cunningham (*Arch. Reports*, 2 247), 'the hill on which the inscription was found forms a conspicuous object about one mile to the south-west of the town [of Bairāt]. It is about 200 feet high, and is still known by the name of *Bijal-Pahār* or "inscription hill"'. It is covered with ruins which Cunningham (id., p. 248) took to be the remains of two Buddhist monasteries.

'The inscription stone originally lay, I am told, near the shrine of Hanumān below the rock known as *lōp* or "cannon", on the first or lower platform on the summit of the hill'<sup>3</sup>

In order to distinguish this inscription from the preceding one (No. III), I propose to call it 'the Calcutta-Bairāt rock-inscription'.

#### V. THE MASKI ROCK-INSCRIPTION (Text, p. 174)

Another, damaged, version of the Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, and Bairāt edicts was discovered on January 27, 1915, by Mr. C. Beadon, a gold-mining engineer, in the

<sup>1</sup> D. R. Bhandarkar, *Progress Report, AS, Western Circle*, 1909-10, p. 45 f. Cf. Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, 23, 29.

<sup>2</sup> Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, 6 98.

<sup>3</sup> See D. R. Bhandarkar, *Progress Report, AS, Western Circle*, 1909-10, p. 45.

<sup>4</sup> D. R. Bhandarkar, loc. cit.



neighbourhood of **Maski**, a village in the Lingsugur taluka of the Raichur district of the Nizam's Dominions, about forty-six miles west-south-west from Raichur. I am indebted to Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri for the subjoined note on Maski :

'By enquiries made at the place, I gather that the spelling of the village named Maski is different with different communities. The masses of illiterate agriculturists pronounce it Maṣgi or Maṣgiṭ; the Brahmin classes call it Maski, and the Muhammadans Maṣgi. A Chālukya inscription of the time of Jagadekamalla (Śaka 949) calls the place *Rājadhānu piriya-Mosangi*, i.e. "the royal residence of great Mosangi". Another inscription of the same king in the village refers to that quarter as the *Brahmapuri of Mosangi*. A later record of the Yādava king Siṅghana of the thirteenth century calls the place again *Rājadhānu piriya-Mosangi*. In two other inscriptions of the place belonging to the reigns of Achyutarāya and Sadāśivarāya, its name is mentioned as *Mosage*, the chief town of *Mosage-nādu*.'

To these remarks we may add that **Mosaṅgi**, the ancient form of the name of Maski, suggests its identity with the battle-field of **Musaṅgi**, where, according to Tamil records, the Chālukya king Jayasimha II was defeated by Rājendra-Chōla I.<sup>1</sup>

A careful transcript and translation of the Maski inscription (with plates) was published by H. Krishna Sastri,<sup>2</sup> who describes the site as follows

'The cavern in which the inscribed boulder stands is formed of a huge rock resting at various points of its periphery on other smaller ones, some of which are partly buried in the gravelly soil below. The boulder, which is a block of crystalline grey granite of irregular shape, stands at the southern entrance into the cavern, with the writing facing inwards. The surface of the boulder has peeled off at various places, sometimes right up to the depth to which the letters were incised, and measures roughly 8 feet 9 inches by 5 feet' (p. 2).

In the year 1916, the third of the great war, Fleet drew attention to the new inscription in JRAS, 1916. 572 ff., Senart examined it in detail in JA (11), 7. 425 ff., and I, having received a copy of Krishna Sastri's article from my friend Konow, re-published the text in ZDMG, 70. 539 ff.

The chief interest of the Maski inscription consists in the fact that the king is here called not only *Dēvaṇa priya*, but in addition to it **Asōka**,—a name which was hitherto known only from Buddhist literature and from the *Purāṇas*

#### VI, VII, VIII. ROCK-INSCRIPTIONS IN THE MYSORE STATE (Text, p. 175).

These three records, which resemble the Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, Bairāt, and Maski edicts, but add to them a second edict, were discovered and edited with lithographs by Mr. B. I. Rice in 1892.<sup>3</sup> They were discussed by Senart, who added a transcript and translation of the Brahmagiri version (JA (8), 19. 472 ff.), and by Buhler, who corrected a few details (VOJ, 7. 29 ff.). In 1894 Buhler re-edited the three inscriptions with photo-lithographs prepared from inked estampages (EI, 3. 134 ff.). Transcripts and facsimiles are given also in Rice's *Epigraphia Carnatica*, vol. 11, from which I borrow the following careful description of the localities (Introduction, p. 2 f.).<sup>4</sup>

'The Asōka inscriptions discovered by me were three in number, situated on hills on the right and left banks of the Janagi-halla or Chinna Haggari river, where it crosses

<sup>1</sup> See *South-Ind Inscriptions*, 1. 95 f., EI, 9. 230, Fleet in JRAS, 1916. 574.

<sup>2</sup> *Hyderabad Archaeological Series*, No. 1, *The New Asokan Edict of Maski*, 1915.

<sup>3</sup> *Edicts of Asōka in Mysore*, nine pages of foolscap, dated Bangalore, February 1892.

<sup>4</sup> See also Fleet's remarks in JRAS, 1909. 997 f.

the Molkālmuru tāluq [of the Chitaldroog district of the Mysore State] from west to east. They are all in the neighbourhood of Siddāpura,<sup>1</sup> between 14° 47' and 51' north latitude and about 76° 51' east longitude. The best preserved is the Brahmagiri inscription, engraved on the top of a great boulder of gneiss, at the north-west base of the hill of that name, at a point called the *Ganṇante-māle*. The boulder was well known throughout the neighbourhood as the *Akshara-guṇḍu* or "letter-rock", and was supposed to be endued with medicinal virtues. Accordingly, in various ailments of human beings and in diseases of cattle, the stone was washed and the water used for the purpose given to the patient to drink. It was the favourite seat for goatherds in the heat of the day when the flocks were collected into the shade of the surrounding rocks, and for ryots watching the crops in the neighbouring fields. The inscription is cut on the undressed horizontal surface of the rock, which slopes down somewhat at the end of the lines. It consists of thirteen not very regular lines, covering a space of 15' 6" by 11' 6". Half a dozen letters at the beginning of the 6th and 7th lines have been defaced by lodgment of water in a depression in the stone.'

'The second inscription is less than a mile to the west of the first, and close to Siddāpura, on a ledge, facing south, some way up a rocky group of hills called *Yenamana Timmayyana guṇḍu* or "the buffalo-herd Timmayya's rocks." It consists of twenty-two lines, covering a space of 13' 6" by 8', and is engraved in lines of varying length on the sloping and peeling horizontal surface of the rock. A great boulder overhangs the inscription on the north, under the eaves of which the lines end, leaving a very small space between the inscribed floor and the rock above. Considerable portions have been defaced, as the shady ledge on which the inscription is cut formed a favourite shelter for goats and cattle.'

'The third inscription is on the western summit of the *Jatīṅga-Rāmeśvara* hill, which is some three miles or more north by west of Brahmagiri. The inscription is cut on a very irregular slanting horizontal surface of rock, facing north-east, which has been quarried at some period. Overhanging the inscription on the south is an immense boulder, which still shows the marks of the mason's punches used in splitting off a considerable portion of its northern face. The floor on which the inscription is cut is immediately in front of the stairs leading up to the Jatīṅga-Rāmeśvara temple. Consequently all pilgrims to the shrine used to walk right over the inscription, and have no doubt done so for centuries. Moreover, owing to the convenient shadow of the overhanging boulder, the site of the inscription was the favourite resort of the bangle-sellers at the annual festival. Hence the rock is called the *Balegāra guṇḍu* or "bangle-sellers' rock", and various holes have been punched in different parts of the rock on which the inscription is cut to receive the posts of the booths or tents erected by them at the annual fair. For the foregoing reasons it is not surprising that the inscription is very greatly defaced, so much so indeed that it is difficult to tell exactly where it begins or where it ends. So far as can be made out, it consists of at least twenty-eight lines, covering a space of 17' 6" by 6' 6". There is a guiding line engraved in the margin to the left, apparently to show the direction of the lines, but those above this mark do not seem to have been parallel with those below it.'

From a foot-note<sup>2</sup> we are glad to learn that 'erectments have now been put up over this and the other Aśoka inscriptions by the Mysore Government for their protection, and the headman of the village has the keys as custodian'.

<sup>1</sup> According to Krishna Sastri, the actual pronunciation of this name is Siddāpura

<sup>2</sup> *Ep. Carn.*, vol. 11, Introduction, p. 2, n. 2.

## IX THE BARĀBAR HILL CAVE-INSRIPTIONS (Text, p. 181)

'The Hills called **Barābar** are isolated rocks of syenitic granite rising abruptly from the plain about 15 miles north of the city of **Gayā**' in South Bihār. 'Although Barābar is that by which the cluster is commonly known, each hill has a name of its own, the highest being called "Barābar", also "Siddhēśvar" from a temple to Mahādēva that once crowned it.'<sup>1</sup>

'All of these possess some Buddhistic remains, but the most interesting are the caves of Barābar and Nāgarjuni, which were hewn out of the solid rock upwards of two thousand years ago.'<sup>2</sup>

'There are altogether seven caves in these hills, four of which belong to the Barābar or Siddhēśvara group, and three to the Nāgarjuni group.'<sup>3</sup> Each of the three Nāgarjuni caves contains an inscription of **Dasharatha Devanampiya**, i.e. Aśoka's grandson Daśaratha.<sup>4</sup> Among the four Barābar caves, three bear an inscription of king **Devānampiya**, and one (the so-called 'Lōmaśa Rishi cave') a Vaishnava inscription of the **Maukhari Anantavarman**, which seems to show that the original name of the Barābar Hill was **Pravaragiri**.<sup>5</sup>

According to the second and third Barābar inscriptions the name of the Barābar Hill was then **Khalatika**. Both the first and second inscriptions of king **Devānampiya** and the three Nāgarjuni inscriptions of Daśaratha specify as donees the monks of the **Ājivika** sect. In three cases an attempt has been made to chisel away the word *Ajivikehi*. This was probably done in the time of the Maukhari Anantavarman, who assigned one of the Barābar caves to Krishna, and two of the Nāgarjuni ones to Śiva and Parvatī.<sup>6</sup>

The three Barābar inscriptions of king **Devānampiya** were first lithographed and discussed by Captain Kittoe.<sup>7</sup> They were examined by Burnouf (*Lotus*, p. 779 ff.) and edited by Senart<sup>8</sup> and, with Flét's facsimiles, by Bühler (*IA*, 20. 361 ff.).

## CHAPTER II. THE AUTHOR OF THE INSCRIPTIONS

THE king at whose orders the rock- and pillar-edicts published in the first and second parts of this volume were engraved, gives his name or title in various Prākṛit forms of which the Sanskrit would be *Devānāmpriyāh Priyadarśi rājā*.<sup>9</sup> This full

<sup>1</sup> Captain Kittoe in *JASB*, 16 (1847) 402.

<sup>2</sup> Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, 1. 40.

<sup>3</sup> Id., p. 44. For the modern names of the single Barābar caves and for plans of them see id., plates 18 and 19. Cf. also Fergusson's *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, revised by Burgess and Spiers, 1 130 ff., *Cave Temples of India*, p. 37 ff., V. A. Smith's *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, p. 20.

<sup>4</sup> For the bibliography of these inscriptions see Luders' *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions* (EI, vol. 10, Appendix), Nos. 954-6.

<sup>5</sup> See Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 222.

<sup>6</sup> See id., Nos. 48-50.

<sup>7</sup> *JASB*, 16. 401 ff., and plate 9, figures 4-6.

<sup>8</sup> *Inscriptions de Priyadarśi*, 2. 209 ff., and *IA*, 20. 168 ff.

<sup>9</sup> In a few caves (Kālsī rock-edict I, A, Shāhbāzgarhi rock-edict II, A, Delhi-Tūprā pillar-edict VII, O and X) the word *rājā* is omitted, and once (Shāhbāzgarhi, I, A) the word *Priyadarśi*. Cf. Fleet, *JRAS*, 1908. 482.

form of his title is shortened into *Devanāmpriyā* in section C of the Dhauhi and Jaugada rock-edict X, in all texts of the rock-edicts XII and XIII after the opening section, in which the full style is preserved, and in the Delhi Topa pillar-edict VII, RR. In the two separate rock-edicts at Dhauhi and Jaugada, in the Queen's pillar-edict, and in the Kauśāmbī pillar-edict, *Devanāmpriyā* alone is found.

Among the records published in the third and fourth parts of this volume, the Rummindei and Nigāli Sāgar pillars exhibit the full form *Devanāmpriyā Priyadarśa rājā*. The Maski rock-inscription opens with the genitive case of *Devanāmpriyā Aśoka*. On the Sarnath pillar and in the Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, Bairat, and the three Mysore rock inscriptions we have only *Devanāmpriyā*. On the Samchi pillar this word is lost, but the contents of the Sarnath and Sarnath pillars are so nearly related to those of the Kauśāmbī edict on the Allahabad-Kōsam pillar, that they can be safely referred to the same royal author. The same applies to the rock-inscriptions at Rūpnāth, &c., which remind us of the rock- and pillar-edicts in many significant details.<sup>1</sup>

There remain the Calcutta-Bairāt rock-inscription and the three Barābar Hill cave-inscriptions. In the former the king styles himself *Priyadarśi rājā*, and in the three others *rājā Priyadarśi*. In the Calcutta-Bairāt record the king shows a strong interest in Buddhism. It would be, therefore, hypercritical not to assign this document to the same sovereign who paid visits to Sambōdhi (rock-edict VIII, C), to Lummini (Rummindei pillar), and to the *Stūpa* of Kōṇakamana (Nigāli Sāgar pillar). We cannot, however, decide with certainty whether the three Barābar Hill inscriptions belong to the same king or to another member of his dynasty. In favour of the former alternative it may perhaps be urged that two of the caves on the Barābar Hill were dedicated to the Ājivikas when the donor had been 'anointed twelve years'. For, this happens to be the regnal year in which the author of the rock- and pillar-edicts commenced to issue 'rescripts on morality'; see the pillar-edict VI, B, and cf. the rock-edict IV, K.

The etymological meaning of the term *Devanāmpriyā* is 'dear to the gods'. According to Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* on Pāṇini, II, 4, 56, and V, 3, 14, this word was used as an honorific like *bhavan*, *dirghayuh*, and *āyushmān*.<sup>2</sup> Pāṇini himself does not mention *Devanāmpriyā*, but states that the termination of the genitive case is preserved at the end of the first member of compounds if the meaning is abusive (वन्ना जाकोहि, VI, 3, 21). The *Kāśikā* commentary adduces the two examples *चोरसकुलं*, 'the family of a thief', and *बुधसकुलं*, 'the family of a low-caste man'. Kātyāyana affixes to Pāṇini's *Sūtra* five *Vārttikas*, the third of which states that the compound *Devanāmpriyā* ought to be added. Neither the *Mahābhāṣya* nor the *Kāśikā* have the word *मूर्ख*, 'with the meaning of "fool"', which the *Siddhantakaumudī* adds to the *Vārttika*. This secondary meaning of *Devanāmpriyā* was already known to Patañjali's commentator Kaiyaṭa,<sup>3</sup> while Kātyāyana and Patañjali ignore it, although Patañjali on Pāṇini, II, 4, 56, seems to have used *Devanāmpriyā* in an ironical sense. In Bāna's

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the foot-notes on the translation of the Rūpnāth edict, *passim*, and Buhler, IA, 7, 144 f.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Weber's *Ind. Studien*, 13, 337, n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *बुधसकुलः* in the *Kāśikā* on the next *Sūtra*. It is worth noting that in the drama *Mudrārākṣasa* Chāṇakya uses the term *बुधस* with reference to Chandragupta.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Bāṇamanōramā* on Pāṇini, VI, 3, 21. Kaiyaṭa's commentary is not accessible to me.

*Harshacharita* it is found twice as an honorific.<sup>1</sup> In the same way *Devānuppiya* is employed frequently in Jaina literature.<sup>2</sup>

In the *Dīpavamsa*, *Devānampriya* is prefixed to the name of Aśoka's contemporary, Tissa of Ceylon, and is often used alone to denote him,<sup>3</sup> and in the Nāgārjunī Hill cave-inscriptions it follows the name of Aśoka's grandson *Daśaratha*.<sup>4</sup> In a few of the inscriptions published in this volume it is employed as a synonym of *rājan*, 'a king': In the Kālsī, Shāhbāzgarhi, and Mānsehrā texts of the rock-edict VIII, A, the king's predecessors are called *Devānampiya* and *Devanampiya*, while the Gīrnār and Dhāuli versions have *rājāno* and *lājāno*, and the word *Devānampiya* in the second separate edict at Dhāuli (twice in section G and thrice in I) corresponds to *lājā* in the Jaugadā text of the same edict (sections H and J).

As stated above (p. xxviii), another epithet of the king to whom the inscriptions published in this volume are due was *Priyadarśin*, 'he who glances amiably'. Both *Piyadasī* and *Piyadassana*, 'of amiable appearance', occur repeatedly in the *Dīpavamsa*<sup>5</sup> as equivalents of Aśoka, the name of the great Maurya king.<sup>6</sup> In the drama *Mudrā ākhya*,<sup>7</sup> *Pradassana* is prefixed to Chandasiri, i.e. Chandragupta, the name of Aśoka's grandfather.

Before discussing Prinsep's identification of the king *Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin* of the inscriptions with the Maurya king Aśoka, it will be advisable to quote from the texts a few details which are of leading importance in this connexion. The opening section of the Calcutta-Bairāt rock-inscription informs us that *Priyadarśin* was a *Māgadha* king, i.e. a ruler of Magadha. From the rock-edict V, M, we learn that his capital was *Pāṭaliputra*, for, the words 'both in Pāṭaliputra and in the outlying [towns]' at Gīrnār correspond to 'here and in all the outlying towns' at Kālsī, Shāhbāzgarhi, Mānsehrā, and Dhāuli. In the second and thirteenth rock-edicts the king refers to a number of contemporary Yōna, i.e. Greek, kings: the rock-edict II, A, mentions 'the Yōna king *Antiyoka* (*Antiyoka* at Gīrnār, *Antiyoga* at Kālsī and Mānsehra) and the kings who are the neighbours of this Antiyoka', and the rock-edict XIII, Q, 'the Yōna king *Antiyoka* (*Antiyoga* at Kālsī and Mānsehrā), and beyond him four kings, viz. *Turamāya* (*Tulamaya* at Kālsī), *Antekina* (*Antikini* at Shāhbāzgarhi), *Makā* (*Magā* at Gīrnār), and *Alīkassudara* (*Alīkashudala* at Kālsī)'.

The great decipherer of the old Brāhmī alphabet, James Prinsep, at first ascribed the edicts to *Devānampiya Tissa* of Ceylon.<sup>8</sup> This is of course impossible because we know now that the author of the edicts calls himself a king of Magadha, and that he resided at Pāṭaliputra. The discovery of the Nāgārjunī Hill cave-inscriptions of Dashalatha *Devānampiya*, whom Prinsep at once identified with *Daśaratha*, the grandson of the Maurya king Aśoka (id., p. 676 ff.), and the fact that Turnour had found *Piyadasī* or *Piyadassana* used as a surname of Aśoka in the *Dīpavamsa*, induced Prinsep to abandon his original view, and to identify king *Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin* with Aśoka himself (id., p. 790 ff.). *A lumine*, another member of the Maurya dynasty

<sup>1</sup> See Kielhorn in JRAS, 1908, 505.

<sup>2</sup> See Püschel's *Grammatik*, § 111. Hoernle and Püschel derived the word from Skt. *dēva + ampiya*. Hemachandra (*Abhidhānachintāmaṇi*, III, 17) assigns to *Devānāmpriya* the meaning of 'fool'.

<sup>3</sup> See Fleet in JRAS, 1908, 485.

<sup>4</sup> IA, 20, 364 f.

<sup>5</sup> See the Index to Oldenberg's edition.

<sup>6</sup> Similarly, in the fourth act of the drama *Priyadarśikā*, its heroine is called both *Priyadarśikā* and *Priyadarśanā*.

<sup>7</sup> Hillebrandt's edition, p. 159, lines 1 and 5, cf. his article on the *Kautilyasthira* (Breslau, 1908), p. 30.

<sup>8</sup> JASB, 6 (1837), 472 f., 566 f.

might be meant as well; for, as stated above (p. xxx), the eighth rock-edict shows that the king's predecessors also bore the title *Devānāmpriya*, and the *Mudrārākṣasa* applies the epithet *Priyadarśana* to Chandragupta. Every such doubt is now set at rest by the discovery of the Maski edict, in which the king calls himself *Devānāmpriya Aśoka*.

In February, 1838, Prinsep published the text and a translation of the second rock edict. He found in the Gīrnār version of it (l. 3) the words *Antiyako Yona-ājā*, and in the Dhauli version (l. 1) *Antiyoke nāma Yona-lājā*, and identified the Yōna king Antiyaka or Antiyoka with **Antiochus III** of Syria.<sup>1</sup> In March, 1838, he discovered in the Gīrnār edict XIII (l. 8) the names of *Turamāya*, *Amikona*,<sup>2</sup> and *Maga*, whom he most ingeniously identified with **Ptolemy II** Philadelphus of Egypt, **Antigonos** Gonatas of Macedonia (?), and **Magas** of Cyrene. At the same time he modified his earlier theory, and now referred the name *Antiyoka* to **Antiochus I or II** of Syria, preferably the former (id., p. 224 ff.).

On the Gīrnār rock the name of a fifth king, who was mentioned after *Maga*, is lost. The Shāhbāgarhī version calls him *Alīkasudara*. Norris recognised that this name corresponds to the Greek *Ἀλέξανδρος*, and suggested hesitatingly that **Alexander of Epirus**, the son of Pyrrhus, might be meant by it.<sup>3</sup> This identification was endorsed by Westergaard,<sup>4</sup> Lassen,<sup>5</sup> and Senart.<sup>6</sup> But Professor Beloch now thinks that **Alexander of Corinth**, the son of Craterus, has a better claim.<sup>7</sup>

As will appear in the sequel, the mention of these five contemporaries in the inscriptions of king *Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin* confirms in a general way the correctness of Prinsep's identification of the latter with Aśoka, the grandson of Chandragupta whose approximate time we know from Greek and Roman records. Antiochus I Soter of Syria reigned 280–261 B.C., his son Antiochus II Theos 261–246, Ptolemy II Philadelphus of Egypt 285–247, Antigonos Gonatas of Macedonia 276–239, Magas of Cyrene c. 300–c. 250, Alexander of Epirus 272–c. 255, and Alexander of Corinth 252–c. 244.<sup>8</sup> The rock-edict XIII cannot be placed earlier than twelve years after Aśoka's *abhisheka*, when he commenced publishing 'rescripts on morality'.<sup>9</sup> If we assume that the rock edicts are arranged in chronological order, it cannot have been issued earlier than thirteen years after the *abhisheka*, when Aśoka appointed 'Mahāmātras of morality' as he tells us in edict V. If the Alīkasudara of edict XIII is Alexander of Epirus, its date would fall between 272 and 255, and if Alexander of Corinth is meant, between 252 and 250. For fixing the period of Aśoka's reign within narrower limits, we are thrown back on what information can be gathered from Indian and classical literature concerning Aśoka's grandfather Chandragupta.

<sup>1</sup> JASH, 7, 156 ff.

<sup>2</sup> In reality Gīrnār and Kālai read *Antikina*, and Shāhbāgarhī *Antikini*. Buhler (ZIMG 40, 137) justly remarked that these two forms would rather correspond to Antigonus than to Antigonos. But no king named Antigonus is known to us, although it was the name of one of the officers of Alexander the Great, who was executed, together with Eumenes, in 316 B.C., being then satrap of Susiana.

<sup>3</sup> JRAS, 8 (1845) 305

<sup>4</sup> *Zwei Abhandlungen*, translated from the Danish into German by Stenzler (Breslau, 1862) p. 120 f.

<sup>5</sup> *Ind. Alt.*, 2 (2nd ed.) 253 ff.

<sup>6</sup> IA, 20 242

<sup>7</sup> *Griechische Geschichte*, vol. 3, part 1, p. 105

<sup>8</sup> The figures of these reigns are taken from Beloch's *Griech. Geschichte*, vol. 3

<sup>9</sup> See the pillar-edict VI, B, and cf. the rock-edict IV, K.

The historical tradition of India, Ceylon, and Burma is unanimous in naming as the founder of the **Maurya** dynasty **Chandragupta**, and as his two immediate successors **Bindusāra** and **Aśoka**. The pseudo-prophetic account of the *Purāṇas* runs thus:

'Kautilya (or Chāṇakya) will establish king Chandragupta in the kingdom. Chandragupta will be king twenty-four years, Bindusāra twenty-five years, and Aśoka thirty-six years.'

According to the *Dīpavamsa*, Chandragupta reigned twenty-four years (V, 73, 100), and Bindusāra's son Aśoka thirty-seven years (V, 101).<sup>1</sup>

The *Mahāvamsa* states that the Brāhmana Chāṇakya anointed the Maurya Chandragupta (V, 16 f), and that Chandragupta reigned twenty-four years, his son Bindusāra twenty-eight years (V, 18), and Bindusāra's son Aśoka (V, 19) thirty-seven years (XX, 6).

Buddhaghōṣa's *Samantapāsādikā* agrees with the *Mahāvamsa* in allotting twenty-four years to Chandragupta and twenty-eight years to Bindusāra.<sup>2</sup>

The Burmese tradition assigns twenty-four years to Chandragupta and twenty-seven years to Bindusāra.<sup>3</sup>

It will be seen that all sources agree in fixing the length of Chandragupta's reign at twenty-four years. To Bindusāra the Ceylonese chronicles allot twenty-eight years, Rigandet twenty-seven years, and the *Purāṇas* twenty-five years.

The Ceylonese sources state that Aśoka succeeded his father Bindusāra **214 years** after Buddha's Nirvāṇa,<sup>4</sup> and that his anointment took place four years after his father's death, or **218 years** after the Nirvāṇa.<sup>5</sup> The Burmese tradition confirms the two dates 214 and 218.<sup>6</sup>

As, according to the Ceylonese sources, Bindusāra ruled twenty-eight years and Chandragupta twenty-four years, the former would have reigned A. B. 186-214, and the latter A. B. 162-186.<sup>7</sup> If we deduct the year of Chandragupta's accession to the throne (162) from the traditional date of the Nirvāṇa, 544 B.C., the result is 382 B.C. This would be about sixty years earlier than the actual accession of Chandragupta as ascertained from Greek sources. For, luckily, the approximate time of king Chandragupta of Pāṭaliputra has been already settled by one of the great pioneers of Indian research, Sir William Jones,<sup>8</sup> who identified him with *Σαρδάκωρρος* of *Παλιβορρα*, the contemporary of Seleucus Nikator.

Various devices were proposed in order to account for this chronological error, until Flett showed that the Buddha-varsha of 544 B.C. is a comparatively modern fabrication, of the twelfth century, and that the difference of about sixty years is the quite natural

<sup>1</sup> See Fargiter's *Dynasties of the Kāli Age* (Oxford, 1913), p. 28.

<sup>2</sup> The length of Bindusāra's reign is not specified in the *Dīpavamsa*, but the period of twenty-eight years is deducible from statements made in chapter XI, verses 5, 12, 13, about king Mutasiva of Ceylon. See Fleet in JRAS, 1908 481, and 1909. 25.

<sup>3</sup> *Vinaya-pitaka*, ed. by Oldenberg, § 321.

<sup>4</sup> Rigandet's *Life or Legend of Gandama*, 4th ed., 2. 128.

<sup>5</sup> *Dīpavamsa*, VI, 20 f.

<sup>6</sup> *Dīpavamsa*, VI, 1, 21 f., *Mahāvamsa*, V, 21 f., *Samantapāsādikā*, 2. 299.

<sup>7</sup> Rigandet's *Life of Gandama*, 2. 128 f.

<sup>8</sup> According to Rigandet's *Life of Gandama*, 2. 128, Chandragupta reigned A. B. 163-187, and Bindusāra 187-214. If, as the *Purāṇas* assert, Bindusāra reigned only twenty-five years, he would have succeeded Chandragupta in A. B. 189.

<sup>9</sup> In his *Anniversary Discourse*, delivered February 28, 1793, and published in 1795 in the *Asiatic Researches*, vol. 4. The passage is reprinted in his *Works* (London, 1799), I. 152 f., and in the *Centenary Review of the ASB*, part 2, p. 85 f.

result of accumulated mistakes which were made in rounding off the figures of the regnal years of the kings of Ceylon.<sup>1</sup>

While thus the alleged date of the Nirvāna in 544 B.C., and that of Chandragupta's accession in 382 B.C., have no practical value, the traditional interval of 218 years between the Nirvāna and Aśoka's *abhishēka* might still be considered authentic. There are, however, two facts which in my opinion render it somewhat suspicious. It includes a period of 100 years between the Nirvāna and the Second Council.<sup>2</sup> Such a nice round sum as just 100 years looks very much like a clumsy guess and a pure invention.<sup>3</sup> Secondly, the traditional figures of the Northern Buddhists are almost totally at variance with those of the Southern Buddhists.<sup>4</sup>

The leading passage concerning Chandragupta's date is found in Justin's *Epitoma Pompei Trogi*, XV, 4.<sup>5</sup>

'[Seleucus] multa in Oriente post divisionem inter socios regni Macedonici bella gessit. Principio Babyloniam cepit, inde auctis ex victoria viribus Bactrianos expugnavit. Transitum deinde in Indiam fecit, quae post mortem Alexandri, veluti a cervicibus iugum servitutis excusso, praefectos eius occiderat. Auctor libertatis Sandrocottus fuerat, sed titulum libertatis post victoriam in servitutem verterat, siquidem occupato regno populum, quicum ab externa dominatione vindicaverat, ipse servitio premebat. Fuit hic humilis quidem genere natus, sed ad regni potestatem maiestate numinis impulsus. Quique cum procacitate sua Nandrum regem offendisset, interfici a rege iussus salutem pedum celeritate quaesierat. Ex qua fatigatione cum somno captus iaceret, leo ingentis formae ad dormientem accessit sudoremque profluentem lingua ei deterisit expergefactumque blande reliquit. Hoc prodigio primum ad spem regni impulsus contractus latronibus Indos ad novitatem regni sollicitavit. Molenti deinde bellum adversus praefectos Alexandri elephantus ferus infinitae magnitudinis ultro se obtulit et veluti domita mansuetudine eum tergo excepit. Duxque belli et proliarum insignis fuit. Sic adquisito regno Sandrocottus ea tempestate, quia Seleucus futurae magnitudinis fundamenta iaciebat, Indiam possidebat, cum quo facta pactione Seleucus compositisque in Oriente rebus in bellum Antigoni descendit.'

McCrinkle translates this as follows:\*

'[Seleucus] waged many wars in the East after the partition of Alexander's empire among his generals. He first took Babylon, and then with his forces augmented by victory subjugated the Bactrians. He then passed over into India, which after Alexander's death, as if the yoke of servitude had been shaken off from its neck, had put his prefects to death. Sandrocottus had been the leader who achieved their freedom, but after his victory he had forfeited by his tyranny all title to the name of liberator, for, having ascended the throne, he oppressed with servitude the very people whom he had emancipated from foreign thralldom. He was born in humble

<sup>1</sup> JRAS, 1909, 333, 335.

<sup>2</sup> *Vinaya-pitaka, Chullavagga*, beginning of last chapter (XII), *Dipavamsa*, IV, 47, and V, 15 f., *Mahāvamsa*, IV, 8, *Samantapāsādikā*, p. 293.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Rhys Davids and Oldenberg in SBE, 13, xxii. 'This is no doubt a round number, and the exact year of the date of the Buddha's death is open to question.'

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Geiger's translation of the *Mahāvamsa*, p. lx f., where the figures of the Northern Buddhists are specified, and Westergaard's *Zwei Abhandlungen*, n, p. 94 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Ruehl's edition (Leipzig, 1886), p. 119.

\* *The Invasion of India by Alexander the Great* (Westminster, 1893), p. 327 f.



life,<sup>1</sup> but was prompted to aspire to royalty by an omen significant of an august destiny. For when by his insolent behaviour he had offended king Nandrus,<sup>2</sup> and was ordered by that king to be put to death, he had sought safety by a speedy flight. When he lay down overcome with fatigue and had fallen into a deep sleep, a lion of enormous size approaching the slumberer licked with its tongue the sweat which oozed profusely from his body, and when he awoke quietly took its departure. It was this prodigy which first inspired him with the hope of winning the throne, and so, having collected a band of robbers, he instigated the Indians to overthrow the existing government. When he was thereafter preparing to attack Alexander's prefects, a wild elephant of monstrous size approached him, and kneeling submissively like a tame elephant received him on to its back and fought vigorously in front of the army. Sandrocottus having thus won the throne was reigning over India when Seleucus was laying the foundations of his future greatness. Seleucus, having made a treaty with him and otherwise settled his affairs in the East, returned home to prosecute the war with Antigonos.<sup>3</sup>

The same transactions are referred to in Appian's *Ρωμαϊκά*, book *Συριακή*, chapter 55:—

[Σέλευκος] τὸν Ἰνδὸν πέρασας ἐπολέμησεν Ἀνδρόκοττον βασιλεῖ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν Ἰνδῶν, μέχρι φιλίας αὐτῷ καὶ κήδους συνέθετο.

‘[Seleucus] crossed the Indus and waged war on Androcottus, king of the Indians who dwelt about it, until he made friends and entered into relations of marriage with him.’<sup>4</sup>

According to Strabo, Seleucus ceded to Sandrocottus a tract of land to the west of the Indus, entering into a matrimonial alliance with him and receiving in exchange five hundred elephants.<sup>5</sup> We know from various sources that Megasthenes became the ambassador of Seleucus at Chandragupta's court.<sup>6</sup> Strabo adds that Deinachos was sent on an embassy to Chandragupta's son, whom he calls Amitrochades.<sup>7</sup>

Ἐπίμψθησαν μὲν γὰρ εἰς τὰ Παλίμβοθρα, ὃ μὲν Μεγασθένης πρὸς Σανδρόκοττον, ὃ δὲ Δήμαχος πρὸς Ἀμιτροχάδην· τὸν ἐκείνου υἱὸν κατὰ πρεσβείαν· ὑπομνήματα δὲ τῆς ἀποδημίας κατέλιπον ταῦτα.

‘Megasthenes and Deinachos were sent on an embassy, the former to Sandrocottus at Palimbothra, the other to Amitrochades his son; and they left accounts of their sojourn in the country.’<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> According to the *Mudrārākṣha*, Chandragupta was a Vrishala, i.e. a member of the Śūdra caste, see above, p. xxiv, n. 3.

<sup>2</sup> This ‘Nandrus’ must be the last king of the Nanda dynasty which, according to Indian tradition, was overthrown by Chandragupta; see A. von Gutschmid, *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie, Neue Folge*, 12 (1857), 262. Instead of the accusative ‘Nandrum’ the older editions read ‘Alexandrium’, cf. Lassen's *Ind. Alt.*, 2 (sec. ed.), p. 207, n. 3. The original reading might have been ‘Nandum’.

<sup>3</sup> Mendelssohn's edition (Leipzig, 1879), 1, 426.

<sup>4</sup> McCrindle's translation, *IA*, 6, 114.

<sup>5</sup> Lassen, *Ind. Alt.*, 2 (sec. ed.) 217 f., V. A. Smith, *Early History of India*, p. 132 f.; Krom, *Hermes*, 44, 154 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Schwanbeck, *Megasthenes Indica* (Bonn, 1846), p. 19; C. Müller, *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, 2 (Paris, 1848), 398, McCrindle, *IA*, 6, 115.

<sup>7</sup> *Geographica*, ed. Müller et Dubner, II, 1, 9 (p. 58 f.).

<sup>8</sup> The subsequent quotation from Athenaeus shows that this is a clerical mistake for Ἀμιτροχάδην or Ἀμιτροχάτην.

<sup>9</sup> McCrindle's translation, *IA*, 6, 115.

It may be concluded from this interesting notice that Chandragupta's son and successor Bindusāra had the surname **Amitraghāta**,<sup>1</sup> i.e. 'the slayer of enemies'. The same king is referred to as a contemporary of Antiochus (I Soter of Syria) in a curious anecdote preserved by Athenaeus.<sup>2</sup>

Οὕτω δὲ ᾗσαν περισπούδαστοι πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις αἱ ἰσχάδες . . . ὥς καὶ Ἀμιτροχάτην τὸν τῶν Ἰνδῶν βασιλέα γράφει Ἀντίοχον ἀξιοῦντα, φησὶν Ἠγήσανδρος, πίνειν αὐτῷ γλυκὺν καὶ ἰσχάδας καὶ σοφιστὴν ἀγοράσαντα. καὶ τὸν Ἀντίοχον ἀντιγράφει· ἰσχάδας μὲν καὶ γλυκὺν ἀποστελούμην σοι, σοφιστὴν δ' ἐν Ἑλλάσιν οὐ νόμιμον πωλεῖσθαι.

'Dried figs were so eagerly desired by all men that even Amittrochates, the king of the Indians, wrote to Antiochus asking him, says Hegesander, to purchase and send him sweet wine, dried figs, and a sophist; and that Antiochus wrote back: "We shall send you dried figs and sweet wine, but it is not lawful in Greece to sell a sophist!"'

If this statement of Athenaeus is combined with the preceding one of Strabo, it appears that the friendly intercourse which had existed between Seleucus and Chandragupta, was continued by their respective sons and successors, Antiochus I and Bindusāra-Amitraghāta, and that Megasthenes, the ambassador of Seleucus at the court of Chandragupta, was succeeded by Daimachus, the ambassador of Antiochus I at the court of Bindusara-Amitraghāta. From Pliny<sup>3</sup> we learn that another Greek potentate, Ptolemy II Philadelphus of Egypt (B.C. 285-247), sent **Dionysius** as ambassador to an unnamed Indian king, who may be supposed to have been either Bindusara or Asōka.<sup>4</sup>

I now return to the question of Chandragupta's date. Seleucus I Nikator of Syria (B.C. 312-280) 'arrived in Cappadocia in the autumn of 302 [the year preceding the battle of Ipsus]'. The march thither from India must have required at least two summers. Consequently, the peace with Chandragupta has to be placed about the summer of 304, or at the latest in the next winter.<sup>5</sup> Thus the coronation of Chandragupta falls between B.C. 323 (Alexander's death) and 304 (the treaty with Seleucus). As the consolidation of an empire which, as described by Megasthenes in his *Indica*, reached from Patnā to the Indus, must have been a matter of many years, I feel inclined to shift the date of Chandragupta's accession towards the earlier limit and to adopt as a working date the year B.C. 320 which Fleet has proposed.<sup>6</sup> With this starting-point, and if the length of reigns as given in the *Mahavamsa* is accepted, **Chandragupta** would have ruled 320-296, and **Bindusāra** 296-268. **Asōka** would have been crowned (four years after his father's death) in B.C. 264. This date is confirmed approximately by Asōka's thirteenth rock edict, which, as stated above (p. xxii), cannot be placed earlier than twelve or thirteen years after his *abhisheka* 264-12/13 = 252/251 would be one or two years before the last possible year (B.C. 250) in which all the Greek kings mentioned in that edict were still alive. This synchronism would prove that the date of Chandragupta's coronation, on which that of Asōka's coronation depends, can hardly be placed later than B.C. 320. It would follow further that the *Antiyoga* of edict XIII (and probably also of rock-edict II) was not Antiochus I, but

<sup>1</sup> See P. von Bohnen, *das alte Indien* (Königsberg, 1830), I, 92. The word *amittroghata* is mentioned by Patanjali on Pāṇini, III, 2, 87, cf. J.R.A.S., 1909, 425.

<sup>2</sup> *Δειπνοσοφισταί*, ed. Kaibel (Leipzig, 1890), XIV, 67 (vol. 3, p. 444).

<sup>3</sup> *Naturalis historia*, ed. Mayhoff, VI, 17 (vol. 1, Leipzig, 1906, p. 454 f.).

<sup>4</sup> As stated above (p. xxii), Ptolemy II is mentioned in Asōka's rock-edicts.

<sup>5</sup> Beloch's *Griechische Geschichte*, vol. 3, part 1, p. 146, n. 3.

<sup>6</sup> J.R.A.S., 1906, 985.

**Antiochus II** (261–246), and that the *Alikasudara* of edict XIII was not Alexander of Epirus, but **Alexander of Corinth** (252–c 244). But we must remember that the above figures rest only on the Ceylonese tradition, while the *Purāṇas* assign to Bindusara twenty-five instead of twenty-eight years, and that, accordingly, Chandragupta's coronation might fall about three years later than B.C. 320. Besides, it must be kept in mind that the upper limit of Chandragupta's coronation is the death of Alexander the Great in B.C. 323. The working date of B.C. 320 has the advantage of being the mean of the two outside dates 323 and 317.

I now append a list of the regnal dates which are incidentally mentioned in Aśoka's inscriptions, adding in brackets the year B.C. to which each year of his reign may be supposed to correspond.

1. **Eight years** after the coronation (B.C. 256). The king conquered (the country of) the Kalingas; rock-edict XIII.
2. **Ten years** after the coronation (B.C. 254). He went (on a visit) to Saṃbōdhi (i.e. Bodhi-Gaya), rock-edict VIII.
3. **Twelve years** after the coronation (B.C. 252):
  - (1) He ordered his officers to set out on a complete tour (throughout their charges) every five years, rock-edict III
  - (2) He promoted morality by public shows of edifying subjects, rock-edict IV.
  - (3) He published rescripts on morality; pillar-edict VI.
  - (4) He gave two caves to the Ājivikas, two of the Barābar Hill cave-inscriptions
4. **Thirteen years** after the coronation (B.C. 251). He appointed superintendents of morality, rock edict V.
5. **Fourteen years** after the coronation (B.C. 250). He enlarged the *Stūpa* of Kōṇākamana to the double (of its size), Nigāli Sāgar pillar.
6. **Nineteen years** after the coronation (B.C. 245). He gave a cave (to the Ājivikas), the third Barābar Hill cave-inscription.
7. **Twenty years** after the coronation (B.C. 241). He visited the Buddha's birth-place at Lummīni and the *Stūpa* of Kōṇākamana; Rummindei and Nigāli Sāgar pillars.
8. **Twenty-six years** after the coronation (B.C. 238). He issued the pillar-edicts I, IV, V, VI
9. **Twenty-seven years** after the coronation (B.C. 237). He issued the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII

## CHAPTER III.

### ASOKA'S EMPIRE AND ITS ADMINISTRATION

In the preceding chapter it was shown that the king *Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin* of the inscriptions can be no other than the Maurya king Aśoka of Magadha. It will appear from the two next chapters (IV and V) that his edicts are not concerned with public affairs, but are of an almost purely religious character. In spite of this we may glean from them some details of historical importance which are mentioned incidentally.

The extent of Aśoka's empire may be guessed already from the distribution of his rock-edicts, which it seems were engraved along the very confines of his territories. In the west they are found at Girnār on the Kāthiāvar peninsula and at Sōpārā on the

Bombay coast, in the south in the Raichur district of the Nizam's Dominions and in the Chitaldroog district of the Mysore State, and in the east at Dhaulti and Jaugada in the Puri and Ganjam districts. The north-eastern boundary line is marked by the rock-edicts at Shāhbāzgarhī and Mānsehra in the Peshāvar and Hazāra districts and at Kalsī in the Dehra Dūn district, and it is continued by the Nigālī Sāgar and Rummindei pillars in the Nepalese Tarāi and by the Rāmpurvā pillar in the Champāran district.

The capital of this vast empire was Pāṭaliputra, which, as stated above (p. xxx), is mentioned as such in the fifth rock-edict. The two syllables *Pāla*, which are preserved at the beginning of the third line of the Sāmāth pillar-inscription, are probably the remainder of the same name. Both the *Dīpavamsa* (V, 25, &c.) and the *Mahāvamsa* (V, 22) are aware of the fact that Pāṭaliputra was Aśoka's capital. From the *Mudra rakshasa* and from classical authors we learn that it had been already the residence of his grandfather Chandragupta. As I have stated before (p. xxxii), we owe to Sir William Jones the identification of Pāṭaliputra with the Παλιβοθρα or Μαλιβοθρα of the Greeks. Megasthenes, who represented Seleucus at Chandragupta's court, described it as a very large city:<sup>1</sup>

Καὶ λέγει Μεγασθένης, μήκος μὲν ἐπέχειν τὴν πόλιν κατ' ἐκατέρην τὴν πλευρὴν ἵνα περ μακροτάτῃ αὐτῇ ἰσότης ᾖ κίεται ἐς ὀδοῦ ἑκοντα σταδίων, τὸ δὲ πλάτος ἐς πεντεκαίδεκα· τάφρον δι περιβεβλησθαι τῇ πόλει τὸ εὖρος ἐξάπλεθρον, τὸ δὲ βάθος τριήκοντα πήχειων· πύργους δὲ ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ πεντακοσίους ἔχειν τὸ τεῖχος καὶ πύλας τέσσαρας καὶ ἐξήκοντα.

'Megasthenes informs us that this city stretched in the inhabited quarters to an extreme length on each side of eighty stadia, and that its breadth was fifteen stadia, and that a ditch encompassed it all round which was six hundred feet in breadth and thirty cubits in depth, and that the wall was crowned with 570 towers and had four-and sixty gates.'<sup>2</sup>

The identity of Pāṭaliputra with the modern Patnā is well known to the Hindus. The capital belonged to the ancient province of Magadha,<sup>3</sup> which is now called South Bihār. In accordance with this, Aśoka styles himself *Māgadha*, i.e. king of Magadha, at the commencement of the Calcutta-Bairāt rock-inscription. In the rock-edict VIII, C he refers to his visit to another locality which was included in the province of Magadha.<sup>4</sup> This is *Sambōdhi*, now *Bōdh-Gayā* to the south of Patna.

The Kauśāmbī edict on the Ailāhabad-Kōsam pillar mentions *Kōsambī* (*Kauṭāmbī* in Sanskrit), which is the modern *Kōsam* (see above, p. xx) to the west of the Magadha province. From the fact that Aśoka addressed the Kauśāmbī edict to his *Mahāmātra* at Kōsambī, it may be concluded that in his time, just as in later times,<sup>5</sup> Kauśāmbī was the head-quarters of a province.

Two other chief towns of provinces are referred to in the Dhaulti separate edict I, AA and BB, viz., *Ujjainī* (*Ujjayini*) and *Takkhasilā* (*Takshashila*). Aśoka's governor of the former was a royal prince (*kumāra*). In Buddhist tradition Aśoka himself is stated to have held the appointment of viceroy at Ujjayini in the life-time of his father Bindusāra.<sup>6</sup> Ujjayini, the capital of Avanti, and the *Ὀζόνη* of the *Periplus* and of Ptolemy, is the modern *Ujjain* in the Gwalior State. Takshashila, the *Τάξιλα* of the

<sup>1</sup> Arrian's *Ἰνδική*, ed. by Fieberhard in *Ariani Scripta Minora* (Leipzig, 1885), X, 6 f (p. 13)

<sup>2</sup> McCrindle's translation, IA, 6, 131.

<sup>3</sup> Wilson's *Theatre of the Hindus*, 3rd ed., 2, 196.

<sup>4</sup> BRWW, 2, 82 ff., Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 452 ff.

<sup>5</sup> BRWW, 2, 115. <sup>6</sup> BRWW, 1, 235 ff., EI, II, 141.

<sup>7</sup> *Dīpavamsa*, VI, 15, *Mahāvamsa*, V, 39, and XIII, 8.

Greeks, was identified by Cunningham with **Shāhdhārī** in the Rāvalpindī district, Panjāb.<sup>1</sup>

From the commencement of the Brahmagiri and Śiddāpura rock-inscriptions we learn that the head-quarters of Aśoka's southernmost province was a place of the name **Suvarṇagiri**, and that his representative there, just as at Ujjayini, was a royal prince (*āryaputra*) Brahmagiri and Śiddāpura belonged to the district of **Isila**, which was subordinate to the viceroy at Suvarṇagiri. Isila may have been the ancient name of Śiddāpura. Suvarṇagiri is perhaps identical with its synonym **Kanakagiri** in the Nizam's Dominions, south of Maski where an edict of Aśoka has been found, and north of the ruins of Vijayanagara in the Bellary district of the Madras Presidency.<sup>2</sup>

At the beginning of the rock-edict XIII, Aśoka informs us that, when he had been anointed eight years, he conquered the country of **Kaliṅga** on the eastern coast. To this province we have to allot Dhauri and Jaugada in the Puri and Ganjam districts, where copies of the rock-edicts I-X and XIV and of two separate edicts are found. The two separate edicts at Dhauri were addressed to the *Mahāmātras* at **Tōsali**, who were headed by a royal prince (*kumāra*, sep. ed. II, A). The head-quarters of the district to which the modern Jaugada belonged was called **Samāpā**,<sup>3</sup> and the Jaugada rock had then the name **Khēpiṅgala**.<sup>4</sup>

The second and third cave-inscriptions on the Barābar Hill give the ancient name of this hill as **Khalatika**. The Rummindī pillar has preserved the designation of the site of Buddha's birth, viz. **Luhmini**, or, as it is called in Buddhist works, **Lumbini**.

All the geographical names enumerated so far must have been included in Aśoka's empire. Besides them, the king refers to tribes outside his territories, whom he calls his 'borderers' (*anta*).<sup>5</sup> Several of these are mentioned by name. According to the rock-edict V, J, his western borderers were 'the **Yōnas**, **Kambojas**, and **Gandhāras**, the **Rāṭhikas** (*Ristika*, which is probably a clerical mistake for *Rāstika*, at Gīrnār) and **Pitṇikas** (also spelt *Pitēnika* or *Pitēyika*).<sup>6</sup> As I shall show below (p. xxxix), the Yōnas seem to have formed a small state on the north-west frontier, which was ruled over by a Greek prince. The Kambojas have to be placed in Kābul.<sup>7</sup> Gandhāra is now included in the North-West Frontier Province, at the time of the *Siyu-ki*, its capital was **Purushapura**, now **Peshāvar**.<sup>8</sup> The Rāthikas or Rāṣṭikas (= *Rāshtrika* in Sanskrit) are perhaps the people of Kathiavār, whose governor bore the title of *Rashtriya*.<sup>9</sup> The Pitṇikas or Pitēnikas<sup>10</sup> have not yet been localized.

<sup>1</sup> *Arch. Reports*, 2, 116, and *Ancient Geography*, p. 111.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Text, p. 177, n. 5.

<sup>2</sup> In a passage which is based on Megasthenes, Pliny (VI, 19) mentions the 'island' of *Modogalinga*, i.e. 'the three Kalingas' (from Telugu *mudū*, 'three', + *Kalinga*), see IA, 6, 338, and Caldwell's *Comparative Grammar*, Introduction, p. 321. In another place (VI, 17) he refers to the Mactocalingae or Maccocalingae as a tribe of Brāhmanas. Maccocalinga is probably a corruption of *Mukkalunga*, which would be the Tamil form of the Telugu *Mudugalinga*. For instances of the synonymous Sanskrit expression *Trikalunga* see Kielhorn's *List of Northern Inscriptions* (EI, vol. 5, Appendix), p. 117, s.v. The earliest king of Kalinga, of whom inscriptions have been preserved, is Khāravāla, see Lüders' *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions* (EI, vol. 10, Appendix), 160 f.

<sup>3</sup> See the Jaugada separate edict I, B, and II, B.

<sup>6</sup> See the Jaugada rock-edict I, A.

<sup>5</sup> See Rüpnāth, Sahasram, and Baurāt, II, Brahmagiri and Śiddāpura, I.

<sup>7</sup> See Text, p. 10, n. 1.

<sup>8</sup> See Beal's BRWW, I, 97. The Gandhāris are mentioned already in the *Rigveda*, and Gandara in the inscriptions of Darius, cf. Zimmer's *Allind Leben*, p. 30 f.

<sup>9</sup> See the Junagarh inscription of Rudradāman, EI, 8, 46, n. 7. For other proposed identifications of the word *Rashtrika* see Text, p. 56, n. 21.

<sup>10</sup> The identification of Pitēnika with Pratiśthāna is phonetically impossible, see Buhler, ZDMG, 37, 262.

According to the rock-edict XIII, Q, Aśoka's borderers to the south were 'the Chōḍas and Pāṇḍyas, as far as Tāmraparnī.' The two former are the two well-known principal dynasties of the Tamiḷ country, and Tāmraparnī is one of the ancient names of the island of Ceylon.<sup>1</sup> The Chōḍas or Chōḷas (*Śōḷa* in Tamiḷ) were known to Ptolemy; the Pāṇḍya king (*Πανδύων*) to the author of the *Periplus* as well, and Tāmraparnī (*Ταμροβάρνι*) already to Megasthenes. The rock-edict II, A, inserts between the Pāṇḍyas and Tāmraparnī two other borderers, viz **Satiyaputra** (*Satiyaputa* at Kālsī) and **Kēralaputra**. The former has not yet been identified successfully.<sup>2</sup> The latter is the king of Kērala or Malabar, who is called *Κηρόβατρος* in the *Periplus*<sup>3</sup> and *Κηρόβατρος* by Ptolemy.<sup>4</sup>

The two sections in which the Chōḍas, the Pāṇḍyas, and Tāmraparnī are referred to (II, A, and XIII, Q), mention, along with them, as Aśoka's borderers, the Yōna king **Antiyoka** and his four neighbours.<sup>5</sup> The next section of the rock-edict XIII (R) distinguishes from them some tribes 'here in the king's territory' (*īha rāja-vishaya*), viz. 'the Yōnas and Kambōjas, the Nābhakas and Nābhapaṅktis (*Nabhiti* at Shahbargarhī), the Bhōjas and Pitinikas (*Pitunika* at Kālsī), the Andhras and Pārindas.' The words 'here in the king's territory' distinctly keep the Yōnas of section R apart from the Yōna kings of section Q. Both here and in the rock-edict V, J, they are associated with the Kambōjas and Pitinikas, and in the second place all three of them are stated to have belonged to Aśoka's western borderers. Consequently, these Yōnas seem to have formed a small state on the north-west frontier, which was ruled over by a Greek prince,<sup>6</sup> and the Bhōjas, who are coupled with the Pitinikas in the rock-edict XIII, R, will have to be looked for in the west as well. Perhaps they have to be connected with those Bhōjas whose king (*Bhojadhūrāja*) is mentioned by Kalhana as a contemporary of Śankaravarman of Kāśmīr.<sup>7</sup> Andhra is the old name of the Telugu people on the eastern coast, and also the designation of an ancient dynasty which ruled over a considerable part of the Deccan after the decline of the Maurya empire.<sup>8</sup> Pliny, who borrowed his information from Megasthenes, mentions the *Andarac*, i.e. the Andhras, as a great and powerful race.<sup>9</sup> As the rock-edict XIII, R, couples the Andhras with the Pārindas, these too must have been an eastern tribe.<sup>10</sup> The Nābhakas and Nābhapaṅktis may have to be placed at the Nepalese frontier of Aśoka's empire.<sup>11</sup>

From the preceding list of geographical names we may derive some information about the scheme of Aśoka's administration. Three of the provinces of his empire were

<sup>1</sup> See Text, p. 3, n. 10.

<sup>2</sup> See Caldwell's *Comparative Grammar*, Introduction, p. 95 f.

<sup>3</sup> See Text, p. 3, n. 7.

<sup>4</sup> Ed. Fabricius (Leipzig, 1883), § 54 (p. 94).

<sup>5</sup> See Text, p. 3, n. 8, and cf. Buhler, ZDMG, 37, 99.

<sup>6</sup> See above, p. xxx f.

<sup>7</sup> Lassen (*Ind. Alt.*, 2 (sec. ed.) 256) identified them with the inhabitants of the tract of land to the west of the Indus which Seleucus is reported to have ceded to Aśoka's grandfather Chandragupta, see above, p. xxxiv.

<sup>8</sup> *Rājataranginī*, V, verse 151, cf. E.I., I, 155. Sir R. Bhandarkar (*Early History of the Deccan* sec. ed., p. 11) compares the title *Mahabhoja* in the cave-inscriptions. See also Buhler, ZDMG, 37, 100, and Senart, E.I., 7, 50.

<sup>9</sup> See Rapson's *Coins of the Andhra Dynasty*, &c., Introduction, p. xv ff.

<sup>10</sup> See IA, 6, 339.

<sup>11</sup> The variant at Kālsī, *Pālada*, might be the same as the Sanskrit *Pārada*, but the *Pārada* were probably a people in Gedrosia, see Lassen's *Ind. Alt.*, I (sec. ed.) 1028.

<sup>12</sup> According to Fa-hian, the mythical Buddha Kiakuchichhanda was believed to have been born at Na-pi-ka near Kapilavastu, see BRWW, I, xlviii. The *Brahmapurāṇa* (Aufrecht's Oxford Catalogue, p. 19 b) assigns Nābhikapura to the territory of the Uttara-Kurus, see Buhler, ZDMG, 40, 138.

entrusted to royal princes (*kumāra* or *āryaputra*), viz. Ujjayinī, Tōsalī, and Suvarṇagiri (above, p. xxxvii f.). The two *Kumāras* were probably sons of the king himself, and the *Āryaputra* perhaps some other relative of his. The rock-edict V, M, refers to the harems of his brothers, sisters, and other relatives, 'both in Pāṭalīputra and in all the outlying towns', showing thereby that the tradition according to which he had killed all his brothers but one before ascending the throne<sup>1</sup> is opposed to facts. His sons and 'other queens' sons' are mentioned also in the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, DD, and his queens in section CC of the same edict. From the Queen's edict on the Allahabad-Kōsam pillar we learn that his second queen had the name *Kaluvāki* and was the mother of *Tivala*.

Another provincial governor was perhaps the *Yavana* king *Tushāspa* who was governing Gīrnār in the time of the *Maurya Aśoka*.<sup>2</sup> Each provincial governor was assisted by a body of high officers named *Mahāmātras*,<sup>3</sup> or, as they seem to be called in one place, *Prādetika*.<sup>4</sup> Other *Mahāmātras* were placed in charge of the districts which were included in each province. Thus the *Mahāmātras* at *Isila* were subordinate to the prince and the *Mahāmātras* at *Suvarṇagiri*.<sup>5</sup> In two places<sup>6</sup> we hear of a council (*parishad*) of the *Mahāmātras* or 'ministers', which was responsible only to the king and received its orders directly from him. The Kauśāmbī edict was addressed to the *Mahāmātras* at *Kōsambī*, the Sārnāth edict perhaps to those at *Pāṭalīputra*, and the Queen's edict to 'the *Mahāmātras* everywhere', i.e. to those of all districts. The technical term *āhāla* (= *ahāra* in Sanskrit), 'a district', occurs in the Rūpnāth edict, L, and in the Sārnāth edict, I, where it is opposed to the 'territories surrounding forts' (*kōḷla-vishaya* in section J), i.e., apparently, tracts which were not yet fully pacified, but were held by military posts, such as the 'forests' (*atavi*) mentioned in the rock-edict XIII, M. The *Mahāmātras* at *Tōsalī* and *Samāpā* were exercising judicial functions in the city (*nagara-vyavahāraka* or *nagaraka*).<sup>7</sup> At the same time they had the control of the king's borderers who were yet unconquered,<sup>8</sup> i.e. they were what is called in the first pillar-edict (section F) *Anta-mahāmātras* or 'superintendents of the borderers'. A new class of *Mahāmātras* was created by Aśoka when he had been anointed thirteen years, viz. the *Dharma-mahāmātras* or 'superintendents of morality',<sup>9</sup> whom he employed for converting his subjects to his moral creed. Other special *Mahāmātras* had to supervise Buddhists, Brāhmanas and Ājivikas, Nirgranthas, and other sects.<sup>10</sup> Even the control of women was entrusted to separate officers (*stry-adhyaksha-mahāmātra*, rock-edict XII, M). In Buddhist literature the word *Mahāmātra* is frequently used in the sense of 'a minister'. In Aśoka's edicts it has evidently a wider meaning.<sup>11</sup>

Another class of high officers were the *Rājākas*<sup>12</sup> or *Lajākas*. They were 'placed

<sup>1</sup> *Mahāvamsa*, V, 19 f., 33; *Samantapāsādikā*, p. 299.

<sup>2</sup> See the Junāgarh rock-inscription of Rudradāman, EI, 8, 47.

<sup>3</sup> See the Dhauī separate edict II, A, and the Brahmagiri and Śiddhāpura rock-inscriptions, A.

<sup>4</sup> See Text, p. 5 and n. 3.

<sup>5</sup> See the Brahmagiri and Śiddhāpura edicts, section A.

<sup>6</sup> See the rock-edict III, E, and VI, F.

<sup>7</sup> See the first separate edict at Dhauī, A and Y, and at Jaugada, B and Z.

<sup>8</sup> See the second separate edict at Dhauī, F, and at Jaugada, G.

<sup>9</sup> See the rock-edict V, I, and XII, M, the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, P, Y, AA.

<sup>10</sup> See the same pillar-edict, Z.

<sup>11</sup> Thomas (JRAS, 1914, 387) suggests the translations 'official' or 'dignitary'.

<sup>12</sup> See the Gīrnār rock-edict III, C.

in charge of many hundred thousands of men', and 'either rewards or punishments were left to their discretion'.<sup>1</sup> Bühler has shown that the two dialectical forms *Rājuka* and *Lajuka* are derived from \**Rajjuka*, and that this is an abbreviation of *rajju-gahaka*, 'rope-holder', which occurs in the *Jataka*.<sup>2</sup> The *Rajjuka* originally 'held the rope' in order to measure the fields of the ryots and to assess the land-tax. Thus the word became the designation of a revenue settlement officer, just as in British India the chief administrative officer of a district is still called 'collector', because his special duty is the collection of the revenue.<sup>3</sup>

Along with the *Rājuka* and the *Prādśika*, the rock-edict III, C, mentions the *Yutas* or 'secretaries', who correspond to the *Yuktas* of the *Kautiliya*.<sup>4</sup> The last section (E) of the same edict suggests that they were employed for codifying royal orders in the office of the *Mahāmātras* or ministers.

The rock-edict XIII, S, refers to 'those to whom the envoys (*dāta*) of *Divānūm-priya* do not go'. It may be concluded from this that Aśoka maintained ambassadors not only in the frontier states enumerated in section R, but at the foreign courts named in section Q, viz. those of the five Greek kings, the Chōdas and Pāndyas, and the island of Ceylon. Similarly, Dionysius may have been the ambassador of Ptolemy II Philadelphus of Egypt at Aśoka's court.<sup>5</sup>

From Indian literature we know that at all times kings used to entertain spies (*chāra* or *gūḍha-purusha*).<sup>6</sup> It seems probable that these are meant by the word *Purusha* in the pillar-edicts I, IV, and VII, and I have followed V. A. Smith in translating it by 'agents'. These agents were graded into 'high ones, low ones, and those of middle rank' (I, E), were acquainted with the king's wishes, controlled the *Lajukas* (IV, G), and were 'placed in charge of many people' (VII, M). A similar class of officers, which was created by Aśoka himself, were the 'reporters' (*pratiśīdaka*), who were posted everywhere, as he says, 'in order to report to me the affairs of the people at any time, while I am eating, in the harem, in the inner apartment, even at the cowpen, in the palanquin, and in the parks'.<sup>7</sup> It is worth noting that this list does not include vehicles drawn by horses or bullocks, instead of which palanquins were employed in the time of Aśoka. Horses are mentioned only in the pillar-edict V, K. Section I of the same edict refers to the elephant park (*nāga-vaṇa*) of the king. As Bühler (ZDMG, 46. 78) remarked on the authority of Mēdhātīthi,<sup>8</sup> the taming and the sale of elephants used to be a royal monopoly. According to Megasthenes (IA, 6. 239),

<sup>1</sup> See the pillar-edict IV, C, and VII, N.

<sup>2</sup> See the pillar-edict IV, D and J.

<sup>3</sup> See ZDMG, 47. 466 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. *Collector*. Megasthenes (IA, 6. 238) speaks of high officers (*ἀρχοντες*) who 'superintend the rivers, measure the land, as is done in Egypt, and inspect the sluices by which water is let out from the main canals into their branches, so that every one may have an equal supply of it. The same persons have charge also of the huntsmen, and are entrusted with the power of rewarding or punishing them according to their deserts. They collect the taxes, and superintend the occupations connected with land, as those of the woodcutters, the carpenters, the blacksmiths, and the miners.'

<sup>5</sup> See Text, p. 5, n. 1.

<sup>6</sup> See above, p. xxxv.

<sup>7</sup> These are evidently the *ἐφόροι* or *ἐπισκοποί* of Megasthenes (IA, 6. 124). According to Arrian (id., p. 237) 'they spy out what goes on in country and town, and report everything to the king', and according to Strabo (loc. cit.) 'some are entrusted with the inspection of the city, and others with that of the army. The former employ as their coadjutors the courtesans of the city, and the latter the courtesans of the camp [cf. Māgha, V, 27]. The ablest and most trustworthy men are appointed to fill these offices.'

<sup>8</sup> See the Girnār rock-edict VI, D.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. SBE, 25. 323, note.



'a private person is not allowed to keep either a horse or an elephant. These animals are held to be the special property of the king, and persons are appointed to take care of them.' These officers are the *Aśvādhyaśka* and *Hastyadhyaśka* of the *Kautilya* (p. 132 ff.). The *Gōdhyaśka* of the same work (p. 128 ff.) probably corresponds to the *Vracha-bhūmikas* or 'inspectors of cowpens' in the rock-edict XII, M. The king's cowpens is referred to in the rock-edict VI, D.

At the end of the set of rock-edicts (XIV, E) Aśoka uses the word *lipikara*, 'a writer', the formation of which is taught by Pāṇini (III, 2, 21). The three Mysore edicts were drafted by one of this class, who wrote at the end of his signature the instrumental case *lipikarena* in Kharoṣṭhī characters,<sup>1</sup> showing thereby that he had been transferred from North-Western India.<sup>2</sup> The word *lipi*, 'a rescript or inscription', occurs six times in the rock-edicts. The commentary on the *Uṇādisūtras* (IV, 119) derives *lipi* from the root *lip*, 'to smear'. This is impossible because the two Kharoṣṭhī versions use instead of *lipi* the form *dipi*, which is found in the Achaemenian inscriptions.<sup>3</sup> Besides, the participles *likhita*, *lekhta*, *likhāpita* are replaced at Shāhībāzgarhī by *upista*, *nipista*, *nipesapita*,<sup>4</sup> which cannot be derived from the Sanskrit root *nish-pish*, 'to crush', but must be connected with the Ancient Persian *n-pish*, 'to write'.<sup>5</sup> The words *ayī dhrama-dipi upista*, 'this rescript on morality has been written', at Shāhībāzgarhī, V, O, and XIII, X, remind one most strongly of the cuneiform inscriptions. Thus Darius says at Behistan, column 4, section 15 — [tu]zam kū hya aparam imām dipim vainūky tyām adam niyapī[sham], 'O thou who shalt see this inscription in the future which I have written',<sup>6</sup> and Xerxes says at Van — yunay dipim nary nipištām akunaush pasāva adam niyasktāyām inūm dipim nipištānuy, 'where [Darius] did not cause an inscription to be written, afterwards I commanded to write this inscription'.<sup>7</sup> The conclusion is irresistible that neither *dipi* nor *nipista* are genuine Indian words, but that they have been taken over from the Ancient Persian language before Pāṇini's time, when the provinces of *Sindhu* and *Gandhāra* belonged to the Persian empire.<sup>8</sup> The Kharoṣṭhī alphabet<sup>9</sup> and the Persepolitan capital<sup>10</sup> came to India from the same source. The preamble of many of Aśoka's edicts, 'king *Divānāmpriya Priyadarśin* speaks thus', is evidently a reminiscence and modification of the Achaemenian formula: *bašy Dārayavausk (Xšayārshū, Artaxšadrā) aškūyabiya*, 'says Darius (Xerxes, Artaxerxes) the king'. Tushāspā, the name of the Yavana king who was Aśoka's governor of Gīrnār,<sup>11</sup> seems to be a Persian word like *Vištāspa*, *Keresāspa*, &c., and suggests that Aśoka enlisted Iranians in his service.

<sup>1</sup> Brahmagiri, I. 13, Siddāpura, I. 22, Jatinga-Rāmčhvara, I. 22.

<sup>2</sup> Bühler, I. I, §. 135.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Westergaard's *Zwei Abhandlungen*, p. 33 f.

<sup>4</sup> See JRAS, 1913, 654.

<sup>5</sup> See id., 1914, 97.

<sup>6</sup> See Tolman's *Ancient Persian Lexicon* (Nashville, 1908), p. 28 f.

<sup>7</sup> See id., p. 53 f.

<sup>8</sup> The provinces of Hindu and Gandara are mentioned in the inscriptions of Darius at Persepolis and Naqsh-e Rostam, and Herodotus (VII, 65 f.) names the *Tybol* and *Tavdāpion* among the tribes composing the army of Xerxes.

<sup>9</sup> See Bühler's *Ind. Pal.*, § 8.

<sup>10</sup> See the Indices to Fergusson's *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, revised by Burgess and Spiers, 2. 515, and to V. A. Smith's *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, p. 513.

<sup>11</sup> See above, p. xl and n. 2.

## CHAPTER IV. ASOKA'S CONVERSION

FROM Buddhist literature we learn that Aśoka became a convert to and patron of Buddhism. The Kāśmīr historian Kalhana also reports that Aśoka 'adopted the religion of Jina (i.e. Buddha)' and built many *Stūpas*<sup>1</sup>. According to the *Dīpavamsa* (VI, 55), he became a Buddhist lay-worshipper (*upāsaka*), and the accounts of the *Mahāvamsa* (V, 72) and of the *Samantapāsādikā* (p. 303) imply the same fact. His conversion took place three full years, i.e. in the fourth year, after his *abhiśhikā*<sup>2</sup>. He is believed to have built no less than 84,000 *Stūpas* in as many towns, besides the *Asokārāma* at Pāṭaliputra, and to have consecrated all these buildings after three years, i.e. in the seventh year of his reign.<sup>3</sup>

(Aśoka's inscriptions fully corroborate the tradition that he favoured Buddhism, and show that he was intimately acquainted with its tenets, legends, and literature. This will be clear from the subjoined references.)

(1) In the Calcutta-Barrat rock-inscription the king pays his respects to the *Samgha* or clergy, gives expression to his reverence to and faith in the Buddha, the *Dharma* or doctrine, and the *Samgha*, and recommends to monks and nuns, to laymen and to laywomen, the study of seven 'expositions of the *Dharma*' selected by himself. These seven texts have been actually traced in the Buddhist canon.<sup>4</sup>

(2) In the Kauśāmbī, Sāmechi, and Sārnath pillar-edicts he orders heretical monks and nuns to be expelled from the *Samgha*. This order of the king is known to the tradition of the Southern Buddhists.<sup>5</sup>

(3) The rock-edict VIII, C, states that when he had been anointed ten years, he paid a visit to *Sambhōdhi*, i.e. Bodhi-Gayā, the place where the Buddha had attained to perfect knowledge. According to the *Dīvyāvadāna* (p. 393), Aśoka visited *Bōdhi* in the company of the *Sthāvira* Upagupta and distributed there 100,000 (gold pieces).

(4) The same sum he is said to have spent at *Lumbini-vana*, the site of Buddha's birth (id., p. 389 f.). His visit to it is confirmed by the Rumundar pillar, which was erected by him when, having been anointed twenty years, he came himself to the village of *Lumbini* and worshipped the spot where the Buddha Śākyamuni was born.

(5) The Nigālī Sagar pillar records that when he had been anointed fourteen years, he enlarged the *Stūpa* of the (mythical) Buddha Kōṇākamana to the double (of its original size), and that when he had been anointed [twenty] years, he came himself and worshipped that spot.

(6) The Kalsi and Dhaulī rocks bear the figure of an elephant with the labels 'the best elephant' and 'the white (elephant)'.<sup>6</sup> On the Girnar rock the elephant has been destroyed, but the existing label implies that the missing figure represented the Buddha, who is believed to have entered his mother's womb in the shape of a white

<sup>1</sup> *Rājataranginī*, I, 102. According to I, 106, and VIII, 3391, Aśoka seems to have had the surname *Sāntāvāsada*.

<sup>2</sup> See *Dīpavamsa*, VI, 18, 24, *Mahāvamsa*, V, 34, *Samantapāsādikā*, p. 300.

<sup>3</sup> According to the *Mahāvamsa*, V, 209, in his sixth year, but see IA, 20, 233, n. 18.

<sup>4</sup> See Text, p. 174, n. 1.

<sup>5</sup> See Text, p. 160, n. 5.

<sup>6</sup> See Text, p. 50, n. 3, and p. 92, n. 1.

elephant;<sup>1</sup> cf. the *Nidānakathā* of the *Jātaka*, vol. 1, p. 50, and the representation of the 'descent of the Blessed one' on the Bharaut *Stūpa*.<sup>2</sup>

These six references raise a strong presumption in favour of the view that Aśoka had adopted the Buddhist religion in the course of his reign. Further undeniable evidence is supplied by the Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, Bairāt, Maski, and the three Mysore rock-inscriptions, which will have now to be considered at some length. These records, or proclamations (*śrāvāṇa*) as Aśoka calls them himself, were issued 'two and a half year, and somewhat more' after he had become a Buddhist (*Sākyā* at Rūpnāth, *Buddha-Sākyā* at Maski, section B) or a lay-worshipper (*upāsaka*, Sahasrām, &c.), and 'a year and somewhat more' after he had approached the *Samgha* (Rūpnāth, &c., section D). Section B confirms the statement of the *Dīpavamsa* that Aśoka became a Buddhist *upāsaka* (above, p. xliii). In section D the word 'approached' (*upēta*) is ambiguous. Bühler, who first edited these inscriptions, took it in the sense of 'entered', and, by adding thirty-two and a half years (which were derived from the misreading *adhittsāni* at Rūpnāth) and one further year to the traditional date of Aśoka's conversion (three years), he arrived at the conclusion that the Rūpnāth edict was issued shortly before his death (IA, 6 153). After Oldenberg had shown that *adhittsāni* was a misreading for *adhittiyāni*, 'two and a half', Bühler was obliged 'to give up the assumption that the statements of the inscription regarding the time of Aśoka's conversion to Buddhism agree with those of the Buddhist tradition' (EI, 3, 137). As Aśoka is known to have reigned thirty-seven years,<sup>3</sup> Fleet, who followed Bühler in assigning the Rūpnāth and cognate edicts to the last years of the king's life, assumed that he abdicated before the end of it in order to turn a Buddhist monk. But literary tradition knows nothing of such an abdication, unless we can find some reminiscence of it in the fact that 'the *Divyāvadāna* relates that Aśoka died destitute of power and possessions, having given everything that he could give to the Buddhist *Samgha*'.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, an ex-king could not have issued commands (*ānapajātī*, Brahmagiri edict, B) to his former officers. Besides, the Rūpnāth and Sahasrām edicts must be considered the earliest of all the Aśoka inscriptions for two reasons—(1) they speak of inscriptions on rocks and pillars as a task which it was intended to carry out, and not as a *fact accomplished*;<sup>5</sup> (2) they, and the three Mysore records, contain the first elements of Aśoka's *Dharma*, which we find more fully developed in his rock- and pillar-edicts. Bühler (EI, 3 141) believed that, as the Rūpnāth edict contrasts the words 'since I have approached the *Samgha*' with the words 'since I am a (Buddhist) lay-worshipper', the former cannot convey any other meaning but 'that he had entered the *Samgha*, and had become, at least nominally, a monk; compare the Sanskrit phrases *yajñam, vratam, or brahmacharyam upa-i*'. But the only other testimony for such a *pabbajjā* is that of the Chinese pilgrim I-tsing, who mentions an image of Aśoka dressed in the garb of a Buddhist monk,<sup>6</sup> and the expression *saṃgham upa-i* for the precise idea of 'entering into the monastic order' is, as Senart (IA, 20 163) reminds us, 'vague and not sanctioned by the ordinary terminology, necessarily fixed at an early date in such a matter; besides, this situation of a king, who, while preserving his royal prerogatives and his royal life, enters into a religious order, is far removed from the idea which we are accustomed to

<sup>1</sup> See Text, p. 27, n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Cunningham's *Stūpa of Bharhut*, plate 28, and IA, 21, 235, No. 98. *Bhagavato ākramānti* (read thus instead of *ākramānti* and see Bühler's *Ind. Pal.*, § 16, section C, No. 6).

<sup>3</sup> See Text, p. 167, n. 17.

<sup>4</sup> See *Dīpavamsa*, V, 101; *Mahāvamsa*, XX, 6.

<sup>5</sup> Fleet in JRAS, 1913 657.

<sup>6</sup> See Senart, IA, 20, 236.

<sup>7</sup> See Fleet, JRAS, 1908, 496.

form with regard to Buddhist monachism in the ancient period.' These considerations induce me to accept the view of Senart, who takes the word *upēta* in the sense of 'visited' and finds in it a reference to a state visit paid by the king to the *Samgha*.<sup>1</sup> Aśoka's first visit to the *Samgha* is placed by the *Dīpavamsa* (VI, 78), *Mahāvamsa* (V, 76), and *Samanapāsādikā* (p. 303) in the very year of his conversion to Buddhism. Senart compares the visit recorded in the Rūpnāth and connected edicts with the festival of the consecration of Aśoka's 84,000 *Stūpas*, which is alleged to have been celebrated three years later, and at which the king is stated to have 'stood in the midst of the *Samgha*'.<sup>2</sup>

As stated above (p. xlv), the Rūpnāth edict informs us that, when issuing it, (1) Aśoka had been a Buddhist for more than two and a half years (section B), and (2) more than a year had passed after his visit to the *Samgha* (section D). The word *sumi*, 'I am', in section B of the Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, and Maski edicts proves that the two and a half years of Aśoka's *upāsakatva* did not preclude the single year which followed his visit to the *Samgha*, but included the second period.<sup>3</sup> Instead of section C of the Rūpnāth and Sahasrām edicts, the Brahmagiri and Śiddhāpura edicts read 'but indeed I had not been very zealous for one year'. This more precise statement implies that the period of somewhat more than two and a half years has to be subdivided into one year with, no doubt, a little more, followed by one year with the balance of the whole period. During this second year, Aśoka, having visited the *Samgha*, showed himself very zealous.<sup>4</sup> In section E of the Sahasrām edict he states that, in consequence of his zeal, 'men in Jambudvīpa (i.e. in India), being during that (i.e. in the preceding) time unmixed with the gods, have (now) been made (by me) mingled with the gods'. This passage has been much discussed and interpreted in various ways. I have suggested that the 'gods' (*deva*) may be compared with the 'divine figures' (*divyāni rūpāni*) of the rock-edict IV, B, where the king claims to have exhibited 'representations of aerial chariots, representations of elephants, masses of fire, and other divine figures', evidently in order to induce his subjects to lead moral lives and thereby to qualify for heaven.<sup>5</sup> The 'festive meetings' (*saṃāja*) which were approved of by him in the rock-edict I, E, are probably identical with those religious shows instituted by him.

I now pass to the knottiest problem of all those which the Rūpnāth and cognate edicts propound to posterity, viz. the meaning and application of the word *vivāsa* at the end of the Rūpnāth edict. This substantive may be expected to be derived from the same root as, and to be connected in meaning with, the verb *vivaseti* in a preceding section (L). The same verb occurs as *vivūsayati* in section I of the Sarnath edict. As I have shown elsewhere,<sup>6</sup> this section adds nothing new to the king's order, but contains further provisions for ensuring a still wider circulation to it, and we have to translate *vivūsayati* at Sarnath and, along with it, *vivaseti* at Rūpnāth by 'causing to leave home, causing to start on tour, despatching (messengers)'.<sup>7</sup> Consequently the substantive *vivāsa* seems to mean 'staying away from home, remaining on tour'. A comparison of the wording of section M at Rūpnāth with section J at Sahasrām yields the result that the edict was

<sup>1</sup> See IA, 20, 234, and cf. JA (11), 7, 435 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Dīpavamsa*, VII, 3, *Mahāvamsa*, V, 185, *Samanapāsādikā*, p. 304.

<sup>3</sup> This point was first recognised by Senart in 1892, see JA (8), 19, 481, and cf. my remark in JRAS, 1910, 144 f., and Senart in JA (11), 7, 436.

<sup>4</sup> See Rūpnāth, D, Maski, C, Brahmagiri and Śiddhāpura, E.

<sup>5</sup> See JRAS, 1913, 652 f.

<sup>6</sup> See Text, p. 163, n. 10, and JRAS, 1912, 105; ff.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Thomas, JA (10), 15, 518.

issued by a person on tour, who can be no other but Aśoka himself,<sup>1</sup> when he had spent 256 nights<sup>2</sup> on tour. It follows that Aśoka had started on tour a few months after visiting the *Samgha*, which he had done more than a year before issuing the Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, Bairāt, Maski, and the three Mysore edicts.

The Rūpnāth and cognate edicts do not specify the years of Aśoka's reign in which his conversion and his visit to the *Samgha* took place, but they furnish a few details which enable us to fix their time with great probability, viz.:

- (a) Aśoka became a Buddhist *upāsaka*.
- (b) He visited the *Samgha* one year after (a)
- (c) He started on tour.
- (d) He issued the Rūpnāth edict, &c., more than two and a half years after (a), more than one year after (b), and 256 nights after (c).

On p. xxvi I gave a conspectus of the regnal dates which Aśoka's inscriptions contain. Of these I here repeat the following ones in tabular form:

No. 1	Rock-edict XIII	8 years after the <i>abhiśhēka</i>	Conquest of Kālīṅga.
	"	VIII	Visit to Sambōdhi.
	Pillar-edict VI		Publication of rescripts on morality
	Rock-edict IV		Institution of public shows of edifying subjects.

On p. xlv I gave two pieces of evidence to show that (d) the Rūpnāth and cognate edicts must be considered the earliest of all. No. 3 places them twelve years after Aśoka's *abhiśhēka*, i.e. in the thirteenth year of his reign.<sup>3</sup> If we suppose that they belong to the second half of the thirteenth year, we may combine No. 2 with (a) and assume that Aśoka's visit to Sambōdhi in the eleventh year of his reign was connected with his conversion to Buddhism. In this case (b) would fall in his twelfth year and (c) about the end of the same year. No. 1 explains the conversion by mentioning the circumstances which occasioned it. The king confesses that the Kālīṅga war was the turning-point in his religious career, and that his grief at the enormous loss of human life made him repent of his conquest and aspire henceforth to the 'conquest by morality'.<sup>4</sup> Herewith we may compare the *Mahāvamsa*, V, 189:

'Before, he had been known as Chandāśoka (i.e. the fierce Aśoka) on account of his evil deeds, afterwards he became known as Dharmaśoka (i.e. the pious Aśoka) on account of his virtuous deeds'.<sup>5</sup>

The *Mahāvamsa* places this change of name and character in the seventh year of Aśoka's reign and his conversion already in the fourth year (above, p. xliii). These dates cannot be reconciled with the epigraphical ones and must be erroneous.<sup>6</sup> But the fact that the Buddhist chronicles agree with the inscriptions in recording a change in Aśoka's policy and principles of government about the time of his conversion proves that their accounts are not purely imaginary, but are based on contemporaneous tradition.

<sup>1</sup> See Text, p. 169, n. 8.

<sup>2</sup> The discovery of the word *lātr*, 'a night', which had escaped the attention of scholars for thirty three years, is due to Thomas, see JA (10), 15, 520.

<sup>3</sup> This view is confirmed by section F. of the Rūpnāth edict, which alludes to the same shows as No. 4.

<sup>4</sup> See the rock-edict XIII, P and U.

<sup>5</sup> The same statement is made in the *Dvayāvadāna*, p. 382.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Senart's remarks, IA, 20, 235.

At the same time they furnish in this manner another piece of evidence in favour of the correctness of Prinsep's identification of Aśoka with the *Dīvānampriya* who issued the edicts published in this volume.

A few words have to be added concerning the 256 nights which the king had spent on tour when he published his first religious proclamations. Aśoka's tours are referred to and their object specified in the rock-edict VIII, in which he states that, after he had gone to Sambōdhi (i.e. after his conversion to Buddhism), he commenced to undertake 'tours of morality' (*dharma-yātrā*) for 'visiting Brahmanas and Śramanas and making gifts (to them), visiting the aged and supporting (them) with gold, visiting the people of the country, instructing (them) in morality, and questioning (them) about morality'. This edict was probably not issued before the rock-edict V which records the appointment of *Dharma-mahāmātrav* thirteen years after the *abhisheka*. As the tour during which Aśoka issued the Rūpnāth edict had been undertaken in his twelfth year when he commenced to be 'very zealous', it may be concluded that it was his first *dharma-yātrā*. When he issued his proclamation in the second half of his thirteenth year, he had been in camp 256 nights. The special reason which induced him to acquaint us with this figure is not apparent. Fleet has shown that it does not mark any division or total of subdivisions of the year, either lunar or solar;<sup>1</sup> but, as I believe I have shown that the Rūpnāth and other records are not the last, but the earliest of the edicts, I am unable to accept his ingenious suggestion that the 256 nights had been spent in worship because they corresponded to an equal number of years which had then elapsed since Buddha's Nirvāṇa.<sup>2</sup>

It must still be noted that the Calcutta-Bauāt rock-inscription or 'letter to the *Samgha*' seems to be earlier than all the other rock- and pillar-edicts. The references to a few Buddhist tracts in this inscription suggest that after his visit to the *Samgha*, and before starting on tour, he was engaged in studying the sacred literature. This would place the inscription in the twelfth year of his reign.

The Kauśāmbī, Sānchi, and Sarnāth edicts cannot be earlier than the six first pillar-edicts, because the first of them is engraved on the Allahabad-Kōsam pillar in a position which shows it to have been a subsequent addition.<sup>3</sup>

## CHAPTER V. ASOKA'S DHARMA

In the last chapter I trust to have proved that Aśoka had already embraced Buddhism when he commenced to issue 'proclamations on morality' (*dharma-sūtramā*) or 'rescripts on morality' (*dharma-lipi*) in order to convert his subjects. He tells us himself (pillar-edict VII, J-L):

'The following occurred to me: I shall issue proclamations on morality (and) shall order instruction in morality (to be given). Hearing this, men will conform to (it), will be elevated, and will (be made to) progress considerably by the promotion of morality.'

The date of this propaganda is given in the pillar-edict VI, B

'(When I had been) anointed twelve years, rescripts on morality were caused to be written by me for the welfare and happiness of the people, (in order that), not

<sup>1</sup> JRAS, 1911, 1097.

<sup>2</sup> *id.*, 1910, 1307 f.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. xlix

transgressing those (rescripts), they might attain a promotion of morality in various respects.'

As shown above (p. xlv), Aśoka's first proclamations (*śrāvaṇa*)<sup>1</sup> were the Rūpnāth and cognate edicts. When issuing them, he ordered that his views should be made public by inscribing them on rocks and pillars.<sup>2</sup> In the same year he directed his officers to carry on the propaganda on their quinquennial circuit (rock-edict III, C):

'Everywhere in my dominions the *Yuktas*, the *Rājūka*, and the *Prādētika* shall set out on a complete tour (throughout their charges) every five years for this very purpose, (viz.) for the following instruction in morality as well as for other business.'

In the next year of his reign he created special '*Mahāmātras* of morality' (*Dharma-mahāmātra*, rock-edict V, I), whom I have mentioned before (p. xl). A fresh set of six edicts was engraved on pillars twenty-six years after the *abhishika*, and the seventh pillar-edict at Delhi-Tōprā was added in the next year.

European analogies might lead us to expect that Aśoka's conversion to Buddhism would have induced him to persecute the votaries of other religions. In reality the Hindus have been at all times extremely tolerant to other creeds, and have allowed everybody to try to attain salvation in his own fashion. Among the six orthodox schools of philosophy they count the pantheistic Vedānta and the atheistic Sāṃkhya, and epigraphical and literary records show that Hindu kings considered it their duty to build temples and to make grants to other gods and denominations than their own. The same tolerance was practised by Aśoka. As a pious Hindu he acknowledged the 'debt' (*ṛṇa*) which every king owes to his subjects in return for the revenue (*śadbhāga*) levied from them, and which consists in affording them protection (*pālana*).

'Whatever effort I am making, (is made) in order that I may discharge the debt (which I owe) to living beings, (that) I may make them happy in this (world), and (that) they may attain heaven in the other (world)'

In the same spirit he says:

'All men are my children. As on behalf of (my own) children I desire that they may be provided by me with complete welfare and happiness in this world and in the other world, even so is my desire on behalf of all men.'

This principle is further specified in the pillar-edict VI, C-E:

'(Thinking) "thus the welfare and happiness of the people (will be secured)", I am directing my attention not only to (my) relatives, but to those who are near and far, in order that I may lead them to happiness, and I am instructing (them) accordingly. In the same manner I am directing my attention to all classes. And all the sects have been honoured by me with honours of various kinds.'

<sup>1</sup> Rūpnāth, H, M, Sahasrām, II, J, Brahmagiri and Śiddhāpura, I, K.

<sup>2</sup> Rūpnāth, J, K, Sahasrām, L, M, Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, P.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. also the Dhauḷi separate edict I, Z—CC

<sup>4</sup> See the rock-edict VI, L, and of the second separate edict at Dhauḷi, H, and at Jaugada, I. On the other hand, the king reminds the *Mahāmātras* that they owe him the debt of obedience in return for the salary received from him, see id, L and M, respectively, and the first separate edict, Q and R, U and V, respectively.

<sup>5</sup> See the first separate edict at Jaugada, F, G, and the second, E, F.

Accordingly he directed his *Dharma-mahāmātrās* to busy themselves with Brāhmaṇas and Ibhyas (i.e. Vaiśyas, rock-edict V, K), and with ascetics and householders (pillar-edict VII, Y), placed special officers in charge of the Buddhist clergy, of the Ājivikas,<sup>1</sup> Nirgranthas (i.e. Jains), and other sects (id., Z), and permitted all sects to reside in any place they liked (rock-edict VII, A). In the very remarkable rock edict XII, which does him the greatest credit, he gives expression to his impartial consideration for all sects<sup>2</sup> and entreats them in their own interest to respect each other

'For whosoever praises his own sect or blames other sects,—all (this) out of devotion to his own sect, (i.e.) with the view of glorifying his own sect,—if he is acting thus, he rather injures his own sect very severely' (section H)

Hence the king recommends to all sects concord (*samavāya*, section I) and the guarding of speech (*vachō-gupti*, section D).

There is nothing specifically Buddhistic in those benefactions to which the second rock-edict refers. Aśoka arranged for medical treatment of men and cattle not only in his own dominions, but among his borderers, and caused medicinal herbs, roots, and fruits to be cultivated. Along the roads he had trees planted and wells dug for the benefit of cattle and men.<sup>3</sup> The Delhi-Tōpra pillar-edict VII, which was issued twenty-seven years after the *abhishēka*, states that he planted banyan-trees and mango-groves along the roads, that at intervals of eight *kōs* he had wells dug and flights of steps (for descending into the water) built, and that he established numerous places for the supply of drinking-water to cattle and men (sections R-T). When twenty-six years had elapsed after his *abhishēka*, he had ordered the release of prisoners twenty-five times (pillar-edict V, L). This suggests that he used to proclaim an amnesty to criminals at almost every anniversary of his coronation. The fourth pillar-edict records that the king left rewards and punishments to the discretion of his *Lajukas*, in order to ensure impartiality in judicial proceedings, and that he granted three days' respite to prisoners on whom the sentence of capital punishment had been passed. The fifth rock-edict (L) and the first separate edict (Dhaulī, J, K, Y, Jaugada, K, L, Z) also testify to his regard for innocent prisoners.

All these measures were certainly prompted by his care for his subjects, but they do not characterize him as a Buddhist reformer. If we turn to an examination of what he tells us about the nature of his *Dharma*, it appears that the latter is in thorough agreement with the picture of Buddhist morality which is preserved in the beautiful anthology entitled *Dhammapadam*, i.e. 'words of morality'. Here we find Buddhism *in statu nascendi*. 'From the definitions or descriptions which the king gives us, it follows that to him *Dharma* ordinarily implies what we call the sum of moral duties'. 'The ideas and the language which are brought to light, from a religious point of view, in our inscriptions, cannot be considered as an isolated expression of individual convictions or conceptions'. The *Dhammapadam* 'lays before us an equivalent sufficiently exact to allow

<sup>1</sup> The Barābar Hill inscriptions record a grant of caves to the Ājivikas, but it is not absolutely certain whether the donor was identical with Aśoka.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. also the pillar-edict VI, I., and VII, Y.

<sup>3</sup> Megasthenes speaks of officers who 'construct roads, and at every ten *stadia* set up a pillar to show the by-roads and distances' (II, 6, 238), and of the 'royal road' (*ἡδὴ βασιλική* = *rāja paṭha* in Sanskrit) leading from the western frontier to the capital Pataliputra, which 'has been measured by *stadias* (1 *σχοῖρος* = 40 *stadia*), and is in length 10,000 *stadia*' (id. p. 126).

<sup>4</sup> Senart, IA, 20. 260.



us to consider that they correspond to a certain state of Buddhism, earlier than that which has found expression in the majority of the books which have come down to us.<sup>1</sup>

The word *Dharma* is first mentioned in the Maski edict (section E). It is defined thus in the second portion of the Brahmagiri record (sections M-Q):

'Moreover, *Dvānāhpriya* speaks thus: Obedience must be rendered to mother and father, likewise to elders, firmness (of compassion) must be shown towards animals; the truth must be spoken: these same moral virtues (*dharma-guṇa*) must be practised. In the same way the pupil must show reverence to the master, and one must behave in a suitable manner towards relatives. This is an ancient rule, and this conduces to long life. Thus one must act.'

The rock-edicts repeat or amplify the same injunctions:

'Meritorious is obedience to mother and father. Liberality to friends, acquaintances, and relatives, to Brāhmanas and Śramanas (i.e. Buddhist monks) is meritorious. Abstention from killing animals is meritorious. Moderation in expenditure (and) moderation in possessions are meritorious' (III, D).

'Abstention from killing animals, abstention from hurting living beings, courtesy to relatives, courtesy to Brāhmanas and Śramanas, obedience to mother (and) father, (and) obedience to the aged' (IV, C).

'Proper courtesy to slaves and servants, reverence to elders, gentleness to animals, (and) liberality to Brāhmanas and Śramanas' (IX, G).

'Proper courtesy to slaves and servants, obedience to mother (and) father, liberality to friends, acquaintances, and relatives, to Brāhmanas and Śramanas, (and) abstention from killing animals' (XI, C).

'Obedience to those who receive high pay, obedience to mother and father, obedience to elders, proper courtesy to friends, acquaintances, companions, and relatives, to slaves and servants, (and) firm devotion' (XIII, G).

Finally, the pillar-edict VII, section IIIH, speaks of a progress 'in obedience to mother and father, in obedience to elders, in courtesy to the aged, in courtesy to Brāhmanas and Śramanas, to the poor and distressed, (and) even to slaves and servants'.

A noteworthy point in the above extracts is the equal respect which the king paid to Brahmanas and Śramanas.<sup>2</sup> As Senart (IA, 20. 263) has shown, the *Dhammapada*, though a professedly Buddhist work, does exactly the same. There are, however, two edicts in which Aśoka denounces Brāhmanical usage. In the ninth rock-edict he condemns 'many and various vulgar ("offensive" at Shāhbāzgarhi) and useless ceremonies' which women are practising 'during illness, at the marriage of a son or a daughter, at the birth of a son, and when setting out on a journey', and recommends in their stead the practice of morality.<sup>3</sup> Secondly, in the first rock-edict, section B, he directly prohibits the killing of animals at sacrifices. At the end of the same edict, however, he naively confesses that he had not yet been able to carry out fully the 'abstention from killing animals' which formed part of his moral code, and that three animals were still being killed daily in his kitchen, but he promises that even this

<sup>1</sup> Senart, IA, 20. 26

<sup>2</sup> Megasthenes mentions the *Βραχμῆναι* and *Σαρμῆναι* as two kinds of φιλόσοφοι, see IA, 6. 243.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the *Mangala-sutta* (*Khuddaka-pāṭha*, V, JRAS, 1870. 312 ff) or *Mahāmangala-sutta* (*Suttanipāṭa*, II, 4), in which the Buddha himself declares what he considers 'the highest mangala'.

slaughter would be discontinued in future. Along with animal sacrifices he prohibited festive meetings (*samāja*, sections C, D), perhaps because some of them, like the Spanish bull-fights, consisted of contests of animals,<sup>1</sup> and substituted another kind of festive meetings (section E), viz. the edifying shows alluded to in the fourth rock-edict and in the Rūpnāth and cognate edicts (above, p. xlv).

Among Aśoka's 'good deeds' the second pillar-edict (E) gives prominence to various benefits conferred on animals. This statement is explained by the fifth pillar-edict, which contains a detailed list of animals that were declared inviolable either permanently or on certain days, among them the well-known fast-days (*uposatha*).<sup>2</sup> From the Delhi-Toprā pillar-edict VII it appears that this limitation of the general principle of *ahimsā* was a concession which Aśoka, though a convinced Buddhist, was obliged to make to the majority of his subjects.

'Now this progress of morality among men has been promoted (by me) only in two ways, (viz) by moral restrictions and by instruction.' But among these (two), those moral restrictions are of little consequence, by instruction, however, (morality is promoted) more considerably. Now moral restrictions indeed are these, that I have ordered this, (that) certain animals are inviolable . . . . By instruction, however, the progress of morality among men has been promoted more considerably, (because it leads) to abstention from hurting living beings, (and) to abstention from killing animals' (sections JJ-NN).

One of the items in the lists of virtues which constituted Aśoka's *Dharma* was liberality or charity (*dāna*). He not only practised it on his 'tours of morality' (above, p. xlvii), but organized the distribution of his own gifts and of those of his relatives through his officers, see the Delhi-Toprā pillar-edict VII, sections CC, DD.

'Both these and many other chief (officers) are occupied with the delivery of the gifts of myself as well as of the queens, and among my whole harem [they are reporting] in divers ways different worthy recipients of charity both here and in the provinces. And others were ordered by me to busy themselves also with the delivery of the gifts of (my) sons and of other queens' sons, in order (to promote) noble deeds of morality (and) the practice of morality.'

According to the next section (EE) 'noble deeds of morality and the practice of morality (consist in) this, that (morality), viz. compassion, liberality, truthfulness, purity, gentleness, and goodness, will thus be promoted among men'; while the pillar-edict II (B, C) says:—'What does morality include? (It includes) few sins, many virtuous deeds, compassion, liberality, truthfulness, (and) purity'. These two lists remind us of verse 224 of the *Dhammapada*, where it is stated that the practice of truthfulness, absence of anger, and charity leads to the gods.

Saccham bhane na kujjheyya dajjā appasmi yāchito  
cetihi tiri phānehi gacchhe devāna santike ||

With the words 'few sins, many virtuous deeds' in the pillar-edict II, C, Senart (IA, 20. 262) compares verse 183 of the *Dhammapada*—

Sabbapāpass' akaranam kusala'ss' upasampada  
sacchittaparyodapanam etam Buddhana sāsanaṃ ||

<sup>1</sup> See Thomas, JRAS, 1914 392 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Kern's *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 99 f., and *Pinaya Texts*, part 1 (SBE, 13), p. 1. The Buddhist fast-days are mentioned also in the Sārnāth pillar-edict, H.

<sup>3</sup> This, and not 'conversion', seems to be the actual meaning of *nyāta*. Cf. *Suttanipata*, II, 8, verses 5 and 7.

In the fourth rock-edict Aśoka remarks that 'the practice of morality is not (possible) for (a person) devoid of good conduct' (*astilasya*, section H), and exhorts his descendants to be 'abiding by morality (and) by good conduct' (*dharmā sīle tishṭhantaḥ*, F). In the *Dhammapada* we read in verse 217 :

Sila-dassana-sampannaṃ dhammaṭṭhaṃ sachchavādinam ।

and in verse 84 :

sa silavā paññavā dhammiko siyā ॥

Aśoka's remark. *sukarāṃ hi pāpāṃ*, 'for sin is easily committed' (Girnār edict V, G), reminds us of *sukarāṇi avādhāni* in verse 163 of the *Dhammapada*, and the words 'dupaṭivekhe chu kko esā', 'now this (evil deed of mine) is indeed difficult to recognise' (pillar-edict III, D), of verse 252 :

Sudassam vajjam aññesaṃ attano pana duddasaṃ ।

and of verse 50 :

Na paresaṃ vilomāni na paresaṃ katākataṃ ।  
attano va avekkheyya katāni akatāni cha ॥

The lists of evil passions (*āsava-gāmīni*, pillar-edict III, F) and dispositions (*jāṭanī*)<sup>1</sup> do not tally with the *āsava*s and *kilesa*s of the Buddhists.<sup>2</sup> To counteract these dispositions, Aśoka recommends 'the absence of anger and the avoidance of hurry'<sup>3</sup> and continues :

'Whoever is fatigued in the administration (of justice), will [not] move and rise ; but one ought to move, to walk, and to advance in the administration (of justice)' (Jaugada, Q).

This maxim reminds one of verse 168 of the *Dhammapada* :

Uttitthe nappamajjeyya dhammam sucharitaṃ chare ।

Already Aśoka's earliest proclamations have zeal (*parākrama* or *prākrama*) for their subject.<sup>4</sup> He returns to it in the sixth rock-edict, which dwells on the necessity of exertion (*utthāna*, sections H, J) or zeal (*parākrama*, N) in conducting public business. Similarly, the *Dhammapada* recommends *utthāna* (verses 24, 25, 280), *parakkama* (verses 23, 383), and *appamāda* (verses 21-32). In two of his sermons on 'zeal' Aśoka appeals to all his subjects, not only to those in high positions, but to those in humble life as well ; see the Rūpnāth edict, sections G, H :

'And this cannot be reached by (persons of) high rank (alone), (but) even a lowly (person) is able to attain even the great heaven if he is zealous. And for the following purpose has (this) proclamation been issued, (that) both the lowly and the exalted may be zealous.'

Compare with this the rock-edict X, sections E, F :

'But it is indeed difficult either for a lowly person or for a high one to accomplish this without great zeal (and without) laying aside every (other aim). But among these (two) it is indeed (more) difficult to accomplish for a high (person).'

<sup>1</sup> See the first separate edict at Dhauḷi, M, and at Jaugada, N.

<sup>2</sup> See Childers' *Pāli Dictionary*.

<sup>3</sup> See the first separate edict at Dhauḷi, O, and at Jaugada, P.

<sup>4</sup> Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, and Bairāt, F-H, Brahmagiri and Śiddāpura, G-I.

A similar sentiment occurs in the seventh rock-edict, section E :

'But even one who (practises) great liberality, (but) does not possess self-control, purity of mind, gratitude, and firm devotion, is very mean.'

The eleventh rock-edict (B) and the ninth (J) state that 'there is no such gift as the gift of morality' (*dharma-dāna*). Senart (IA, 20. 62) compares verse 354 of the *Dhammapada* :

Sabbadānaṃ dhammadānaṃ jināti.

Spiritual insight (*chakkhu*), which Aśoka claims to have spread in many ways,<sup>1</sup> is alluded to in the *Dhammapada*, verse 273 :

virago seṭṭho dhammānaṃ dipadānaṃ cha chakkhumā ||

According to the thirteenth rock-edict (L) '*Devānāmpriya* thinks that even (to one) who should wrong (him), what can be forgiven is to be forgiven.'

This remark reminds us of the noble verse 223 of the *Dhammapada* :

Akkodhena jine kodham asādhun sādhunā jine  
jine kadāryaṃ dānena sacchenālikavadinā ||

The thirteenth rock-edict (sections M-O) continues thus :

'And even (the inhabitants of) the forests which are (included) in the dominions of *Devānāmpriya*, even those he pacifies (and) instructs.<sup>2</sup> And they are told of the power (to punish them) which *Devānāmpriya* (possesses) in spite of (his) repentance, in order that they may be ashamed (of their crimes) and may not be killed. For *Devānāmpriya* desires towards all beings abstention from hurting, self-control, (and) impartiality in (case of) violence.'

This is the 'conquest by morality' (*dharma-vijaya*) which Aśoka substitutes for the conquest by arms, and which he claims to have won even among his neighbours (sections P-U). He requests his descendants that they 'should not think that a fresh conquest ought to be made, (that) if a conquest does please them they should take pleasure in mercy and light punishments, and (that) they should regard the conquest by morality as the only (true) conquest' (section X).

In one important point Aśoka's inscriptions differ from, and reflect an earlier stage in the development of Buddhist theology or metaphysics than, the *Dhammapada* they do not yet know anything of the doctrine of *Nirvāṇa*, but presuppose the general Hindu belief that the rewards of the practice of *Dharma* are happiness in this world and merit in the other world. See the rock-edict IX, M, N (Kālsī), X, C, XI, E, XIII, W, Y, AA; the Dhauī separate edict I, F; II, E, G, K, the pillar-edict I, C III, H; IV, E, M, N; VII, PP. Cf. the *Dhammapada*, verse 219 f. :

Chirappavāsīṃ purisaṃ dūrato sotthim āgataṃ  
ñātimittā suhajā cha abhinandanti āgataṃ ||  
Tath' eva katapuññaṃ pi asmā lokā param gataṃ  
puññaṇi patiganhanti piyaṃ ñāṭva āgataṃ ||

<sup>1</sup> See the pillar-edict II, D.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the Dhauī separate edict II, G.

<sup>3</sup> The same verse occurs both in the *Jātaka* and in the *Mahābhārata*, see Rhys Davids *Buddhist Birth Stories*, p. xxvii, and Franke, VOJ, 20 320 ff.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. li, n. 3.

Instead of 'merit in the other world' Aśoka often uses the term 'heaven' (*svarga*). See Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, and Bairāt, G; Brahmagiri and Śiddāpura, H; the rock-edict VI, L; IX, K, L (Girnār); the Dhauḷi separate edict I, S, U; II, L. The *Dhammapada* (verse 126), however, distinguishes *Nirvāṇa* from *Svarga*:

\*                    saggaṃ sugatino yanti parinibbantaṃ anāsavaṃ |  
\*                    \*                    \*                    \*                    \*

At the end of this survey of the contents of Aśoka's inscriptions we have still to consider the fourteenth rock-edict, in which the author of the preceding edicts states that he caused them to be written 'either in an abridged (form), or of middle (size), or at full length'. For the whole was not suitable everywhere'. The words 'at full length' must apply to the complete sets of fourteen edicts at Girnār, Kālsī, Shāhbāzgarhi, and Mānsehra. These four versions are practically identical, with the exception of the end of edict IX, where the three last of them (Kālsī, &c.) differ, for reasons which are not apparent, from Girnār, Dhauḷi, and Jaugada'. The words 'in an abridged (form)' may refer to the Rūpnāth and cognate edicts, and the words 'of middle (size)' to Dhauḷi and Jaugada, where two separate edicts were substituted for the rock-edicts XI-XIII. These, or at least the third of them, were 'not suitable' here because Dhauḷi and Jaugada formed part of the newly conquered country of Kāliṅga and required different treatment and special orders to the administrative officers. It can be shown that the two separate edicts at Dhauḷi and Jaugada were contemporaneous with the thirteenth rock-edict of the other versions: The words 'that *Devānāmpriya* will forgive them (viz. his unconquered borderers) what can be forgiven, that they may (be induced) by me (to) practise morality, (and) that they may attain (happiness in) this world and (in) the other world' in section G of the Dhauḷi separate edict II correspond to sections L and M of the thirteenth rock-edict at Shāhbāzgarhi.

'And *Devānāmpriya* thinks that even (to one) who should wrong (him), what can be forgiven is to be forgiven. And even (the inhabitants of) the forests which are (included) in the dominions of *Devānāmpriya*, even those he pacifies (and) instructs.'

Another point of contact exists between the first separate edict and the third rock-edict, which Aśoka issued twelve years after his *abhishikā*, and in which he ordered the officers of all districts of his empire to undertake quinquennial tours for inspection and propaganda purposes. The first separate edict at Dhauḷi must have been drafted in the same year because in its sections Z and CC the king speaks of the quinquennial circuit of the *Mahāmāratras* as a measure which he was about to introduce. At the same time triennial tours were instituted in the provinces of Ujjayini and Takshaśilā; see sections AA, BB of the same edict.

I now add a classified list of all the Aśoka inscriptions.

## I. Buddhist Inscriptions

- (1) Calcutta-Bairāt rock-inscription.
- (2) Rumminder and Nigāli Sāgar pillars.
- (3) Kauśāmbi, Samchi, and Sarnāth pillar-edicts.

## II. Proclamations or 'rescripts on morality'.

- (1) Early edicts.
  - (a) Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, Bairāt, and Maski.
  - (b) Brahmagiri, Śiddāpura, and Jatinga-Rāmeśvara.

<sup>1</sup> See Text, p. 39, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. liii and n. 4.

## ASOKA'S DHARMA

### (2) Rock-edicts.

- (a) Edicts I-XIV at Girnār, Kālsī, Shāhbāzgarhi, and Mānschrā.
- (b) Edicts I-X, XIV, and two separate edicts at Dhāuli and Jaugadā.

### (3) Pillar-edicts.

- (a) Edicts I-VI at Delhi-Mirath, &c.
- (b) Edicts I-VII at Delhi-Tōpra.

## III. Donative inscriptions.

- (1) Barābar Hill cave-inscriptions.
- (2) Queen's pillar-edict.

## CHAPTER VI.

## GRAMMAR OF THE GIRNAR ROCK-EDICTS

## A.—PHONETICS

## I. VOWELS.

The vowel *a* is replaced by *u* in *osudha* (=Skt. *auskadha*, II, 5). This change is due to the influence of the *o* in the preceding syllable; cf. *udupāna*=Skt. *udapāna* in the Māgadhā dialect.<sup>1</sup>

The *e* of *eta* (= \**stra*?) seems to be developed from an original *i*, see Johansson, *Shākh*, § 21.

As in Pāli, Skt. *u* is represented by *a* in *garu* (XIII, 6), while the form *guru* occurs three times. The *a* may have been introduced from the comparative *garīyas* and the superlative *garīṣṭha*; see Michelson, IF, 23, 260, n. 1. In *kho* (=Skt. *khalu*) the *a* is lost by syncope, the *i* is assimilated to the preceding *lḥ*, and Skt. *u* is represented by *o*. The form *kho* is used also in Pāli, while the literary Prakrits have *lhu* (for \**lḥlu*, an enclitic form of *khalu*) instead of it.<sup>2</sup>

In the foreign name *Antityaka*=*Ἀντίτυκος*, *δ* is expressed by *a*. In [A]nt[ek]ina=Ἀντίτυκος, *r* and *s* correspond to *i* and *δ*, and in *Turamāya*=Πτολεμαῖος, *u* and *a* to *δ* and *ε*.

The Gīrnār dialect has lost one of the Sanskrit vowels, viz. *ri*, which became *i* (after the stress accent) in *etārisa*, *tārisa*, *yārisa* (=Skt. *tiāḍṛisa*, &c.), and *u* (after labials) in *paripuckhā* and *vuta* (= *vṛita*, X, 2), but generally *a*:—*ānāṇṇa* (= *āṇṇya*), *kāka* (= *kritya*), *kata*, *dadha*, *bhata*, *bhataka*, *maga*, *magayā*, *mata* (= *mṛita*, XIII, 1), *vistata*, *vyāpata*, *suhadaya*<sup>3</sup> (IX, 7), *v[a]dhi* (= *vṛiddhi*, IV, 11). In *vadhi* (= *vṛiddhi*, XII, 2, 8, 9) and *usata*<sup>4</sup> the *ri*, which became *a*, has caused the lingualization of the following dental. In *vraṣṭha* (= *vṛikṣha*, II, 8) the vowel *ri* is represented by the syllable *va*, and in *suṣāru* (XII, 7) by *ru* through the influence of other forms of the root *śru*.

Of diphthongs, *ai* is found only in *thaira*, *traidasa*, and *samachaira*, the genesis of which will be explained below (p. lvif f.), and *au* is always changed to *o*:—*dvo*, *pāralokika*, *poṭra*, *prapotaṭra*, *osudha*, *opaga* and *opaya*.

Short vowels are lengthened in *ānaitarai*<sup>5</sup> (=Skt. *anantaram*, VI, 8), *āchāy[ke]*<sup>6</sup> (= *ātyaya-kam*, VI, 7), *mādhuratā* (= *madhuratā*, XIV, 4), *āṭtsu* (IV, 1), *abhikāra* (= *\*abhikāra*, V, 7), *abhiramaka* (VIII, 2), *pativesiya* (= *prativītya*, XI, 3), *patubhā*[*g*]a (XIII, 4), *sampratipati* (=Skt. *sampratipatti*, IV, 2, also spelt *sampratipati* and *sampratipati*), *vivāha*<sup>7</sup> (= *vivāha*, IX, 2), *vijaya* (XIII, 10; also *vijaya*), *bahūki* (= *bahubhūh*, IV, 4), and at the end of words in *tatrā* (XIII, 1), *paratrā* (VI, 12), *sarvatrā* (II, 6), *etamhi* (IX, 2), *pamthesū* (II, 8).

Initial *ā* is shortened in *aropitai*, and final *ā* in *tatha* (= *tathā*, XII, 6), [*Yo*]na-rāja (XIII, 8) = *Yona-rājā* (II, 3), and in the enclitic *va*, which is far more frequent than its original form *vā*. The three forms *āradho*,<sup>8</sup> *āradhi* (i.e. *\*āradhi*), and *aparadha* are perhaps to be derived from the root *radh*

<sup>1</sup> I use the term 'Māgadhā dialect' for designating the language of the province to which Aśoka's capital belonged. It must not be confused with the Māgadhī of the Pāli grammarians, cf. Michelson, *AJP*, 30, 284.

<sup>2</sup> S. Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 148, and cf. Michelson, IF, 23, 269 f.

<sup>3</sup> This word is used in the sense of Skt. *suhrid*, 'a friend'. Cf. *suhajya* in the *Dhammapada*.

<sup>4</sup> This participle corresponds in form to Skt. *utsṛita*, but its meaning agrees with that of Prakrit *ustṛita* (Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 64)=Skt. *uchchṛita*. In other words, the Gīrnār form seems to be due to a false popular etymology of *uchchṛita* from the root *śru* instead of *śru*.

<sup>5</sup> The length of the initial *ā* may be due to the fact that the word is a translation of the Māgadhā *ānaitakyaṇi*, see the Dhauḥi and Jaugada versions, VI, 4.

<sup>6</sup> Kāśī, Dhauḥi, and Jaugada have *ātyāyika*, Pāli both *āchāyika* and *achcheka* (i.e. *\*achchayika*).

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Böhtlingk's *Wörterbuch*, s.v. *vivāha*, and Pāp. VI, 3, 122.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. *āradha-kṛta* in the *Dighanikāya*, translated by Franke, p. 144, n. 2.

used in the same sense as *rādh*. The short *a* of *etārisaiṃ* (= *etādrisam*), *etārisam* (= *etādrisam*), *dana* (= *dānam*) is probably due to clerical mistakes. Final *i* is shortened in the nom. sing. of masculine bases in *-in* — *Priyadasi*, *hasti*.

The initial *a* of the enclitic *aps* is dropped everywhere except in *evam-aps* (II, 2). The initial *i* of *isti* is generally preserved, but it is dropped in *-nistro ti* (V, 8) and in the compound *kūṃti* or *kūti*.

## II. SIMPLE CONSONANTS.

Greek  $\chi$  and  $\gamma$  are expressed by *k* in *Antiyaka* = 'Αντιόχος and [A]ntif[ek]lona = 'Αντιόγος. In *-opaga* and *-opaya* we seem to have a change of  $\chi$  into  $\gamma$ ; cf. Franke, VOJ, 9 345 ff. Skt *gh* has become *k* in *lakuka*.

In *vacha* (VI, 3, XII, 9), *ch* corresponds to the *j* of Skt. *vraja*, cf. *vachants* = Skt. *vrajanti* at Shāhbāzgarhi.

Skt. *ṣ* is preserved in *kalāna* (= *kalyāna*), *ṣaṇāṇā*, *charaṇa*, *prakaraṇa* and *pakaṇṇa*, *piāna* and *pāna*, *vinikkamaṇa* (from *vinish-kram*), *sramana* and *samaṇa* (= *śramaṇa*). In terminations, however, dental *n* is not, as in Sanskrit, lingualized after *r* and *śh* — *agena* (= *agīna*), *paṭṭi-amaṇa*, *putrena* and *putena*, *mitrena*, *abhiramakaṇṇa*, *rūpāṇi*, *sakaraṇi*, *Gāndhārīṇaṇi*, *gurunaṇi*, *iṭhārāṇaṇi*, *manuṣāṇaṇi* and *mānuṣāṇaṇi* (= *mānuṣhāṇāṇi*). On the other hand, lingual *n* is newly developed after *r* in *prāpunaṇi* (from Skt. *prāpūṇi*), *darvaṇa* and *dasaṇa* (= *darīṇa*), *saṃtiraṇā* (from *śirayati*), and without apparent reason in *lona* (V, 5), while *Yona* (with dental *n*) occurs four times.

As stated above (p. lvi), dentals are lingualized after the vowel *rs* in *rsati* and *rsati*, and *d* becomes *r* before an original *rs* in *etārisa*, &c. Similarly, *dh* has turned to *dh* through the influence of the preceding *śh* in *osudha* (= Skt. *anushadha*), and *t* becomes *r* after *r* in the preposition *pati* (ten times), while the original form *prati* occurs four times in *pratipati* and *saṃpratipati*. In *lpi* (= *dipi* in Ancient Persian, see above, p. xlii) *d* has become *l*. In *idha* the Gūnāi dialect has preserved the ancient form of Skt. *idha*, cf. Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 266.

The labial aspirate *bh* has become *k* in the instrumentals *bahūki* (= *bahubhik*), *tūki* (= Vedic *tūbhik*), *paṭṭisayeki*, *sateki*, and in some forms of the root *bhu*, viz. *hōti* (= *bhavati*), *aho* (= *abhavat*), and *ahimsu*, while *bh* is preserved in *bhavati* *bhave*, *bhuta*.

The semivowel *y* is developed out of *i* in *Antiyaka* = 'Αντιόχος, and *Πτολεμαῖος* becomes *Turamāyo*. Initial *y* is lost in *ā* = Skt. *ya* (II, 2) and *ava* = Skt. *yāvat*. In the dative *athā* (XII, 9) = Skt. *arthāya* the whole syllable *ya* seems to be dropped. In causatives the characteristic affixes *aya* and *ayi* sometimes remain unchanged. More frequently both are changed to *ai* (*aya* by Samprasaṇa, and *ayi* by the elision of *y*) and contracted to *e*. Thus Skt. *prativedayata* becomes *pativedeitha*, while e.g. *pūyayati* remains unaltered, and Skt. *hūpayitayati*, *ārādhatu*, *lochitavya*, *a-rochayitvā* are converted to *hāpesati*, *ārādhetu*, *lochitavya*, [a]-*lochitvā*, while *ayu* remains in *dasayitvā* = Skt. *darśayitva*. Similarly, Skt. *mayāra* becomes first *\*maura* and then *moia* (I, 11). In two instances an original *aya* is not represented by *e*, but by *ai* — *\*trayadāta* (= Skt. *trayadāta*) becomes *traidasa* (V, 4), and Skt. *\*sana-harya*, having passed through the intermediate stages *\*samachariya* and *\*samacharya*, becomes *sana-charya* (XIII, 7) through metathesis.<sup>1</sup>

Lingual *d* corresponds to Sanskrit *l* in *mahidā*, and to Tamil *l* in *hodu*. The *l* of *lochitavya* and [a]-*lochitvā*, which corresponds to Skt. *r*, is due to the influence of the Magadha dialect, see Text, p. 8, n. 3. Greek  $\lambda$  is represented by *i* in *Turamāyo* = *Πτολεμαῖος*. This word proves that the Gīrnār and Shāhbāzgarhi versions are translations from the Magadha dialect, where the  $\lambda$  of the Greek original is preserved (*Tulanaye* at Kālsī).<sup>2</sup> Another instance in which *i* corresponds to *l* is *\*ārabhate*, 'to kill', = Skt. *ārabhati*, see below, p. lxi.

The semivowel *v* is developed out of *u* in *vuta* (= Skt. *ukta*, IX, 6, XIV, 4). As *aya* to *ai* and *e*, *ava* is changed by Samprasaṇa to *au* and *o*. In this way *bhavati*, *abhavat*, *avādhānu*, *\*avavāditavya* become *hōti*, *aho*, *orodhana*, *ovāditavya*. The contracted form *hōti* and its original,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Geiger's *Pāli*, § 27, and *puṇḍa* (XI, 4), which goes back to Skt. *puṇya* and presupposes the intermediate forms *\*puṇiya* and *\*puṇiva*.

<sup>2</sup> If any explanation of *supadāhiye* at Kālsī, Dhauri, and Jaugada (Text, p. 33, n. 3) is right *supadāhiye* at Mānsehrā would be another wrong translation from the Magadha dialect.



*bhavaṭi*, are about equally frequent in the Gīrnār text. In *thaura* = Skt. *sthavira*, *v* is elided and *ai* contracted to *ai*.

As in most Prākṛits, the two sibilants *ś* and *ṣ* have become *s* throughout e.g. *paṣu* = Skt. *paśu*, *dosa* = *dōsha*.

As in all other Prākṛits, final consonants are dropped. Hence the ablative singular of masculines and neuter in *-a* ends in *-ā* (= *-āt*), Skt. *tat*, *etat*, *yat*, and *yāvat* become *ta*, *eta*, *ya*, and *āva*, Skt. *bhavēt*, *abhavat*, *vasēyuh* become *bhave*, *aho*, *vasēyu*, and the nom. plur. of masculines in *-a* and of feminines in *-ā* ends in *-ā* (= *-āḥ*). But *ā* is shortened in the dative-genitive *imaya dhammānussasiya* (III, 3), in the nom. plur. fem. *chukichha* (II, 4), and in the 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. optative *tisteya* (for *\*tisthēyāt*). Final *as* generally becomes *o* (e.g. *yaso* = Skt. *yasah*, *rāho* = *ājāh*, *tistanto* = *tisthantah*, *Dvānānpriyo* = *Dīvānānpriyah*), but in some instances the corresponding Māgadhā form in *-e* is improperly used (e.g. *Devānānpīye*, XII, 1), and in others we have *-ā* (*Maga*, XII, 8, *sā* = Skt. *sah*, XIII, 10, *rsā* = *īśah*<sup>1</sup>) or *-a* ([*A*]m[*ek*]na, XIII, 8, *bhuya* = *bhūyah*, VIII, 5, and *isa*). Final *is* becomes *i* in *apachis*, *rat*, *hins*, but *i* in *līp*, &c.

While thus all final consonants are dropped, a word may end not only in a simple vowel, but in a nasalized vowel, i.e. in a vowel + Anusvāra, and Sanskrit words ending in *m* and *n* substitute Anusvāra for these two nasals, e.g. Skt. *dānam* becomes *dānam*, and *karuṇ* (XII, 4) is formed from Skt. *karōti* on the analogy of Skt. *kurvan*. Just as in modern Hindi, Anusvāra is, however, omitted frequently in writing, see *ida* (XI, 3), *katavya* (= Skt. *kartavyam*, IX, 6), *dana* (= *dānam*, IX, 7), *phala*, *mata* (= *matam*, XIII, 2, and = *matam*, XIII, 1), *māda*, *vinikkhamana*, *saka* (= *śakam*), *li* (IX, 9), *kuti* and *kits* (= *kirtum*), *chhāts* (= *kshāntum*), *vī[ā]dhi* (= *vraddhim*), *susumera* (= *śūtrāśchēra*), *karu* (for *karuṇ*), *ārādhetu* (= *ārādhayitum*), *eva* (= *ēvam*, IX, 1).<sup>2</sup>

A long nasalized vowel is generally shortened (e.g. *ganānāyām*, *bhūtānām*, *yasaṇ*, *lāṭṭinām*, *guṇinām*, *anuvāṭinām*), but it is preserved in *bhūtānām* (XIII, 7), *pūjām*, *yātām*, *anuvāḍhiyātām*. Anusvāra is omitted in *pū[jā]* (= Skt. *pūjām*, XII, 2), *makāthāvahā[ā]*, *susru[ni]sā*, *susrusātām*. The long vowel is shortened and Anusvāra is omitted at the same time in *īsa* (= *īśam*, XIII, 4) and *samtānāyā* (loc. sing. of *samtānā*, VI, 9), unless the latter is a genitive used in the sense of the locative.

### III. SANDHI

In the last paragraphs it was shown that at the end of words consonants are as a rule dropped and nasals converted into Anusvāra. In *tad-opyā* (VIII, 5) and *tad-amūthā* (XII, 5) the final consonant of the base *tad* is preserved in composition,<sup>3</sup> and final *m* remains before an initial vowel in *evam apt* (II, 2) and *kataryam eva* (IX, 3). Similarly, hiatus is prevented by nasalizing the first of two vowels in [*a*]ṇam-anūhava (= Skt. *anyonyasya*, XII, 7) and *bhatam-ayesa* (= *bhrūā-yīsha*, V, 5, cf. Text, p. 10, n. 4).

In the majority of cases, *a + ā* are, as in Sanskrit, contracted into *ā*, e.g. *nāsti*, *dhammānussanām*, *pranarambho*. But the first *a* is elided before *a* in *dhamm-avūyo* (XIII, 1), *dham-anugaho* (IX, 7), *dhām-adhustānaya* (V, 4), *etayam* (= *\*itra + ayam*, VIII, 3), before *e* in *etāyeva* (III, 3), *chēva* (IV, 7, XIV, 4), *chēvā* (XIII, 4), *ta[te]va* (= *tatratat*, IX, 4), *ten-vā* (VIII, 3), before *o* in *m[aj]nus-opagān[ī]* (II, 5), and *u* before *o* in *pas-of[pa]gāni* (II, 6). The result of *i + a* is *i* in *stihyahakha* (= *stry-adyaksha*, XII, 9).

### IV. GROUPS OF CONSONANTS

The Gīrnār dialect has preserved a number of combined consonants which would have been assimilated in the later Prākṛits. As remarked by Bühler (*Ind. Pal.*, § 16, last section), there are among them some ligatures in which the second consonant is placed first for the sake of convenience in writing. As this point is of importance because it affects the transcription of the Gīrnār alphabet, I subjoin a list of such combinations of consonants.

(a) *tp* (written *pt*) in *ārabhupā*, *dasayupā*, [*a*]-*lochetpā*, *-hitatpā*, *tadātpano(ne)*, *katpāro*, *ātpa-*.

(b) *ty* (written *vy*) in *vyamānato*, *vyāvanam*, *vyāpātā*, *apa-vyayātā*, *dsyāni*, *magaryā*, *katavya*, *vataavyam*, *prajāhitarayam*, *vrāḍitavyam*, *vujitavyam*, *lochetavyā*, *pa[ā]vredet[ā]v* *yah*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Text, p. 15, n. 7.

<sup>2</sup> It deserves to be noted that in the R̥gveda *eva* is used nearly throughout in the sense of *evam*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 341.

(c) *st* (written *śt*) in *anurasti*, *seste*, *tistamto*, *tisteya*, *sttā*, *-adhistānāya*, *ustāna*, *nistānāya*.

Although in the words given under (a) *tp* is written as *pt*, their Sanskrit prototypes suggest that we have to pronounce and transcribe *tp*. Michelson (JAOS, 31, 235 f.) supports this view by referring to *dhādasa* = Skt *dhāda* (III, 1, IV, 12) 'There is no question but that *dh* represents the correct order of the letters. Now if Indic *dh* becomes *db*, then Indic *tr* surely should become *ʔ*. Hence gerunds in *-tpā* (Skt. *-tva*) are to be read as such. This settles the reading *ātpa* 'Skt. *ātma*-' without further arguments.'

The same holds good for (b) *vy* which is written *ʔv*. Dr. Michelson writes to me — 'It is inconsistent to transcribe *divyāni*, *vyasanam*, but *-tavya*, as the same symbol is used in all cases *vyasanam* would be unpronounceable. Buhler's argument from Pali that *ʔv* is correct from the analogy of *ʔh* from Skt *ky* is useless, as *vy* does not become *ʔv* but *bb* (or remains) in Pali.' See also JAOS, 31, 235.

On the same analogy (c) *ts* has been transcribed by *st*, although Franke (*Günupūjakaumudi*, p. 26, note) thinks that *st* represents the actual pronunciation.

The fact that the Gurnar alphabet marks the letter *r* in combination with several consonants was discovered independently by Scharf (*Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, 1, 25 f.) and by Pandit Bhagvanlal Indrajī (IA, 10, 106 and note). Although the *r* is generally placed at the top of the other consonant, nobody has ever doubted that it was in most cases pronounced after it, and that we must transcribe *lr*, *tr*, *pr*, *br*, and not *rk*, *rt*, *rp*, *rb*. The symbol *rs*, however, does duty for both *sr* and *rs*, and *rv* for *vr* and *rv*. The former must certainly be read *sr* in *sahava*, *stannāu*, *baku-srutā*, *susrūtā*, *srāvāpakam*, *-sramanānam*, *-nisrto*, cf. *paṭ-parivra*, but it cannot be meant for anything but *rs* in *vimāna-darsanā* (IV, 3) and *dasa-vrsābhūsto* (VIII, 2). Likewise the symbol *rv* may be read *vr* in *vachhā* (II, 8), but must be intended for *rv* in *sarva* and *survata* or *survatra*. The spelling *bhūta-pruva* (V, 4, VI, 2) would be, in the opinion of Michelson (JAOS, 31, 228), the result of an erroneous translation of the Māgadhā form *-pūva* which the writer found in the original draft of the edicts. I consider it more likely that the writer wanted us to pronounce *-purva*, but committed the mistake of connecting the *r* with the *p* instead of inserting *t* before the *v*, cf. the same spelling in the Shālbhargurū and Mānschā versions.

A large number of combined consonants are not preserved unchanged, but have been assimilated. In later Prākṛit inscriptions, as in the British Museum plates of Chārulevī and in the plates of Vijaya-Dēvavarman (EI, 8, 144, and 9, 57), the double consonant which is the result of such an assimilation is written in full. The inscriptions of Aśoka and of the Andhra kings, however, express every double consonant by a single letter, e.g. *aggi* = Skt *aggi* is written *agi*, *attha* = *artha* becomes *atha*, *ladha* = *labha* becomes *ladha*, *gabha* = *garbha* becomes *gabha*, and *nijhatti* = *\*nadhyaṭi* is spelt *nijhatti*. In double nasals both ways of spelling are in use, e.g. *dhamma* and *dhama* = *dharma*, *añña* and *añṇa* = *anya*.

At the beginning of words an assimilated group is simplified in all Prakṛits, e.g. *jāti* = Skt *jāti*, *ti* = *tri*, *pāna* = *prāna*, *bhāti* = *bhrāti*, *chhuda* (i.e. *chhudda*) = *chhundra*. Also in the interior of words an assimilated group may be simplified and the preceding vowel lengthened, see *kāsati* (also *kasati*), i.e. *kassati* = *\*karsyati*, *dhama* (also *dhamma*) = *dhamma*, *vaṣa* (also *vara*) = *varsha*, *chikicchā* = *chikīṣā*, *rājaka* (from *raju* or *rajñ*), see Text, p. 5, n. 2).

In a few cases a long vowel preceding a group of consonants is shortened, see *anurasti*. Skt *annāsti*, *ayesu* (i.e. *ayyesu*) = *āyresu*, *kitti* (i.e. *kitti*) = *kirti*, *diggha* (i.e. *diggha*) = *diggha*, *pūva* (i.e. *pūva*) = *pūva*. Even a long vowel preceding a simple consonant may be shortened and the consonant itself doubled, cf. Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 90 f. Thus the short vowel in *bhūya* (= Skt *bhūyah*), *anuvudhiyare* and *anuvudhiyatām* (from Skt. *anuvudhiyati*) suggests that these words have to be read *bhūyya*, *anuvudhiyare* and *anuvudhiyatām*, and that consequently *tistya* (VI, 13) may be meant for *tistīyya* with doubled *y* and short *e*, as in the corresponding Pali form of the 3. sing opt act<sup>1</sup>. But, as a rule, a long vowel preceding a group remains unchanged, see *asamāp[ā]m* (= Skt *asamāptam*), *āchāy[ā]kr* (= *ātyayikam*), *ānupayāmi* (= *ānupayāmi*), *atpa* (= *ātma*), *tadāpano(ne)*, *nāsti*, *purākrama*, *brā[m]hana* and *bāmhana* (also *bramhana* and *bamhama*), *bhātrā*, *mahāmāta* and *mahāmātra*, *madava* (= *mārdava*), *mahāthāvaha* (= *mahatthāvaha*), *añṇa*

<sup>1</sup> Similarly *nūha* may represent *\*nichchā*, into which *nichā* has been changed on the analogy of *uchchā*; see SPAW, 1914, 844.

(= *rājā*), *Ri(Rā)stika* (= *Rāstrika*), *śūpāthāya* (= *śūpārthāya*), *sthiyakhka* (= *stry-adyaksha*), *kīti* (= *kīrti*), *tīṣṭho* (= *tīraka*), *sāmpī[am]* (= *sāmpīyam*)

A long nasalized vowel is shortened before consonants, as it is frequently at the end of words (see above, p. lviii), in *Tāmbapāṇi* (= Skt *Tāmrāparṇi*) and *Devānampriya*, while Anusvāra is suppressed after a long vowel in *atīkrāta* and *atīkāta* (= *atīkrānta*), [*ā*] *parātā* (= *āparāntā*), *chhātī* (= *chhānti*), [*ṇ*] *yātū* (= *myātū*), *Pādū* (= *Pāṇḍyā*), *bhada* (= *bhānda*), *karote* (for *\*karouti*, IX, 3), *karote* (for *\*karouti*), *pāti* (read *hoti*, for *\*homti*). In *avahisā* (IV, 6) *i* has taken the place of the *im* of *vikimsa* (IV, 1). Conversely in *susru[m]sā*, *susruṇsā*, *susruṣera* the short nasalized vowel *u* is substituted for the *ū* of *susrūsa* (III, 4), and in *susruṣā* and *susruṣatā* the Anusvāra of *uu* is omitted.<sup>1</sup> There are several other instances in which Anusvāra is omitted after a short vowel: *magala* (IX, 3) = *mangala*, the two 3 pers plur *ichhātī* (VII, 2) and *prāpūnātī* (XIII, 4), *sambudhā* (XI, 1) = *śambudhā*, *śastuta* (twice) = *śaustuta*, *śukhāya* (XIV, 5) = *śamkhāya*, *pāsada* (twice) = *pāśanda*, *śayama* = *śamyama*, *śavata* (also *śamvata*) = *śaivvarta*, *kich[ī]* (also *kimchī*) = *kimchit*, *kīti* (also *kūmī*) = *kūmīti*. In the first six of them the omission of Anusvāra may be due either to clerical mistakes or to the faint articulation of the nasal sound. The form *pāsada* (= Skt *paśchada*) is a recognised variant of *pāśanda* (*paśam*); cf *prashada* and *prashanda* at Shālbhāgarhī. In *śayama*, which occurs four times, and in *śavata* the nasal may have been assimilated to the following *a*-vowel, cf Panini, VIII, 4, 59. The forms *kichī* and *kīti* occur again in other Aśoka inscriptions and are perhaps defective spellings for *kichchī* and *kīttī* = *\*kid + chid* and *\*kid + tti*; see Johansson, *Shālbh*, § 90.

So far we have seen that the Gurnār dialect either preserves groups of consonants or assimilates them. A third mode of disposing of them is the development of an auxiliary vowel (*svarabhakti*) between two consonants. This vowel is *a* in *garahati* and *garahā* (= Skt *garhātī* and *garhā*), *i* in *pativasiya* (= *pativasiya*), *puñā* (for *\*punya* — Skt. *punya*), *samachura* (for *\*samachariya* = Skt. *\*sama chariya*), and *u* after a labial in *prāpūnātī* (3 pers plur and pres act of Skt. *prāpūnōti*). Similarly, an auxiliary *i* is prefixed to an initial group in *itthi* (i.e. *itthī*, = Skt. *itṛtī*).

I now subjoin an alphabetical list of Sanskrit groups with their Gurnār equivalents.

*kt* becomes *t* (i.e. *tt*) in *abhista*, *bhati*, *yuta*, *śatayam*, *vntam*,

*ky* becomes *k* (i.e. *kk*) in *soka*

*ks* remains in *atīkrā[a]m* (VI, 1), *parāksamāmi*, *parāksramana*, but becomes *k* in *atīkrām* *parāks* [*a*] *matī* (X, 3)

*ks* becomes *chh* in *sachhāya* (XIV, 5), see Buhler, ZDMG, 40, 142.

*ksh* becomes *kh* in *itthīkhaka*, *samkh[ī]na*, *chh* in *chhāṇati*, *uchhatim*, *chhamstare*, *chhati*, *chhudam*, *chhudakana*, *vachhā*

*kh* becomes *kh* in *kho* = Skt. *khalu*, see above, p. lvi and n. 2.

*gn* becomes *g* in *agi*

*gr* becomes *g* in *agant*, *anugaho*

*pā* becomes *mā* or *ñ* in *katamhātī*, *rāñā*, *rāñō*, *āṇapayāmi*, *āṇapayati*, *āṇapitām*, *ñātī*, *ñātika*

*dr* becomes *d* in *Pādā* (= Skt. *Pāṇḍyā*)

*ny* becomes *nn* in *āṇamāni*, *hīṇama*, *mā* or *ñ* in *apūmāni* and *puñāni*.<sup>3</sup>

*tm* becomes *tp* in *ātpa*. Cf *tp* — *tv*, below

*ty* becomes *ch* in [*a*] *puhchim*, *ahhāy[ī]*, *ihhāhava*, *ekhā*, *kacham*, *parukhāyitā*, *prachamisa*.

Other instances of palatalization are: *j* = *dy*, *jk* = *dhy*, *ikh* = *ts*, *kī*, *ksh*.

*ti* remains *ti* becomes *t*, see e.g. *tī* and *tt*, *tatra* and *tata*, *āṇatra* and *āṇata*, *śarvatra* and *śarvata*, *putra* and *puta*, *mitta* and *mita*, *mahamātra* and *mahāmāta*.

*tr* becomes *tp* in *chūtpāro*, *ābhūtpā*, [*a*] *lohetpā*, *śasaytpā*, *paṇhāytpā*, *tadūtpāno(ne)*, *-hātātpā*. Cf *tb* = *dv* in *dbāṭava*.

*ti* becomes *chh* in *chikīhā*, *s* in *śatāna*.<sup>2</sup>

*tsh* becomes *st* in *śtāna* for *\*ut-sthāna*,<sup>4</sup> while the corresponding Sanskrit word is *utthāna*.

*di* becomes *j* in *aja*, *patipaj*, *tha*, *j* in *nyānu*.

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps *susruṣā* is meant for *susruṣā*, as *bhūya* for *bhūyya*; see above, p. lix. Cf. also Geiger's *Pāli*, § 6.

<sup>2</sup> For the epenthesis of *s* see above, p. lvi, n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Cf *thana* = Skt *sthāna* in Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 309.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. lvi, n. 4.

- dr* becomes *d* in *chhudañ*, *chhudaena*.  
*dv* remains in *dvo*, *dve*, but becomes *db* in *dbādasa*.  
*dhy* becomes *jh* in *sthihakkha*, *nijhatti*, *majhamena*.  
*dhr* remains in *dhrūvo*, [A\*]*jindhā*.  
*ny* becomes *mū* or *ñ* in *amūa* and *aūa*, *manūati* and *manate*, *ñayāsu*. Cf *apunnā* = Skt *apunya*.  
*pt* becomes *t* in *gutti*, *ujhatti*, *asamā[a]ui*, *samkhi[ε]na*, *Turanāyo* (= Πτολεμαῖος)  
*pn* becomes *pun* in *prāpunati* (from Skt *prāpunoti*)  
*py* becomes *p* in *sāmiṭ[ai]*.  
*pr* remains or becomes *p*, see e.g. *prakaraṇa* and *pakaraṇa* (IX, 8), *piṇḍa* and *pina* (IX, 5)  
*Devānampriya* and *Devūnampiya*, *Priyadasi* and *Pivīdasi*, *pratiṭṭhi* and *paṭiṭṭhi* (XIV, 4)  
*saiṇipratiṭṭhi* and *saiṇipatiṭṭhi* (IV, 6)  
*bdh* becomes *dh* in *ladhesu*.  
*br* remains in *brā[ui]hana* (IV, 2) and *brahmāna* (IV, 6), but becomes *b* in *hiṇḍhona* and *bamhāna* (IX, 5)  
*bhy* becomes *bh* in the passive forms *ārabhure*, *ārabhisu*, *ārabhisuru*.  
*bhr* becomes *bh* in *bhātrā* or *bhāt[ā]*.  
*my* remains in *sanya-*.  
*mr* becomes *m* (through the intermediate stage *\*mbr*) in *Tambapannini*.  
*rg* becomes *g* in *svaḡa*.  
*rg* becomes *gh* in *dighaya*.  
*rn* becomes *nn* in *Tambapannini*.  
*rt* becomes *t* in *katavya*, *kitti* or *kitti*, *ann[ā]tari*, *annvatarani*, *annvatisati*, *t* in *samvata* or *savata*.  
*rth* becomes *th* in *atha*.  
*rd* becomes *d* in *mādava*.  
*rdh* becomes *dh* in [pra\*]*vadhayissamti* (IV, 9), *dh* in *vadhayati* (XII, 4), *vadhayissati* (IV, 7), *vadhita*. Cf *t* for *rt* in *samvata*.  
*rbb* becomes *bb* in *gabdhācāraṇi*.  
*sm* becomes *mm* or *m* in *kammā* (= Skt *karmaṇ*), *dhummā* and *dhama*.  
*ry* becomes *y* in *ayāsu*,<sup>1</sup> but is represented by *ry* in *samachairam*, which presupposes the form *\*samachaiyām* (= Skt *\*samachaiyam*), see above, p. lvi.  
*sv* remains or becomes *v* in *sarva* or *sava*. Instead of Skt *pāṭva* we have *pava* in IV, 5, while *priva*, which is probably meant for *pūva*, occurs in two places, see above, p. lxx.  
*rj* becomes *rs* in *vimana-darsanā*, but *r* in *hasti-d[ā]tūnā*, *dasane*, *dasayitva*, *Priyadasi* *daspanam* (VIII, 4) is probably a clerical mistake for *darsanam*.  
*rsh* becomes *rs* in *varsa* (VIII, 2), but *s* in *vāsa* (= Skt *varsha*).  
*rshy* becomes *s* in *kasati*, *kāsanti*, *kaśa[m]ti*.  
*rk* becomes *ruk* in *garakati*, *garahā*.  
*lp* becomes *p* in *apa*, *lapā*.  
*ly* becomes *t* in *kalāna*.  
*vy* remains in *vyājanata*, *-vyayātā*, *vyasanam*, *vyāpatā*, *dreyāni*, *mugavya*, and in the affix *-tavya* (seven instances), but becomes *y* in *pūj[ā]taya* (XII, 4).  
*vr* becomes *v* in *ti[v]o*, [pa]*vapitāni*, *vachā* (VI, 3, XII, 9) = Skt *vajra*.  
*sch* becomes *chh* in *pachhā*. Other instances in which a sibilant causes aspiration are *kh - /* *shkr*, *ksh*, *chh* = *ts*, *kī*, *ksh*, *th* = *sti*.  
*ty* becomes *s* in *pasati*, but *sy* in *pativasy[hi]* (XI, 3).  
*sr* becomes *sr* in *sramana*, *suvrūṭā*, *sasru[m]ā*, *sasrusa*, *susi svata*, *bahu-sruta*, *sī ācupakam*, *nisrto*, but *s* in *samana*, *susumisa*, *susumsra*, *sist* (= Skt *śrīṣṭham*).  
*sv* becomes *sv* in *sucto*.  
*shk* becomes *k* in [du]*katañi*, *dukarañi*.  
*shkr* becomes *kh* in *vinikhamana*.

<sup>1</sup> The 3 plur imper act [u]*iyāntu* (III, 3) need not be derived from *nir-yā*, but may stand for *niyāntu*, cf. *ñayāsu* (VIII, 1) from *ni-yā* used in the sense of *nir-yā*.

*sktr* becomes *st* in *Ri(Rā)stika*  
*skth* loves its aspiration and becomes *st* in *seste, tistya, tistamto, nistānāya, -adhistānāya*. Cf. the Māgadhī forms *sustu* = Skt *sushtu* and *kosāgālan* = *kōsthāgāram* (Hemachandra, IV, 290, and Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 303), and at Girmār *stita* = Skt. *stitha*, *ustāna* = \**ut-sihāna*, *Ri(Rā)stika* = *Rāshtrika*, *annasati* = *annāsti*.

*shy* becomes *s* in *manusa, ānapayisati*, and in other futures  
*sk* becomes *kh* in *agi-kh[a]māhāni*  
*st* remains in *asti, nāsti, hāsti, samstuta, vāstata*, it becomes *st* in *annasati*.  
*str* becomes *th* in *ithi*  
*sth* becomes *th* in *thaira, st* in *gharastāni*,<sup>1</sup> and *st* in *stītā*  
*sm* becomes *mh* in the locatives in *amhi*  
*sy* becomes *s* in the genitives in *-asa*, and in the optatives *asa, asu* of root *as*.  
*sr* remains in *sakasa* and *u[pa]-parisave*, but becomes *s* in *parisave* (X, 3).  
*sv* remains in *svaṣa, svamīlena, svayam*, but becomes *s* in *sarasake* (XIII, 11).  
*hvi* becomes *nh*, as in Prākrit, in *banhana* and other equivalents of the Sanskrit and Pālī word *hahmana*

## B—DECLENSION

## I BASES IN -a

## (1) Masculines and neuters in -a

Singular.		Plural.
Nom masc <i>jano</i> , &c	}	Masc. <i>morā</i> , &c, neut <i>phalāni</i> , &c.
Acc masc <i>janam</i> , &c		Masc. <i>yntē, athi</i> , neut <i>dravyāni, rūpāni</i>
Inst <i>janena</i> , &c.		<i>pativisyehi, satihī</i>
Dat <i>athāya</i> , &c		
Abl <i>kapa, -hitatpā, packhā</i>		
Gen <i>janusa</i> , &c		<i>thairanam</i> , &c
Loc (a) <i>athamhi</i> , &c, (b) <i>kālē, ē</i>		<i>thairesu</i> , &c.

Nom sing.—In a few neuters the final Anusvāra is missing, viz. *phala, mata, mādava* (acc.), *rukhamana*. In many instances the Māgadhī termination -e is used, (a) masculines — *parisave*,<sup>2</sup> *u[pa]-parisave*, *Divanampiye* (XII, 1), *prādesti*, *bhū[g]e, rūjñke, sakale, sayame*; (b) neuters — *āchāy[ke]*, *kamme, -charane, tarise, dāne, dāni, -pavi, bahuvudhe, mangale, -mate, mah[ā]-phalē, mahāhike, mūl, yarise, vadhite, vup[ul]e, seste*. The wrong form *-pativudhano* (VIII, 4) is probably due to the fact that the clerk who drafted the Guṇāī version thoughtlessly replaced the -e of the Māgadhī neuter *pativudhāne* by -o, as in the masculine *jano*, &c = Māgadhī *jane*, &c. The foreign name *A[m]h[ā]t[ā]na* (XIII, 8) has no termination, while *Maṣā* lengthens its final *a*.

Dat sing.—The form *athā* (XII, 9) for *athaya* is found also in the Delhi-Tōpī pillar-edict VII, c Text, p 22, n 3 and Michelson, JAOS, 31, 240.

Loc sing.—In *pravisamāhi* (IX, 2) the *m* is doubled. The termination -e occurs also in *pakarām, pakurāni, Pataliputh, vyaye, vyute, sarasake, tadātpano* is a mistake for *tadātpane*.<sup>3</sup>

The acc plur masc uses the termination *āni*, which, as shown by Iuders (SPAW, 1913 992 ff.), is peculiar to the Ardhamāgadhī dialect, in four instances:—*agi-kh[a]māhāni* (IV, 4) and *sava-pāsāndāni cha* *pujvystāni cha gharastāni cha phjayati* (XII, 1)

The acc plur neut has the termination -ā instead of -āni in *vīmāna-darsanā cha hasti-da[va]na cha* (IV, 3).

Gen plur.—The long vowel is preserved before Anusvāra in *bhūtānām* (XIII, 7)

Loc plur.—The final *u* is lengthened in *pamthesu* (II, 8)

<sup>1</sup> In accordance with Vararuchi, IV, 32, and Hēmachandra, II, 144, Skt *grīha* is replaced by *ghara*

<sup>2</sup> The corresponding Pālī word *parissaya* is not a neuter, as Childers thought, but a masculine, see Iuders, SPAW, 1913, 1004 and n 5.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *-pativudhāno* for *-pativudhāne* in the nom sing

## (2) Feminines in -ā

Singular.	Plural.
Nom <i>icchā</i> , &c.	(a) <i>katā</i> (II, 4), (b) <i>mahidāyo</i>
Acc <i>pūjān</i> , <i>yātām</i> .	
Instr. <i>pūjāya</i> , &c.	
Loc. <i>ganandāyam</i> , <i>parisāyam</i> .	

Acc sing.—The final Anusvāra is omitted in *pū[jā]* (XII, 2), *mahāhārah[a]* (X, 1) *susrū[m]sā* (X, 2).

Loc. sing.—In *santivanāya* (VI, 9) the final Anusvāra is omitted, or it may be a genitive used in the sense of the locative

Nom. plur.—In *chakichha* (II, 4) the long *ā* of the first of the two different terminations is shortened. The second termination is identical with -*ao* in the Prakṛit, see Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 376.

## II BASES IN -i

## (1) Masculines in -i

Nom. plur. <i>tri</i> , <i>fi</i> .
Gen. plur. <i>ñāttuam</i>
Loc. plur. <i>ñāttuam</i> .

The nom. plur. in -i is common in Prakṛit, see Pischel's *Grammatik*, p. 380

## (2) Feminines in -i and -ī

Singular.	Plural
Nom <i>hpi</i> , &c.	<i>atavīyo</i>
Acc <i>Samhodhūn</i> , &c	
Instr. - <i>anuvastiyā</i> , <i>bhatiyā</i>	
Dat - <i>anuvastiya</i> (with final <i>ā</i> shortened).	

Nom. sing.—The final *i* remains short in *apachiti*, *rati*, *himi*

Acc. sing.—The final Anusvāra is omitted in *kiti* (X, 2), *kitti* (X, 1), *chhati* (XIII, 11) *v[a]dhi* (IV, 11).

## III BASES IN -u

Besides the gen. plur. masc. *guruvam* we have three forms of the neuter base *bahu*, viz. nom. sing. *bahu*, nom. and acc. plur. *bakuni*, and instr. plur. *bakuhū*. The nom. sing. *sādhu* is the same in all three genders.

## IV BASES IN -ri

Instr. sing. masc. <i>pitā</i> (for <i>pitrā</i> ), <i>bhātrā</i> or <i>bhāt[ā]</i>
Loc. sing. <i>pitari</i> , <i>mātarī</i> and <i>mātī</i> [i]

## V BASES IN CONSONANTS

As in other Prakṛits, bases ending in consonants have a tendency to follow the analogy of the *a*-declension. Thus the feminine base *parishud* becomes *parisā* (III, 6) and forms the loc. sing. *parisāyām* (VI, 7). The present participle *rat* forms the nom. sing. masc. *santo*. Of base-in-*an*, *panthan* forms the loc. plur. *panthesū*, and the neuter *karmān* the Māgadhā nom. sing. *kammū* and the dat. sing. *kammāy[a]*

The original consonantal declension survives in the subjoined incomplete paradigms

## (1) Present participles in -at

Nom. sing. masc. <i>karnū</i> or <i>karnu</i> .
Nom. plur. masc. <i>tistamto</i> .

The nom. sing. *karnū* is derived from the Sanskrit verb *karoti*. In *karnu* the Anusvāra is omitted. Two other forms of the same case, *karoto* (for *\*karōhito*) and *santo* (from root *as*) follow the analogy of the *a*-declension.

# INTRODUCTION

## (2) Masculines and neuters in -an

Singular.	Plural
Nom masc <i>rājā</i> .	<i>rājāno</i> .
Acc neut. <i>nāma</i>	
Instr <i>rājā</i>	
Gen. <i>rājā</i>	

In the nom sing. masc [*Yō*]na-rāja (XIII, 8) the final *ā* is shortened, while II, 3 has  
*Yōna rājā*

## (3) Masculines in -in.

Nom. sing. <i>Priyadast, hasti</i>
Instr. sing. <i>Priyadasand.</i>
Gen sing. <i>Priyadasino.</i>

## (4) Neuters in -as

Acc Sing *yaso, bhuya* (= Skt *bhūyah*)

# C.—PRONOUNS

## (1) Pronoun of the first person

Nom sing <i>aham</i>
Instr. sing <i>mayā</i> .
Gen sing <i>manu, me</i>

## (2) Base *ta*

Singular	Plural
Nom masc. <i>so</i> } neut <i>ta</i>	Masc. <i>te</i> .
Acc	
Instr <i>tua</i> .	
Dat <i>tāya</i> .	<i>tehi</i> .
Gen. <i>tasa</i>	<i>te[sa]u, tesa</i>
Loc <i>tamhi</i>	

Nom. sing. fem *sā*

In *phl-yaso sā* (XIII, 10) the nom sing masc ends in -*ā*. The neuter *ta* (= Skt. *ta*) occur twice (X, 3, XIII, 2) as pronoun and frequently as conjunction. Its Māgadhā equivalent *se* is taken over unchanged in I, 10

## (3) Base *na*.

Acc plur masc. *ne*, neut. *nāni*

For this pronoun see Hemachandra, III, 70, 77

## (4) Base *īta*.

Singular	Plural
Nom masc <i>īta</i> (X, 3), <i>īvā</i> , neut. <i>īta, etani, esa</i>	Masc <i>ete</i>
Acc neut. <i>eta</i> (XI, 3)	
Dat <i>etāya, etakāya</i>	
Gen <i>etasa</i>	
Loc. <i>etamhi</i>	

Nom. sing. fem. *esā* (VIII, 3).

With the nom sing masc *esā* (VIII, 5,<sup>1</sup> XIII, 4) cf. *sā* (= Skt. *sah*, XIII, 10) and *Magā* (XIII, 8). The neuter *īta* (= Skt *ītat*) occurs twice, and *etani* once (X, 4), while the masculine

<sup>1</sup> Cf above, p. lxii, n. 2

<sup>2</sup> See Text, p. 15, n. 7

form *esa*<sup>2</sup> is employed three times as neuter and was known as such to Hümachandra (III, 85), who quotes *esa sirah* (= Skt. *śaśchakṣirah*). Cf. the Māgadha nom. sing. *ae*, which is used both as masculine and as neuter (= Skt. *śak* and *śat*), and see Pischel's *Grammatik*, p. 299.

(5) Demonstrative *idam*

Singular.	Plural
Nom masc <i>ayam</i> , neut <i>idam</i> , <i>ayam</i>	Masc <i>im</i>
Acc. neut <i>idam</i> .	
Instr. <i>imind</i> .	
Gen. <i>imasa</i>	
Loc. <i>imamhi</i> .	

Nom. sing. fem. *iyam*, *ayam*.

Dat. sing. fem. *imāya*

The Anusvāra of the neuter *idam* is omitted in *ida* (XI, 3). The masculine *ayam* is employed instead of it three times, and instead of the feminine *iyam* (I, 1) five times. In Pālī only *ayam* is used as feminine.

## (6) Interrogative Pronoun

The nom. sing. neut. *kī* (for *kim*) occurs in IX, 9, and *kam*, used as an indefinite, in XIV, 3. Of the indefinite base *kimchid* we have the nom. sing. masc. *kochi* (XII, 5) and the neuter *kimchi* or *kuchhi* (X, 3). The compound *kichhi* or *kiti* (XII, 2) is used in the sense of 'that, in order that'.

## (7) Relative Pronoun.

Singular.	
Nom. masc. <i>ja</i> , neut. <i>ja</i>	Masc. <i>ji</i> , neut. <i>jāni</i>
Acc. neut. <i>ja</i> , <i>ja[m]</i>	
Gen. <i>jaśa</i>	<i>jaśam</i>

Nom. plur. fem. *jā*

The acc. sing. neut. *ja[m]* is found only in X, 3, while *ja* (= Skt. *yat*) occurs ten times.

(8) Base *anya*.

Singular.	Plural
Nom. masc. <i>amhi</i> , neut. <i>an[a]</i> , <i>amhi</i>	Masc. <i>a[m]ā[r]</i> , <i>a</i>
Acc.	Acc.
Dat. <i>amāya</i> .	
Gen. <i>[a]namamāśa</i>	
Loc. <i>amamhi</i>	

The nom. sing. masc. and neut. *amhi* (VIII, 5) and *an* (IV, 7) are Māgadha forms.<sup>1</sup> while *an[a]* (IX, 5) is the regular equivalent of Skt. *anya*.

(9) Base *sarvā*.

Singular	Plu
Nom. and acc. sing. neut. <i>arvam</i> , <i>sarvā</i>	Masc. <i>sarv</i>
Loc. <i>sarv</i> , <i>s[a]ve</i> .	<i>[sa]śva</i>

(10) Base *ikatara*

Loc. sing. *ikataramhi*

(11) Base *\*ikatya*

Nom. plur. masc. *chachā*<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. above, p. lxii.

<sup>2</sup> The corresponding Pālī form is *chachhe*; see Childers, s. v., and Leugli's *Pālī*, §



## D.—NUMERALS

One.

Nom. sing. masc. *eko*

Two.

Nom. masc. *dvo*, fem. *dve*.

These two are the only dual forms preserved in the Girmāi dialect.

Three.

Nom. masc. *tri*, *ṇ*.

Four.

Nom. masc. *chatpāro*

Five.

Loc. *pañchaso*

Ten, twelve, thirteen

*dasa*, *dvādasa*, *traidasa*

Hundred

Acc. plur. *satāsu*, instr. *satāhi*.

Hundred thousand.

Nom. plur. *sata-sahasāni*.

## F.—CONJUGATION

## I PRESENT

(1) *Bases*.

## First Sanskrit class

Root *kram* *parākrāmāmi*, *pari(rā)k[ā]pate* The active form *kramati* occurs also in the epics, while classical Sanskrit has *krāmati* in the active and *kramate* in the middle

Root *gam* *gaccham*Root *garh* *garahati*Root *dis* *pasati* (= *pasati* = Skt. *paśyati*)Root *bhu* *bhāvati* and *hoti*

Root *labh* The absolutive *ārabhūtā* and the passive forms *ārabhate*, *ārabhata*, *ārabhata*, presuppose the present *ārabhate*, 'to kill' (= Skt. *ālabhati*)

Root *vas* *vasya*Root *vit* *am[ā]t[ā]t[ā]*Root *sthā* *tishya*

## Second Sanskrit class

Root *as* *asti*Root *yā* [*y*] *yoti*Root *han* follows the analogy of the ninth class *upahanāti*

## Third Sanskrit class

The gerundive *prajūhita*, *yan* presupposes the present *\*jūhati* = Pali *jvhati* (for *\*jvhati*). see Pischel, GGA, 1881. 1324

## Fourth Sanskrit class.

Root *pad* *patip[ā]tha* (= Skt. *pratipadyēta*)Root *man* *mamati* (= Skt. *manayati*)

## Fifth Sanskrit class

Root *āp* follows the ninth class *prāpumati* (for *\*namti*).<sup>1</sup>

Root *iru* follows the ninth class and forms the 3 plur. imperative active *irumatu*.

## Sixth Sanskrit class

Root *ish* *ichhati*

## Seventh Sanskrit class

Both *bhuy* (*bhuy[a]mānasa*, VI, 3) and *juh* (*juhantu*, IV, 11) follow the *a*-conjugation

## Eighth Sanskrit class

Root *kri* *karoti*

Root *kshan* follows the *a* conjugation *chhanati*

## Tenth Sanskrit class and causatives

(a) With *ava* *pujayati*, *dayayitra*, *dīpayema*, *arādhayantu*, *śadhayati*. The character *aya* is contracted into *i* in *patire detha patirivedetāśayam puytojā, aradhitu, śuchitvaya*, [*a*] *śuchitva*.

(b) With *payu* *hāpṣati* and the derivative *dāpaka*. The long vowel of the root *ju* is shortened, as it is optionally in Sanskrit, before *payu* in *anapayami*. With this agrees the Prakrit *ānarati*, while Pāli has *ānāpeti* with long *ā*, cf. Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 8.

(c) With *āpayu* *likhāpayāmi*, *sukhāpayāmi* (which is, properly speaking, a denominative of *sukha*), and the derivatives *lkhāpita*, *likhāpita*, *hāpita*, *vā.āpaka*. In *likhāpita* the vowel *i* of the root *likh* is strengthened by Guna, while in *likhāpayāmi* it remains unchanged.

(d) With *pāpaya* *ropāpita*

## (1) Moods

## (a) Indicative

## Active

1 sing. *pariśramāmi*, *karomi*, *anapayāmi*

3 sing. *garahati*, *pasati*, *bhavati* and *hoti*, *asti*, *npahanāti*, *ichhati*, *karoti*, *chhanati*, *pupayati*, *śadhayati*

3 plur. *pāti* (read *hoti*, XIII, 6), *ichhati* (VII, 2) *prapumati* (XIII, 4). In these three forms we would have expected the termination *-anti* instead of *-ti*.

## Middle

3 sing. *pari(vā)k[a]mati*, *mamāte* or *mānāti*, *karote*, which follows the analogy of the active *karōti*, while Sanskrit has the weak form *karōte*.

3 plur. *karote* (IX, 3) for *\*karomte*. The termination is *-ti* in *ann[a]tari* (XIII, 9), in the future *annatisati*, in the two passives *annavidyari* and *ānubhūti*, and in the future passive *annabhasati*. The same termination is known from Vedic Sanskrit, Pāli, and Pāli, see Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 478.

## (b) Subjunctive

## Active

1. sing. *sukhāpayāmi* (VI, 12), which has the termination of the indicative, but must be explained as a subjunctive because it is co-ordinated with the optative *gachhiyam* and the imperative *ārādhayantu*.

3. sing. *mamūa* (XIII, 11) from *mamāte*. Cf. *patyāt* and many other Vedic forms.

## (c) Optative

## Active.

1 sing. *gachhiyam*.

3. sing. *asa* (= Pāli *assa* for *\*asyāt* from root *as*), *bhav*, *tisteya*. Pāli, too, has both the terminations *-e* and *-eyya*.

1 plur. *dīpayema*.

3 plur. *asu* (= Pāli *assu* for *\*asyuh*), *vareyu*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the Ardhamāgadhī form *pāṇṇanti* in Pischel's *Grammatik* k, § 7c4.

## Middle.

3. sing. *patipajetha* (XIV, 4). The termination *-tha* (= Skt. *-ta*) is the same in Pāli; see Gujçer's *Pālī*, § 129

3. plur. *susuṃsēra* (desiderative of *śru*) with the termination *-ra* for Pāli *-raṇi* = Skt. *-raṇi*.

## (d) Imperative.

## Active.

2. plur. *pativēdetha* (VI, 5). As in Prakṛit and Pāli, the termination of the corresponding person of the indicative is transferred to the imperative.

3. plur. *yujamtu, āvādhayamtu, [n]iyātu* (with *-tu* for *-mtu*), *śrūnārū* (XII, 7) from \**śrūyāti* = Skt. *śrūyāti*. With the termination *-ru* cf. the middle termination *-re* in the indicative, the optative *susuṃsēra*, and the imperative *anuvātarami*.

## Middle.

3. sing. *anuvadhīyātūm* (passive) and *śrūṣatā* (desiderative).

3. plur. *anuvātarami* (VI, 14). Pischel (GGA, 1881. 1331) compared the Vedic imperative *duhrām*. The middle termination *-rami* (for *-rām*) corresponds to Skt. *-nām*, as the active termination *-ru* to Skt. *-ntu*, and as the indicative middle termination *-re* to Skt. *-ntē*. In the optative middle the Sanskrit termination *-raṇi* agrees with Gīṇār and Pāli.

## (c) Imperfect.

3. sing. act. *aho* for \**abhot* = Skt. *abhatat*, see Johansson, *Shāhā*, § 30, last section.

## II. AORIST.

3. plur. act. *ñayāsu* (VIII, 1) = Skt. \**nyayāsuḥ* from root *yā* with the preposition *ni* in the sense of *ni*, cf. Michelson, JAOS, 31. 245. The form *ahūṃsu* (VIII, 2) seems to be based on the 3. sing. *ahu* (= Skt. *abhūt*), as Pāli *ūṃsu* on *āsī* (= Skt. *āsīt*). In *ārabhīsu* (I, 9), which must be connected with the passive *ārabhāre* (I, 11) = Skt. *ārabhyantē*, the *bh* is a defective spelling for *bh*.

## III. PRESENT.

3. sing. act. *aha*. The form *ayāya* (VIII, 2) has been generally explained as an imperfect of root *yā*. It may be as well a perfect of root *i*, = Skt. *iyāya*, but with modified reduplication.

## IV. FUTURE.

## Active.

- 1. sing. *lakhapayāsi* (XIV, 3) has the same termination as in Prakṛit and Pāli.
- 3. sing. *āñhapayāsi, vadhayāsi, kāpāsi, kāsāsi* (= Pāli *lāhāsi*) from \**karshyāsi*.
- 3. plur. [*pr*]\**vadhayāsi, anuvāṣāsi, kāsāsi* and *kāsa[n]* from root *kāsi*.

## Middle.

3. plur. *anuvāṣāre* (V, 2). In the passive *ārabhāre* (I, 12) the *bh* is a defective spelling for *bh*, cf. the remark on the aorist *ārabhīsu*, above, section II.

## V. PASSIVE.

The forms which occur in the Gīṇār text are all derived from the two Sanskrit passives *ārabhyantē* and *anuvadhīyātūm*.

3. plur. indicative *ārabhāre, anuvadhīyare* are defective spellings for *ārabhāre, anuvadhīyare*, see above, p. lxv.

3. sing. imperative *anuvadhīyātūm*.

3. plur. aorist *ārabhīsu*.

3. plur. future *ārabhāsi*.

## VI. DESIDERATIVE.

The 3. plur. optative *susuṃsēra* (XII, 7) and the 3. sing. imperative *susuṃsatā* (X, 2) are derived from Skt. *śuśīṣhat*.

## VII. PARTICIPLES

## (1) Present participle.

## Active

Root *sthā*: nom plur masc. *tistānto*.

Root *as*: nom sing. masc. *san̄to*

Root *kṛi*: nom. sing. masc. *karoto*, *karum*, *karu*.

## Middle.

Root *bhuj*: *bhujy[a]māna*.

## (2) Past passive participle

(a) In *-ta*: *mata* (= Skt *mata*, XIII, 2, and = *mr̥ta*, XIII, 1), *kāta* (= *kṛta*), *vyāpata* (= *vyāpṛta*), *vistata* (= *vistṛta*), *ucata* (= *utsṛta*), *nisṛta* (= *\*nisṛta*) *stata* (= *sthita*), *atikhāta* (VI, 1) or *atikhāta* (= *atikhṛanta*), *vuta* (= *ukta*), *samāta* (= *samāpta*), *samkṛta* (= *samkṛhṛta*), *lādha* (= *lābha*), *ānāpta*, &c. The participles *vyta* and *vṛta* (VI, 4) are used as substantives

(b) The only participle in *-na* is *prasanna*

## (3) Future passive participle

(a) In *-tarya*: *katarya* (= Skt *kartarya*), *vātarya* (= *vaktarya*), *prajuhitarya* (from *\*juhati* = Pāli *jūhati*), *evaditarya* (from Pāli *evadati*), *vṛjitya* (from *vṛji*), *pajanyā* (= *pajanyati*), *lāhetarya* (= *lāhetarya*), *paṭi[ṣ]vedita[ṣ]ya*.

(b) In *-ya*: *kāya* (= Skt *kṛtya*, IX, 8), *vāya* (= *vakyā*)

## VIII. INFINITIVE.

(a) Accusative *ārādhetu* (= Skt *ārādhayitum*)

(b) Dative *ikhanutave* from root *kṣam*, cf. Vedic forms like *charitave*, and *gautave* &c. in Pāli

## IX. ABSOLUTIVE.

(a) In *-tpā* (= Skt *-tvā*) *ārāhṭpā*, *paricahytpā* (from root *tyaj*), *dasyatpā* (from causative of *dr̥i*), *[a]-lochitpā* (= *a-lāchayitvā*)

(b) The only absolutive in *-ya* is *sachhāya* from *sam-kṣā* (= *sam-kṣya*)

## F. SUFFIXES

Under this heading I note a few remarkable formations which differ from Sanskrit.

(1) *Kṛt* suffixes.

(a) *-anā* *samītranā* from Skt *trayati*.

(b) *-ti*: *nyhati* = *\*nidhyapti*, *anusasti* = Skt *anustasti* (Bohtlingk's *Wörterbuch* 5, 991), while Pāli *anuvatti* agrees with Skt *anuvṛtti*

(c) *-ni* *hīni* (IV, 11) from root *hā* on the analogy of the participle *hīna*

The first member of the compound *vachigutti* (XII, 3) is not a fossilized locative, as Michelson (JAOS, 31, 230) thinks, but must be connected with Aitdhāmāgadhī *vai* or *vai* = *\*vachī*, see Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 413

(2) *Taddhita* suffixes

(a) *-ka*: *rajūka* (from *rayu*, see Text, p 5, n 2), and often pleonastic *etaku*, *[ā].ata[k]ṛ* *tāvataka*, *saravaka*, *ūātika*

(b) *-laka* *muhālaka* (from Skt *mahat*) = Pāli *mahālaya* and *mahālayya* (Pischel's *Grammatik*, pp 402, 404)

(c) *-ika* *śloka* and *pāralokika* (XIII, 12)

(d) *-iya*: *śloka* (XI, 4), *ekaka* (I, 6) The first component of *śloka* and *śloka* is the pronominal base *i*, from which Skt *itara*, *itas*, and *itā* (for *itā*) are derived, see Franke in GN. 1895, 535

(e) *-ara*, added to participles and substantives *badhatarara*, *kata-yatatara*, *kammatara* from Skt. *karma*

(f) *-vana* *tadātpano(ne)*, see Text, p 18, n 8

## G.—SYNTAX

Here also I do not aim at completeness, but note only a few particular constructions.

To denote time, several cases are used: the accusative in *atikātam antaram*, 'in times past' (IV, 1, V, 3, VI, 1, VIII, 1), the instrumental in *bahūhi vjāsa-satehi*, 'for many hundreds of years' (IV, 4), the dative in *dghāpā*, 'in the distant (future)' (X, 1), and the locative in *pañchasa pañchavatsāsu*, 'every five years' (III, 2), *carve kāle*, 'at any time' (VI, 3, 8), and *tadātpano(he)*, 'at the present time' (X, 1).

The nominative absolute occurs in XI, 4 — *so i[ā]thā kaṇu*, 'if one is acting thus', and the genitive absolute in VI, 3 — *bhūmy[ā]mānuṣa me*, 'while I am eating'.

The genitive is employed in connexion with *bhacati* (IV, 10) and *nāsti* (VII, 3), and instead of the instrumental with *kata* (= *kṛta*, II, 4), *sadhu-matā* (I, 61), and *kalasya-mate* (VI, 9).

The 3 sing. *asti* is the predicate of a nominative plural in I, 6, and *nāsti* in three places (II, 6, 7, XIII, 5) cf. Pischel's *Grammatik*, p. 350. In XIV, 1 f, *asti* is used as a particle in the sense of *āi*. In IX, 1, it opens a sentence, as frequently in the *Pañchatantā*, cf. Speyer's *Sanskrit Syntax* (Leiden, 1886, p. 234, n. 2). For instances from Prākṛit literature see Pischel, op. cit., p. 294.

## CHAPTER VII.

## GRAMMAR OF THE KALSI ROCK-EDICTS

## A — PHONETICS

## I. VOWELS.

The vowel *a* becomes *i* through the influence of a neighbouring *y* in *maṅḡma* (= *madhyama*), *radhyati* (= *radhayaṭi*), *radhyasati*, and *u* after a labial in *maṭa*,<sup>1</sup> *munisa* (= *manuṣya*), *uḥa-ṇa*. In *gih[r]iṭha* (= *grihastha*, XIII, 37) and *u[ḥ]v[ā]pāna* (= *udopāna*) the vowel of the second syllable is assimilated to the first. In *likyashudak* (XIII, 8) the *u* is perhaps due to a popular etymology deriving the foreign name *Ἀλέξανδρος* from *alika*, 'the forehead', and *śudara*, 'beautiful'.

The *e* of *heta* or *hetā* (= *\*tita*) perhaps goes back to an original *i*, see above, p. lvi. In *edisa* and *hedisa* the vowel *e* corresponds to the *i* of Skt. *idisa*.<sup>2</sup>

The *u* of *galu* corresponds to Skt. *u*, cf. above, p. lvi. In *munisa* (II, 6) the *u* of Skt. *manuṣya* has become *i* through the influence of the palatal *y* in the next syllable: cf. the form *manuṣa* (i.e. *manuṣa*) at Shāhbazvāhi and Mānselā, in which the *y* has palatalized the preceding *u*.<sup>3</sup> In *kho* (= Skt. *khalu*) Skt. *u* is represented by *o*, see above, p. lvi and n. 2.

As in other Prākṛits, the Skt. vowel *ī* is lost. It becomes *a* in *āṇanyu* (= Skt. *ānanyā*), *[u]ḥata*, *kata*, *dukata*,<sup>4</sup> *gahatha* (= *grihastha*, XII, 31), *dakhata*, *bhata*,<sup>5</sup> *bhataka*, *maṭa*, *vaṭa* (= *vattana*, N, 27), *vadhi* and *vadhi* (= *vuddhi*), *vūhata*, *vūpāta*, *i* in *edisa* and *hedisa*, *tāḍa*, *[ā]ḍa* (= *\*yāḍa*), *kitaṇa[u]* (= *kṛtāṇātā*), *gih[r]iṭha*, *diḥa*, *pañātika* (= *\*pranāprika*), *pitisa*, *bhatana*, *uṇḡ*, *uṇḡvayā*, *u* in *uskuta*,<sup>6</sup> *shuu* [y]u,<sup>7</sup> and after a labial in *u[gabhu]ḥ[r]*, *paṭipukha*, *u[r]juti* (= *uvritta*), *vūṭam* (= *vittam*, XIII, 11), *vūḍha* (= *vuddha*). It will be observed that in some of these words the original *ī* has caused the lingualization of the following dentals, and in *hedisa* = Skt. *idisa* it has lingualized the preceding *d*. In *[u]ḥka* (II, 6) the syllable *lu* corresponds to the syllable *vri* of Skt. *vriksha*, cf. Greek *λέκος* = Skt. *vika*, and see Wackernagel's *Altind.*

<sup>1</sup> The same form occurs in Pāli, see Geiger, § 18.

<sup>2</sup> Pāli has *edisa* and *edisā*, Prākṛit *idisa* and *edisā*, see Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 121.

<sup>3</sup> Michelson (AJP, 32, 441) thinks that the vocalization of *munisa* may have followed the analogy of Māgadhi *puṣa* = Skt. *puṣha*. But the apparent resemblance of the two words is due chiefly to the defective spelling of *munisa*, which stands for *munissa*.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Skt. *vikata* (for *vikṛita*), *alkata*, *saṃkata*.

<sup>5</sup> This Prākṛit word is used also in Sanskrit.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. the assimilation of the second vowel *i* to the first in *u[ḥ]v[ā]pāna* = Skt. *udopāna*.

<sup>7</sup> Here the *u* is due to the analogy of other forms of the root *śi* u.



dialect, like the Girmār dialect, furnishes an instance of the development of *y* from *g* in *-opaga* (II, 5) and *-āpā[ya]* (VIII, 23). From the form *Kālgya*, which, as stated on p. lxxi, occurs three times at Kālāi, it may be inferred that the intermediate stage was *\*-opagya*. Greek *γ* is expressed by *k* in *Aññh[ne]* and *Atakā*, and *χ* by *ç* in *Amtyoga*. Skt. *gā* has become *k* in *lahu* and *lahuka*.

Of palatals, *çh* has been aspirated in *kichha* (= Skt. *kīcha*, XII, 32) and *kichh* (= *\*kud + chad*). In *vacha* (VI, 18, XII, 34) *çh* corresponds to the *j* of Skt *vraja*. The letter *j* has become *d* in *palutulu* (X, 28), the absolutive of Skt. *parityajati*. Cf. Kuhn (*Pāli-Grammatik*, p. 36), who quotes from *Dhammapada*, p. 144 [13], the aorist *paruhkadī*. E. Müller's *Pāli Grammar*, p. 25, Pischiel's *Grammatik*, § 215.

Dentals are lingualized in *dvādasa*, before *ri* in *heḍisa*; after *ri* in *[u]shata* and *ushuta*, *kata*, *dukata*, *kitanā[ā]*, *bhata*, *bhataka*, *mat*, *vithata*, *vyaḍata*; after *ra* in the preposition *pati* (= Skt. *prati*). Dental *t* is palatalized in *chithu[n]* (IV, 12), the absolutive of Prakṛit *chutthadī*<sup>1</sup> (= Skt. *trishthadī*). It is replaced by *d* in *dose* (VI, 19) and *kula-sukkhāye* (V, 15).<sup>2</sup> In *talopa[ya]* (= *īadopayā* at Girmār and Dhauli) it looks as if *t* had taken the place of *d*. But the first member of the compound might be, not *tad*, but *tata* (= Skt. *tata*), cf. Senart's *Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, I, 194. In *kula* (= *idha* at Girmār) the *d* apparently corresponds to an original *dh*, but Johansson (*Shāhā*, § 57) may be right in connecting *kula* with Vedic *idā*, 'now'.

The labial aspirate *bh* has become *k* in the instrumental and dative plural in *-hi*, in *hote*, *hotu*, *aho*, *hoveyu*, *husu*, and in the participle *kuta* (= Skt. *bhūta*), while *bhuta* is used as substantive.

The semivowel *y* has become *j* in *mayulu* (= Skt. *mayura*, I, 4), *v* in *visava* (= *vishaya*, XIII, 9) and *viv[ya]* (= *vivrah*, VII, 21), *h* in *yu[hū]* (VI, 20).<sup>3</sup> Initial *y* is lost in *am* (= Skt. *yat*), *avā* (= *vayava*), *e* (= *yah*, *yat*, *yī*, *afā*) (= *yathā*), *athā* (= *yathā*), *[ā]dasa* (= *yādasa*), *āva* (= *yavat*), *avut[te]* (XIII, 39). In *apavudha* (= *apādha*) *v* was developed out of *ā*.

The syllable *ya* becomes *i* in *palutulu*, the absolutive of Skt. *parityajati*, and in *[a]pa-v[ī]yātā* (= *apa-vyayātā* at Girmār), and *vā* becomes *u* in the absolutes in *-u* (= Skt. *-tvā*).

In *[a]dasa* (= *\*trayadisa*) *aya* is contracted to *e*. The causative affixes *aya* and *ayi* either remain unchanged (in *dasyatu*, &c.) or are contracted (in *pyati*, *pyatay[ya]*, &c.), in *vandiyati* and *vandhiyati* the second *a* is changed to *i* through the influence of the palatal *y* which follows it. In the 3 sing. optative *nvat[ya]* (= Skt. *nvartayāt*) the *e* corresponds to an original *ayr*.<sup>4</sup> For *ava* we have *o* in *oladhana* *hote*, *hotu*, *aho*.

Cases of Cockneyism are *kula* (= Skt. *ihā*), *heḍisa* (= *ēḍisa*), *heta* (= *\*itra*), *hevanu*, and perhaps the conjunction *hamke* (IX, 26), which is identical in meaning with Pāli *sache*, 'if'. Johansson (*Shāhā*, I, 66) derives it from Pāli *yamke* (Childers, *Pāli Dictionary*, p. 603, a) through the intermediate form *\*amke*, while Senart (IA, 21, 88) traces it directly to *sache*.

In the edicts I-IX the Kālāi dialect agrees with the Girmār one in replacing the two sibilants *s* and *sh* by *ç*. From edict X the writer employs, besides *s*, the signs for *ç* and *sh*. In a few cases, *sh* is used where Sanskrit would require it, see *eshu*, *[va]sha* (= *varsha*, XIII, 35), *pāvhaunda*, *manu[shāna]*, *teshu*, *yeshu*, *ateshu* (= *antishu*), *Kambojeshu*, *Kāl[ī]geshu*, *natikeshu*, *Nabhapantishu*, *Pitumkeshu*, *pitushu*, *[o]rakeshu*, *ladhishu*, *manishu*. But in the majority of instances both *sh* and *s* are phonetically and etymologically impossible, see e.g. *tabu* and *tashu* (= Skt. *tapya*), *dāsa* and *dāshu* (= *dāsa*), *santhaku* and *santhaku* (= *sanstuta*), *[a]va* and *shava* (= *sava*), *śālū* and *sh[ā]la* (= *sāra*), *styāti* and *shyāti* (= *vyat*), *[ç]e* and *sh*, *shaku* (= *çha*) and *shishaku* (= *sakasi*). To explain this state of matters, we have to suppose that the writer spoke a dialect which knew no sibilant besides *s*, and that he used the letters *s* and *sh* indiscriminately for expressing the same sibilant.<sup>5</sup> In other words, the letters *s* and *sh* at Kālāi are purely graphical, and in the sequel it is tacitly assumed that every *s* and *sh* is a vicarious symbol expressing dental *ç*.

As in the Girmār dialect, all final consonants are dropped. The preceding vowel is sometimes lengthened, see *[a]mya* or *shamyā* (= Skt. *samyak*, Pāli *sammā*), *palāsā* (= Skt. *parishad*), *puna*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Singhalese *sittuu* or *hittuu*, 'to stand', in Geiger's *Litteratur und Sprache der Singhalesen*, p. 47, l. 9 f.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. below, p. lxxxv and n. 4.

<sup>3</sup> For similar forms of the 3 sing. optative see below, p. lxxxii.

<sup>4</sup> For similar contracted forms see below, p. lxxxii.

<sup>5</sup> But *ç* occurs twice in edict IV, l. 13 (*vaba* = Skt. *varsha*, and *Piyadasi*).

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Senart's *Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, I, 37, and Bühler's *Ind. Pal.*, § 14, last section.

and *puṇā* (= *puṇar*), *āva*, *ava*, *avā* (= *yāvat*). It is nasalized in *avam* (XIII, 8). The termination *-ā* generally becomes *-ā* (e.g. *putā*), but the *a* is shortened in a few cases, see below, p. lxxvi. Final *-as* becomes *-e*; e.g. *jane* (nom. sing.), *natāle* (= Skt *napṭīśā*), *lājūre* (gen. sing.<sup>1</sup> *lājām* (nom. plur.), *bh[u]re* (= *bhāyā*), *ne* (= *nah*), *se* (= *sah*), *ve* or *e*, *amre*, etc.; *[p]ole* (= Pāli *pure* Skt *purah*), *[m]u[khā][f]e*, *vijayānā[f]e*. But *o* is found instead of *i*, as at Gunnir, in *Satvapule*, *Ki[dala]pule*, *jani[yō]*, *lā[y]ano*, *yaso* or *yashu*, *halo*, *ā* in *Maṇā*, *o* in *vadhū* (XIII, 36), *kuḍalokikya* (XIII, 17), *esk[a]* (XIII, 38), *ve[cha]* (XII, 31).

Sanskrit words ending in *m* and *n* substitute Anusvāra for these two nasals, e.g. *dhammam*, *dānam*, and the two present participles *santam* and *kalamtam* (XII, 33), which correspond to Skt *san* and *kurvan*. The Anusvāra is, however, frequently omitted, see *kala[nta]* (XI, 30) and *kalata* (XII, 32) for *kalamtam*, *anata* (XI, 30) for *anamtam*, *adish* (= Skt *gudricam*, XI, 29), *pāshanda*, *pāshada*, and *pāśada*, *būdhū* (XIII, 36), *mudra* (= *māricam*, XIII, 4), *[y]o[y]* and *vijayaturaya* (XIII, 16), *[chu]va* (= *sarvam*, X, 28), *hu* or *i* (= *ivam*, XII, 32), and the accusative feminine *-anus[th]* (XIII, 12), *kita*, *khamta*, *vadhū*, *Sambodhi*, *sudhi*, *hūi*. In other instances the Anusvāra is dropped and preceding *a* lengthened, see *[ā]disā* (= Skt *yadricam*, IV, 10), *kam-[ma]talā* (= *\*karmaturam*, VI, 20), *khudā* (= *kshudram*, IX, 24), *doso* (I, 2), *mlathivā* (IX, 24), *pāsada* (XII, 32), *puṇā* (thrice = *puṇyam*), *bahuk[u]* (I, 2), *maha-pholā* (= *maha-phulam*, XIII, 14). As a rule, the nom. sing. of neuters in *-a* follows the analogy of the nom. sing. masculine and ends in *-e*, see *se*, *the*, *es*, *eshe*, *ye*, *e*, *amre*, *sare*, *shere*, *[t]ulle*, *dām*, &c. The acc. sing. neut. has the same termination in *dau* (XII, 31), *bādhutale* (XII, 31), and in the particles *e* (XIII, 38), *or*, *sh*.

Words ending in long nasalized vowels are treated in three different ways. Long *a* is generally shortened, e.g. *pāṇānu*, *tanam* (XIII, 38), *tesham* (XIII, 37), *nāt[anam]* (IV, 10), *bhā[ṭina]m* (V, 16). In other instances the Anusvāra is dropped, see the genitives plural *[hu]bbha-uana* (XI, 29), *natnā* (IV, 9), *bh[ag]a[m]nā* (V, 16), *gulanā* (IX, 27), and the accusative singular *pujā* (XII, 31), *-dumdatā* (XIII, 17), *devhā* (XIV, 23), *[ma]hathāivā* (X, 27), which is perhaps a clerical mistake for *malathāivā* (= Skt. *mahāthāivā*). Thirdly, the Anusvāra may be dropped and the long vowel shortened at the same time, see *pujaya* (= Skt *pujayan*, V, 15), *pāsādāna* (XII, 31), *m[a]nuśhānā* (XIII, 39), *[d]anu* (= *idānu*, I, 3).

## III SANDHI

Final *m* is preserved before the particle *iva* in *tamiva*, *[ā]vumiva*, *[e]vumiva*, *pālamtikyamiva* (etc.). Hiatus is prevented by nasalizing the first of two vowels in the two compounds *anmam-anashā* (= Skt *anyōnyasya*, XII, 33) and *bhutam-ayasa* (V, 15).

*a + a* are contracted into *ā* in *etāyathaye* (XII, 34), *[katabhika]le*, *kuvāpi* (= Skt *kuvāpi*), *gabha-gāla*, *-vasābhīṣita*, *dhammānusa[f]e* (XIII, 12) or *dhammanushithi* (twice), &c., but into short *a* in *dhammanusath* (thrice), *dhamma[ey]e* (XIII, 35), *[p]h[akalopulāna]* (XIV, 13), and before an original group of consonants in *[a]lā[ā]* (twice = Skt *yatra yatra*), *apalamā* (= *apamantak*, V, 15), *tenatā* (= *tenātra*, VIII, 23), *diyadha* (= *\*devikādha*, XIII, 35), *mathi* (= *mathi*), *upathar[e]* (= *upāthāya*, I, 3).

*a + ā* becomes *ā* in *pā[nā]lāibhe* (IV, 9) and *[ma]hathāivā* (= Skt *mahāthāivā*), *X, 27*.

*ā + a* becomes *a* before an original group in *[ma]hatha* (= *maha + atha*, X, 27).

*ā + u* becomes *o* in *pajopadam* (ye), on which see below, p. lxxv, n 1.

*a* is elided before *i*, *e*, *o* in *bambhan-ibhesu* (V, 15), *ekava*, *manuv-epayasa* (II, 5),<sup>1</sup> and before *n* in *chu*,<sup>2</sup> but *i* which corresponds to *cho* (= *cha + u*) in Buddhist *gathas*.<sup>3</sup>

*i + a* are contracted into *i* in *stidhiyakkha* (= *stiy-udhikyā*, XII, 34).

*u* is elided before *o* in *pas-ophāni* (II, 5).

*a* is dropped after *e* in *e yum* (V, 15), *ta[y th]ā* (VI, 19), *etā[y]e thāye* (VI, 20).

<sup>1</sup> For *tatopayā* see above, p. lxxii.

<sup>2</sup> Michelson (IP, 23-261) considers *chu* a contamination of *tu* and *chu*.

<sup>3</sup> See Kern's translation of the *Saddharma-pundarikā* (SBP, vol. 21), Introduction, p.



## IV GROUPS OF CONSONANTS

Combined consonants are either assimilated, or an auxiliary vowel is developed between them. The only groups which occasionally remain unchanged are *tu, dhr, my, vy, sv*. For the two groups *ky* and *gy* see above, p. lxxi.

Long *ā* preceding a group of consonants is generally shortened; see *ata-* (= Skt. *ātman*), *a[tiyāyiki]* (= *atyayikam*),<sup>1</sup> *anap[a]yāntu* (III, 8), *anusāthi* (= *anusāsti*), *asamatī* (= *asamāpiti*), *ayesu* (= *āryeśhu*), *āladke* (= *\*āāddham*), *gudhā* (= *\*gāddhā*), *tadaitvāye*, *palakamāmi*, *palakamānu*, *palakamena*, *pasuvati* (= *prasāvate*), *ma[ṣ]a* (= *mārga*, II, 6), *mudavu* (= *mārdava*, XIII, 4), *mahāmāta* (= *mahāmātra*). But the length is preserved in *ānapayite* and *mahāmāta*. Long *i* preceding a simple consonant is shortened and the consonant itself doubled in *tinuṣi* (= *trini*, I, 3). Similarly, *bh[u]ye*, *vadanaya*, *anuvadhayama* (read *\*yāntu*) may be meant for *bhuyye*, *vedantyya*, *anuvadhityamti*, cf. above, p. lxx. Short *u* preceding a group is lengthened in *ānatā* (= *anyatra*, XIII, 18), *pānūtikya* (= *\*pranūtripika*, IV, 11), and *shāvā-* (= *sarva-*, XII, 31). In *pālamitkya* (twice = *pāratrika*) the short *a* preceding the group *tr* has been nasalized.<sup>2</sup>

A long nasalized vowel is shortened before consonants, as it is often at the end of words (see above, p. lxxiii), in *atīkamtam* (= *atkrāntam*), *khamti* (= *kshānti*, XIII, 16), *Tambapānini* (= *Tāmrapānini*), *Pandīya* (= *Pāndiyā*), *bambhana* (= *bādhmana*), *[bha]m[da]* (= *bhānda*, III, 8), *sa[m]sayikyē* (= *samītyikam*, IX, 26). In *ō[ā]bhānā* (XIII, 37), *Dvānāpīre* (twice), and in the third persons plural *papūnāta(t)*, *palakamāntu*,<sup>3</sup> *loketu* (XIII, 17), *[piti\*]veditu* (VI, 18), the Anusvara is dropped.

As at the end of words (see above, p. lxxiii), there are many cases in the interior of words where the Anusvara is omitted after a short vowel, see *Atyoge* (XIII, 6), *atesku* (= *antēshu*), *anata* (= *ananta*) *anubadh[a]* (= *anubandhāt*), *abaka-* (= *ambuka*), *alabhi[ya]m[ti]* (cf. the aorist *alambhiyau*, I, 3), *litkyashudā* (= *Λιτγασδω*), *Kaligya* (= *Kālinga*), *pasūda* and *pāshada* (= *pāshada*)<sup>4</sup> *magala* (= *mangala*), *vikisā* (= *vikimsa*), *shambadh[c]* (= *sambandhak*), *shuv[i]bhuge* (= *samvibhāgik*), *sayama* and *sanyama* (IX, 25), *vashati* (= *vasanti*), and *manatu* (3. plur. imperative of root *man*).

While most groups of consonants are assimilated, others are avoided by developing an auxiliary vowel in the middle of them. This vowel is *a* in *ga[la]h[ati]* (= Skt. *garhātī*), *galahā*, *Atikyashudā* (= *Λιτγασδω*), *n* before or after labials in *kuvāpi*, *divē*, *divādāsa*, *paluva* (= *pāruva*), *suvamika pāpūnāta(t)*, and frequently *i*, see *lājimā* (= *lājñā*), *lājine* (= *rājñah*) the future passive participle in *taviya* -*adhyakha* (= *adhyaksha*), *[a]naniya* (= *ānaniya*), *apatyir*, *alabhi[ya]m[ti]*, *[c]katyā*, *Pandīya*, *pativasiya*, *mādhūiya* (= *mādhūya*), *vyamajana*, *vyāpata* (= *vyāpṛta*), *[shamacha]tiya* (= *\*sama-chariya*), *shamcha* (= *samchah*), *syā* (= *syāt*). Similarly, an auxiliary *i* is prefixed to the group *str* in *itū* (= *stri*).

It is unnecessary to quote examples of the groups *kr, gr, tr, dr, pr, br, bhr, śr, sr*, which have become *k, ṣ, t, d, p, b, bh, s, ś* throughout. The remaining groups and their equivalents are given in the subjoined list.

*kt* becomes *t* in *Nābhapamti*, &c.

*kr* becomes *kuv* in *kuvāpi*.

*ksh* becomes *kh* in -*adhyakha*, *khamti* (= Skt. *kshānti*), *khuda* (= *kshudra*), *dakkat*,<sup>5</sup> *[tu]kha* (= *viksha*), *mokha*, *su(sam)khita* (= *suikshipta*), *chh* in *chhanat*.

*khy* becomes *kh* in *shamkhya* (read *samkhāya*).

*khl* becomes *kh* in *kho* = Skt. *khalu*, see above, p. lvi and n. 2.

*gn* becomes *g* in *agi*.

*ju* becomes *n* in *litana[ā]* (= Skt. *kṛitaynatā*), *nūti*, *ānapayite*, but *jui* in *lājimā* (= *rājna*) and *lājine* (= *rājñah*).

<sup>1</sup> *atīyāyika* presupposes an intermediate form *\*atyāyika*, in which the initial *ā* was shortened before the group *tr*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *ramka* = Skt. *raṣṭra*, *umka* = Skt. *uṣṭka*, &c., in Fischer's *Grammatik*, § 74.

<sup>3</sup> For these two forms see below, p. lxxvii.

<sup>4</sup> The form *pāshada* may be derived from Skt. *pāshada*, see above, p. lx.

<sup>5</sup> Fischer (*Grammatik*, § 554) derives this form from *\*dikshati*, which is preserved in *ndiksha*, *tādiksha*, &c.

*dy* becomes *dy* in *Pasadyā*  
*ny* becomes *nn* or *n* in *halanna*, *pnā* (thrice = Skt. *punyam*), but *ny* in *[a]nanīa* (= *ānīya*)  
*tp* becomes *p* in *paṇṇadānc* (ye)<sup>1</sup>  
*tm* becomes *t* in *ata-* (= Skt. *ātman*).  
*ty* becomes *ty* in *apathyē*, *[t]yāyikr*, *[t]katya*, *ky* in *nikyam*  
*tv* remains in *tadadvāye* (X 27), where the *ā* of *tadā* has been shortened before the double  
 consonant of the affix *-tvā*, but *tv* is assimilated in *chatāti* (= Skt. *chatvāri*, XIII, 7)  
*ti* becomes *s* (or *sh*) in *chikitsā*, *chikitsakā*, *[u]chat[ua]* and *ushuṇa*  
*tsth* becomes *th* in *uthāna*; cf. *usthāna* at Gūṇai  
*dy* becomes *j* in *aja*, *patipajyā*, *y* in *[u]j[ānva]*, *vyāma*  
*dv* becomes *d* in *diyadha*, but *dv* in *duv*, *duvāduva*  
*dhy* becomes *jh* in *n[ī]jhati*, *mayjimsnā*, but *dhy* in *-adhiyakhā*  
*dhr* remains in *dhruvā* (I 4), but it seems to be assimilated in *[ādha]* (= *ādha* XIII, 10)  
*ny* becomes *nn* or *n* in *anna* and *ana*, *mannat[ī]* and *manuti*  
*pt* becomes *t* in *guti*, *n[ī]jhati*, *asamati*, *sulsam[ī]khiṇa* *nātā* (= Skt. *napātāh*), *panutikā*,  
*Tulamayē* (= *Πτολμαίος*)  
*pu* becomes *pnn* in *pāpunnāta*(ti)  
*bdh* becomes *dh* in *ludha*  
*bhy* becomes *b<sup>h</sup>* in *-ibhecn*, but *bhy* in *alabhi[ya]m*, *alambhy* *alābhi[ya]sa* *m* *ti*  
*ny* remains in *[a]nyā-* or *shamyā-* (= Skt. *samyak*)  
*mr* becomes *m̐b* in *ṭambapānni*  
*rg* becomes *g* in *m[ā]gc[ī]u*, *tvagēnā*, *svagēni*  
*rn* becomes *nn* in *ṭambapānni*  
*rt* becomes *t* in *kiti*, *annvatamti*, *[a]nnvat[ā]m* *nivateti*, *kataviya*, *annvateti* *m* *ti*  
*uv[va\*]kēti*, *nivak[ī]ā*  
*sth* becomes *th* in *atha*, *th* in *atha* and *nilathiyā*, above *p* *i* and *n* 4  
*rd* becomes *d* in *madava* (= Skt. *mārdava*)  
*rdh* becomes *dh* in *vadhiti*, *vadhiyati*, *dh* *i* *vadhiti*, *vadhiyati*, *[pa]r[u]dhari* *[t]* *i*,  
*diyadha*  
*śk* becomes *bh* in *gabdhāḥāla* *[t]*  
*rm* becomes *nn* or *m* in *kāṣṇa* (= Skt. *karma*), *dhamma* and *dhamā*  
*ry* becomes *y* in *ayrsu* (= Skt. *arjśnu*), but *ry* in *anam[ti]r[ī]* *yo* (= *anantarya*) *mudhiti*  
 (= *nādhitiya*), *[shamachā]ṭiyu* (= *\*sama-chaiya*)  
*rv* becomes *v* in *sata*, *nivateti*, *nr[ī]tyā*, but *rv* in *pulnva*  
*śś* becomes *s* in *dāsava*, *dasyata*, *Piyadasi* (also spelt *Piyadasi* and *Piyadasi*)  
*rsk* becomes *s* in *vasa* (also spelt *[va]śha* and *vaśa*).  
*śh* becomes *lah* in *ga[la]hātī* *śalahā*  
*tp* becomes *p* in *apo*, *kopaii*  
*ly* becomes *y* in *kayāna*.  
*vy* remains in *dutyāna* (IV, 10), but it is assimilated in *pasavati* (= Skt. *prasāvati* IX, 27)  
 and it becomes *vy* in *viyayana*, *viyachana*, *viyapatā*, *viyavāṇa*, and in the affix *-tavya*  
*vr* becomes *v* in *truv*, *pat[ā]jita* *[u]* *vaśa* (VI, 18, XII, 34) = Skt. *vraja*  
*sch* becomes *chh* in *[pa]kchā*  
*sy* becomes *sty* in *pativestya*  
*shk* becomes *k* in *dukata*, *dukala*.  
*shkr* becomes *kh* in *nikhama* *[au]* *tn*, *nikhamsu*, *nikhamithā*, *nnikhamaue*.  
*sht* becomes *th* in *atha* (XIII, 35), *th* in *nikhamithā*  
*shk* becomes *th* in *schte*, *chithu* *[u]*, *th* in *adithā* *[u]* *y*.  
*shy* becomes *s* (or *sh*) in *mausa* and *mausha*, *anup[ā]yavanti* and other futures  
*st* becomes *k* in *ag-kandh[ā]* *ni*, while Gūṇai has *ag-kh[ā]* *[u]* *mdhāni* (with *kh*)  
*tk* becomes *th* in *athi*, *nathi*, *[hā]thni*, *sānthita*, *sūthātenā*, *annayati*;

<sup>1</sup> Dhauḥ and Jaugadā read 'dāye, Mānśūtrā 'dāye, but Shāhbāzgarhī *paṇḍapadane*, which might correspond to Skt. *prajāpādane*. At Kāśī the locative of *upādāna* is excluded, because it ends in -ust. For *upāda* = Skt. \**upād* see Buhler, *ZDMG.*, 37, 431.

*str* becomes *th* in *sth* (= Skt. *strī*)

*sth* becomes *th* in *gahathāni*, *gih[i]thā*, *chi[la]-thitikyā* (V, 17), but *th* in *chula-thitikyā* (VI, 20).

*sn* becomes *shn* in *shinehc*.

*sm* becomes *s* in the locatives in *-asi*, but *ph* in *[ā]phā* (= Skt. *tasmāt*, XIII, 35).

*sy* becomes *sty* (*ity* or *shy*) in *syā*, *iryā*, *ityāti*, *shyāti* (= Skt. *syāt*), but *s* in *a[su]* (3. plur optative of root *as*) and in the genitives in *asa*

*sv* remains in *svagam* (VI, 20), but it is assimilated in *shayaka* (XIII, 16), which seems to be derived from Skt. *svayam*,<sup>1</sup> and it becomes *svv* in *svvāmika* (IX, 25).

*hm* becomes *mhh* in *bambhana* The form *bāṃhmana* (XIII, 39) is intermediate between \**bakmana* (= Skt. *brāhmana*) and \**bamhana* (*bamhana* at Gūr, IX, 5)

## B—DECLENSION

### I BASES IN -a

#### (1) Masculines and neutrals in -a

Singular	Plural
Nom masc <i>janu</i> , &c ; neut <i>dāne</i> , &c	Masc. <i>putā</i> , &c ; neut <i>phalāni</i> , &c.
Acc masc <i>dhammam</i> , &c ; neut <i>dānam</i> , &c	Masc. <i>putāni</i> , &c.; neut <i>dīyāni</i> , <i>lupāni</i> .
Insti <i>dāmu</i> or <i>dāunā</i> , &c.	[sa]hī.
Dat <i>othoyi</i> , &c.	<i>mahāmar[ā]hi</i>
Abi <i>anubadh[ā]</i> , [ <i>pa</i> ]chhā.	
Gen <i>janu[va]</i> (IV, 10) or <i>janasā</i> , &c.	<i>pāṇānān</i> , &c.
Loc <i>dhammavi</i> , &c	<i>vasavi</i> , &c.

Nom, sing masc.—There are two forms in *-o* (*Sātyaputo* and *Ki[latu]puto*, II, 4), two in *a* (*vadhū*, XIII, 36, and *hulalokikyā*, XIII, 17), and one in *-ā* (*dhakā*, XIII, 7)

Nom sing neut.—In four instances the termination is *-am* (*anantam*, IX, 26, 27, *-anusāsanam* and *kāṇam[am]*, IV, 12) It is *-a* in *adisha* (XI, 29), and *-ā* in *[a]disā* (IV, 10), *kāh[ma]talū* (VI, 20), *puna* (thrice = Skt. *punyam*)

Acc sing masc.—The Anuvāra is omitted in *-pātada* (four times, XII, 32), *-pāshada* and *-pāshanda* (XII, 33), *[shayam]* (XIII, 4), *vijay[a]* and *vijayatavya* (XIII, 16) The termination *-am* is replaced by *ā* in *at-pāsodā* (XII, 32), *bahuk[ā]* and *dova* (I, 2).

Acc sing neut.—The termination is *-a* in *madava* (XIII, 4), *-ā* in *maha-phalā* (XIII, 14), *khudā* and *ulothivā* (IX, 24). *-r* in *dāni* (XII, 31) and *būdhatali* (XII, 33).

Nom plur masc.—The final *ā* is shortened in *[nā]tikyā* (XIII, 38), *pātanda* (XIII, 37), *pūshanda* (XII, 34), *[pāsv]nda* (VII, 21), *-pūhva* (V, 14), *puyatav[i]ya* (XII, 32).

Nom plur neut.—In *hulapitā chā lopāpita chā* (II, B and C), the termination is *-ā* instead of *-āni* The Sanskrit masculine *vrishā* is used as neuter *[h]hāni* (II, 6)<sup>2</sup>

The remaining instances of the acc plur masc in *-āni* are *-kandh[ā]ni* (IV, 10), *Kahgyāni* (XIII, 16), *pāsham[dān]i*, *pari[a]jitā[u]p*, *guhathāni* (XII, 31).

Acc plur neut.—The termination is *-ā* in *ramana-dasan[ā]* (IV, 4).

Gen pluri.—The Anuvāra is omitted in *-pātadāna* (XII, 31) and *m[a]nushān[a]* (XIII, 39) The termination is *-a* in *[bā]mbhanānā* (XI, 29).

#### (2) Femines in -ā

##### Singular

Nom *ulha*, &c

Acc *puyā*, &c

Insti *puy[ā]ye*

Gen or loc *savitt[ā]nāye*

Nom sing.—In *h[ā]da[lokika]* (XIII, 18) the final *ā* is shortened

<sup>1</sup> See Text, p. 49, n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *ruchhāni* at Māns. hrā, II, 8

Acc. sing.—In [-yātam] (VIII, 22) the nasal of the original termination -ām seems to be preserved, and the ā to be shortened before it

Instr. sing.—In *ivindh[aye]* (XII, 31) the penultimate ā seems to be shortened.

## II BASES IN -i.

### (1) Masculines and neuters in -i.

Nom sing neut	<i>avamati</i>
Nom plur neut	<i>osadhī[<sup>1</sup>]</i> , <i>tuni</i> , <i>tunni</i>
Gen plur	<i>nāt[<sup>2</sup>nam]</i> <i>nātinā</i>
Loc. plur.	<i>Nābhapanitshu</i>

### (2) Femines in -i and ī

Singular.	Plural
Nom <i>hpi</i> , &c	<i>juni</i>   <i>ju</i>   -
Acc <i>Sambodhi</i> , &c.	
Instr <i>bhātīyā</i> , - <i>aunsathiye</i> .	
Dat. - <i>aunsathiya</i> <i>vadhīyā</i>	
Abi <i>ni</i> [ <i>v</i> ] <i>u</i> , <i>i</i> , <i>ā</i> , <i>Tambapanniyā</i>	
Gen	<i>bh[<sup>3</sup>ug<sup>1</sup>]<i>u</i>ā<sup>2</sup><i>na</i>  </i>
Loc <i>ayatyē</i>	

## III BASES IN -u

The nom sing *sādhu* or *shādhu* is the same in all three genders

Nom and acc sing neut	<i>bahn</i> .
Nom and acc plur neut	<i>bahuni</i>
Instr plur	<i>bā[h]u</i>   <i>hi</i>
Gen plur	<i>gulinā</i>

## IV BASES IN -ri

Nom. plur	<i>nātāle</i> (= Skt <i>naptarāl</i> )
Gen plur	<i>bhā[<sup>1</sup>tun]</i>   <i>m</i>   (= <i>bhātrīnām</i> )
Loc plur	<i>pitān</i> or <i>pitishu</i> (= <i>pitriśhu</i> )

The instr sing follows the *i*-declension *pituni*, *bhātunā*

## V BASES IN CONSONANTS

### (1) Present participles in -at

The nom sing masc. has a very curious form, it affixes the termination -ava which is evidently derived from Skt -an, to the strong form of the base *sanitam* from root *as* *kalantam* (*kāl[<sup>1</sup>ni*], *kalata*) from root *kri*

### (2) Bases in -vat

Nom. sing masc	<i>paṇava</i> (= Skt <i>paṇavān</i> )
Instr. sing	<i>hetuvāt</i> <sup>1</sup>

With the nom. sing. cf Pāli *gunava* — Skt *gunavān*

<sup>1</sup> The Kālsī dialect has mixed up *osadhī* (= Skt *oshadhī*, *icm*) with *osallā* (= Skt *amshadhī* neut)

<sup>2</sup> From Vedic *juni*, 'a wife'.

<sup>3</sup> In Sanskrit the corresponding base is not *hetuvāt*, but *hetumat*, cf Pāṇini, VIII, 2, 9 and Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 601.

## INTRODUCTION

(3) Masculines and neutres in *-an*

Singular	Plural.
Nom masc <i>lājā, lajā, lāja</i>	<i>lā[ɟ]āno, lajāne</i>
Acc neut <i>nāma, nāmā</i>	
Instr. <i>lājuna, lajuna</i>	
Gen <i>lājine</i>	

The neuter base *karmān* follows the *a*-declension nom sing *k[am]me* or *kamm[am]*, dat. *kammaye*

(4) Masculines in *-in*

Nom sing <i>Priyadasi</i> (I, 2), <i>Priyadasi, Priyadasi</i>
Instr sing <i>Priyadasiṇā, Priyadasiṇā</i>
Gen sing <i>Priyadasine, Priyadasine, Priyadasinā.</i>
Acc plur <i>[ha]thini (= hathini at Dhauli, IV, 2).</i>

The gen sing. *Priyadasinā* follows the analogy of the *a*-declension  
With the acc plur masc *[ha]thini* (i.e. *hathini*), cf *yutāni*, &c, in the *a*-declension (above), p 13

(5) Neuters in *-as*

Acc sing *vaso* or *yaso*, *bh[ṛ]ṇ*

The base *va[cha]*- (XII, 31) corresponds to Skt *vachas*

## (6) Other bases in consonants

The feminine base *dis* (or *diṭā*) forms the acc sing *dishā* (for *diṭām*) The two feminine base, *'utpad* and *parishad* also follow the *a*-declension loc sing *pajapadāne* (γ) (see above, p lxxv, n 1), *palis[a]ye*, nom pluri *palisa*

## C—PRONOUNS

## (1) Pronoun of the first person

Singular	Plural
Nom <i>hakam.</i>	
Instr <i>mamaya, mi</i> (III, 7)	
Gen <i>[mama], mamā.</i>	<i>ne</i> (V, 16)

The nom, sing *hakam* must be derived from *ahakam* (= *ahaam* in *Māhārāshtri*), see Pāṇ. V 3, 71, and Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 417

The instr sing *mamaya* for Skt. *mayā* is due to the influence of the genitive *mama* (cf *mamā*, Himmachandīa, III, 109).

(2) Base *ta*

Singular	Plural
Nom masc <i>se</i> [s], <i>the</i> , neut <i>ta</i> , <i>se</i> , [tā]r.	Masc <i>te.</i>
Acc masc <i>tam</i> , neut <i>se</i> , <i>thi</i>	<i>tihi</i>
Instr <i>tena, tana</i>	<i>tihi</i>
Dat <i>tā[ɟ]ye</i>	<i>tihi</i> .
Abl <i>[ta]phā, t[ā]</i>	
Gen <i>tava, tashu, tasu, tathā</i>	<i>tesham, tānam.</i>
Loc <i>tasi</i>	

Nom sing fem *sā, thā*

As noted by Buhler (ZDMG, 37. 592), the abl sing *[ta]phā* goes back to *tamha* (= Skt *tasmāt*), cf *aphe* and *tuphe* (= Pāṇini *amhe* and *tamha*) in the separate edicts at Dhauli and Jaugada The abl *t[ā]* is used as conjunction (V, 13), cf Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 425

(3) Base *ita*

Singular.		Plural.
Nom masc [e]se (VIII, 23), <sup>1</sup> [e]she (X, 28), <sup>1</sup> e[sh]a] (XIII, 38), neut ese, eshe.	Neut e[sh]āni	
Insti etakemā		
Dat etāya (XII, 34), etāyi, dha(e)tu[k]iye		
Gen itishā		

Nom. sing fem. [e]sh[a] (XIII, 37)

With the gen sing *itishā* cf. *etisa* at Shāhbazgarhi and Manshira

(4) Demonstrative *iyam*

Singular		Plural
Nom masc <i>iyam</i> , <i>iyam</i> , neut <i>iyam</i>		Masc <i>ime</i>
Acc neut <i>imam</i>		
Gen. <i>imas[ā]</i>		

Nom sing fem *iyam*

Dat sing fem *imayu*.

The nom masc *iyam* is taken from V, 15, where *iyam* perhaps stands for *i + yam* (= Skt *yāyam*) The form *iyam* is used as masculine in V, 16, elsewhere as feminine and neuter

## (5) Interrogative pronoun

The acc plur neut. [ā]ni is used as a demonstrative, see loc. cit. p. 35, n. 12 The indefinite pronoun is formed with *chha* - Skt *cha* (nom sing masc *kichha*) or *chhi* = Skt *chul* (nom and acc sing neut. *kichhi*) As at Girnār, the compounds *kimti* (XII, 33) and *kiti* are used in the sense of 'that'

## (6) Relative pronoun

Singular		Plural
Nom masc <i>ye</i> , <i>e</i> , neut <i>ye</i> , <i>e</i> , <i>a</i> , <i>am</i>		Masc. <i>ye</i> , <i>e</i>
Acc neut <i>yam</i> , <i>am</i> , <i>e</i> (XIII, 38)		
Instr. <i>yena</i>		
Gen <i>usi</i>		<i>yesham</i>
Loc		<i>yeśu</i>

(7) Base *anya*

Singular		Plural
Nom. masc. and neut. <i>amne</i>		Masc <i>amni</i> , <i>ani</i> , } neut <i>amnanu</i>
Acc.		
Dat. <i>amniye</i> .		
Gen. <i>amnamanashū</i>		

(8) Base *sarva*

Singular.		Plural
Nom. neut. <i>sarve</i> , <i>shave</i> , [sha]va.		Masc [sa]va
Acc masc <i>sarvani</i> , neut <i>sarvan</i> , <i>shava</i> [m]		s[a]va [v]u], <i>sharv shu</i>
Loc		

Nom. sing. fem *sharva*.

## (9)

Nom sing neut *i[ta]le*, while classical Sanskrit has *itara* etc.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. above, p. lxiv, n. 2.

# INTRODUCTION

(10) Base *ubhaya*

Gen. plur *ubhaye[sa]m*.

(11) Base *ikatara*

Loc. sing. *ekatalash[ī]*.

(12) Base *\*ṛkatiyā*

Nom. plur masc [*e*]katiyā

## D.—NUMERALS

One

Nom. sing. masc *eka*.

Two

Nom. masc. *duve*

This form may be used for all genders in all Prakrits, see Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 437.

Three.

Nom. neut. *tini, tumi*

cf. Prakrit *tumi*, Pischel's *Grammatik*, §§ 91, 438.

Four.

The nom. neut. *chatali* is used with a masculine substantive (XIII, 7) The same irregularity is frequent in Prakrit, see Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 439

Five, *ṣṣ*

Loc. *pañchasa, shashu* (= Prakrit *chhavu*)

Eight, ten, twelve, thirteen\*

*atha, dāś[a], duṣṣāśa* (with lingual *d*),<sup>1</sup> *l[ī]dāśa*

Hundred

Acc. plur *satāni*, instr. [*sa*]śatī, loc. *śhateshu*

The ordinal is *chato* (= Skt. *śatātama*), see XIII, 39

Thousand.

The ordinal is *śhak[ā]śhu* (= Skt. *śahasrātama*), see XIII, 39.

Hundred thousand.

Nom. sing. *śhaś[a]-śhaka[ī]c*

Nom. plur. [*śa*]<sup>2</sup>*śaśhatsāni*

<sup>1</sup> The *d* has been further changed to *r* in Prakrit *bārata* and *bārāha*

## E.—CONJUGATION

## I. PRESENT.

(1) *Bases.*

## First Sanskrit class

Root *kram*: *palakamāmi*, *nikhama[m]tu*.

Root *gark*: *ga[la]hati*.

Root *js* the participle *vyinamane* and the absolutive *vyin[is]tu* (XIII, 36) show that this root first followed the ninth class (Prākṛit *jigādi*) and subsequently the *a*-conjugation (Prākṛit *jigādi*).<sup>1</sup>

Root *dris* *dakhati*.<sup>2</sup>

Root *bhū*: *hoti*, *huvyū* (sixth class)

Root *vas*: *vashati*, *vas[ē]vu*.

Root *vṛt* *anuvataṁti*.

Root *sthā*. The absolutive *chithis[is]* (IV, 12) presupposes the Prākṛit present *chithhadi*.

## Second Sanskrit class.

Root *ad* follows the *a*-conjugation. *adamāna*.

Root *as* *athi*

Root *s* or *yā*: *yaṁti*.

Root *yā* *ye[haṁ]*, see below, p lxxxii.

Root *han* *up[a]hanti[is]*.

## Third Sanskrit class.

The gerundive *pojokṭavye* (I, 1) is derived from the present \**johati*, in which the *ū* of \**jūhāti* (see above, p. lxxvi) is strengthened by Guna.

## Fourth Sanskrit class.

Root *pad*. *paṭipajeyā*

Root *man* *manīnat[is]* and *manati*

## Fifth Sanskrit class.

Root *āp* follows the ninth class *pāpundā[ti]*

Root *śru* follows the *a*-conjugation *śhunc[is]*

## Sixth Sanskrit class

Root *ish*. *ichhati*.

## Seventh Sanskrit class

Root *yuj* follows the *a*-conjugation. *yujamtu*.

## Eighth Sanskrit class

Root *kṛi* The 3 sing *kaletī* follows the analogy of the tenth class, but the 3 plur *ka[la]wīti* the *a*-conjugation. Cf. Fischeľ's *Grammatik*, § 509

Root *kṣhaṇ* follows the *a*-conjugation *ckhanati*

## Tenth Sanskrit class

(a) With *aya* *dasayitu*, [*d*][*ip*][*yema*], *ālādhay[is]*(*yam*)*tu*, *a-lochayitu*, *alochay[is]*, [*pa*][*i*][*a*][*lha*]-*yisam[is]*. The character *aya* is changed to *ya* in *vadhīyati* (XII, 32) and *vadhīyati* (IV, 11) and is contracted to *e* in *pujyati*, *pujyeta[is]* *ya*, *lochetu*, *urvateti* and *ni[va<sup>a</sup>][teti*, [*pa*][*i*][*ti*][*vedetu*

<sup>2</sup> See Fischeľ's *Grammatik*, § 473.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p lxxiv, n 3



(b) With *āya* · *sukkhāyāmi* (VI, 20)

(c) With *paya* *kāpa*[*y*][*sa*]*i*, [*ānapaya*]*mi*, *anap*[*a*]*yisaṃti*, *ānapayste*, *loṭṭa*.

(d) With *āpaya* · *lekkhāpesāmi*, *lekkhāpita* (without Guna of the radical vowel), *lekkhāpita*, *halāpita*.

(e) With *pāpaya* · *lopapita*

### (2) Moods

The terminations of the middle are replaced by those of the active, with the exception of the 3. sing. aorist *nikkhamitthā* and the two participles present *adamāna* and *vijñamāna*.

#### (a) Indicative.

1. sing. *palakamāmi*, [*ānapaya*]*mi*

3. sing. [*pa*]*ti* [*lakamati*, *ga*[*la*]*huti*, *dakkhati*, *hoti*, *atthi*, *up*[*a*]*hanti*][*i*], *maṇṇat*[*i*] and *manati*, *irikkhati*, *kaletti*, *chhanati*, *pujati*, *nivatteti* and *ni*[*va*]<sup>2</sup>*ṭeti*, *vadhiyati*.

3. plur. *anuvatanāti*, *viśati* (= Skt *vasanti*), *yanti*, *icchaṃti*, *ko*[*la*]*ṇṇti*. In *pāpunāta*(*ti*) the termination *-ti* (for *-nti*) is affixed to the strong base of the ninth class (*pāpunā-*), cf. the 3. sing. *pāpunāti* and the 2. plur. *pāpunātha* in the first separate edict at Dhauḥi and Jaugada.

#### (b) Subjunctive.

1. sing. *sukkhāyāmi* (with indicative termination).

3. sing. *susukhatu* (desiderative, with imperative termination).

3. plur. *palakamātu* (with *-tu* for *-ntu*).

#### (c) Optative

1. sing. *ye*[*hāni*] (for *\*yeyāni*) from root *yā* (VI, 20). Cf. [*pa*]*ti* [*pāday*]*ekani* (or *patipādayekani*) and *ālakkheham* in the separate edicts at Dhauḥi and Jaugada. Senart has noted similar forms in the *Mahāvastu* (vol. I of his edition of this work, p. 403) *tuktheham*, *abhisambuddheham*, *gacchekkeham*.

3. sing. *nivatt[ā]*, *patipatt[ā]*, *siyā*, *siyā*, *siyāti*, *siyāti*. The two last forms (= Skt *siyā*) have the termination of the indicative; cf. Text, p. 71, n. 14. With the contracted form *nivatt[ā]* (= Skt. *nirvartayit*, IX, 26) Senart (*Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, I, 215) compares Pāli *nibbattayeyāni* (for *nibbattayeyāni*) in the commentary on the *Dhammapada*, p. 143 [I, 2]. Cf. also *choreyya* for *chorayeyya* in I. Müller's *Pāli Grammar*, p. 110, *dāve* = Skt. *dāpayik* and *padagāhe* = Skt. *prati-grāhayēk* in Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 460

1. plur. [*d*]*ipayema*

3. plur. *a*[*su*] (cf. above, p. lxvii), *huvēyu*,<sup>1</sup> *shunc*[*y*]*u*, *shushusheyu* (desiderative). The *y* of the optative is replaced by *v* in *vas*[*r*]*u* (VII, 21)

#### (d) Imperative

3. sing. *hotu*, [*a*]*nivā*[*ta*]*tu*.

3. plur. *nikkham*[*am*]*tu*, *manatu*, *yujamtu*, *ālādhaṃ*[*ya*]*tu*, *loketu* (= Skt *rōchayantu*), [*paṭi*]*-vedetu*, *anuv*[*dh*]*ya*[*m*]*tu* (passive)

#### (e) Imperfect

3. sing. *aho* (from root *bhū*).

## II. AORIST.

3. sing. middle *nikkhamitthā* (from *niss-kram*, VIII, 22). In Pāli and Ardhamāgadhī the termination is *-ittha* and *-itthā*, see E. Müller's *Pāli Grammar*, p. 115, and Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 517.

3. plur. 1. active *nikkhamisu*, *hussu* (= *ahussu* at Gīrṇār) The two forms *manissu* (XIII, 16) and *alochaysu*<sup>2</sup> are used as subjunctives.

<sup>1</sup> Hēmachandra (IV, 320, 323) quotes *huvēyya* (= Skt. *bhavēt*) from the Pāṇinī dialect.

<sup>2</sup> See Text, p. 31, n. 7.

## III. PERFECT.

3. sing. *āhā, ahā* (V, 13) = Skt. *āha*

## IV. FUTURE.

1. sing. *kachhāmi, lekhhāpēsāmi*.
3. sing. *kachhati, vadhiyati, hāpa[y]e[sat]*.
3. plur. *kachhān[i]ti, anuvatsa[m]ti, anusāsasānti, anap[a]yāsanti, [pa]r[ā]dhiyānti*, and the two passives *[a]nurvadhīyama* (read *°santi*) and *alābhi[y]asa[m]ti*

## V. PASSIVE

The terminations are those of the active.

The 3 sing indicative *pasavati* (= Skt. *prastavyati*) occurs three times and is misspelt twice (*pasavati*, IX, 26, and *pasavati*, XI, 30), cf Text, p 39, n 3

3. plur. indicative *anuvadhīyama* (read *°yanti*, = Skt *anuvadhīyante*), *alābhi[yam]*.
3. plur. imperative *anur[i]dhīya[ni]tu*
3. plur aorist *°nūbhīyisu*<sup>1</sup>
3. plur future *[a]nurvadhīyama* (read *°santi*), *alābhi[y]asa[n]* (cf the Sanskrit aorist passive *alābhi*).

## VI. DESIDERATIVE

- 3 sing subjunctive *susushdhi*
3. plur optative *shushdheya*.

## VII. PARTICIPLES

## (1) Present participle.

## Active

Root *as*. *samtam*

Root *kri* *kalamtam* (*kala[n]ta*, *kalita*)

## Middle

Root *ji* *vijnanamana*, see above, p lxxxi

Root *ad* *adamāna*.

## (2) Past passive participle

(a) In *-ta*. *matu* and *muta* (= Skt. *mata*), *matu* (= *mrita*), *kata* (= *krita*), *vayāpata* (= *vayāpita*), *vithata* (= *vistrata*), *[u]khata* and *ushuta* (= *utrita*), *nisita* (= *\*nisrita*), *likhita*, *lekhta*, *likhapita*, *khanāpita*, *hālāpita*, *lopita*, *lopāpita*, *ānapayita*,<sup>1</sup> *kuta* (= *bhuta*), *atākanta* (= *atākanta*), *su(sam)khita* (= *samkshipta*), *vudha* (= *vridha*), *aparvudha* (= *apodha*), *ludha* (= *ludha*), *āludha* (= *\*āāldha*), &c

(b) In *-na* *p[a]sh[am]na*, *vipakina* (= *\*hina*)

## (3) Future passive participle

(a) In *-tavya*. *katavya*, *vataavya*, *pujyatatavya* (see above, p lxxxix), *vijayatatavya* (for Skt *vijitavya* under the influence of the substantive *vijaya*), *pajetat[i]ya*, *pat[i]vredeta*<sup>2</sup> *vijya*.

(b) In *-anya*. *vedanya*.

<sup>1</sup> Johanson (*Shāhā*, § 76, b) explains this form as a futur derived from *\*kajjati* (= *\*karyati*), and compares the Ardhamāgadhī passive *kajjai*

<sup>2</sup> The introduction of the nasal is perhaps due to the influence of the Skt. aorist passive *alambhi* or of the substantive *ālambha* (III, 8, &c.)

<sup>3</sup> This barbarous equivalent of Skt *ānāpita* and *ājñāpita* retains the causative character *aya* of the present *ānapayati*.

## VIII. ABSOLUTIVE.

(a) In *-tu* (= Skt. *-tvā*) *ālabhitu*, *palitustu* (from root *tyaj* with Samprasāraṇa of *ya* and dentalization of *j*), *chithi[u]* (from the Prākṛit present *chithadi*), *vijus[i]tu* (from the present *\*vi-jināti*, see above, p. lxxxi), *sutu* (from root *śru*), *dasayitu*, *a-lochayitu* (= *a-rōchayitvā*).

(b) In *-ya* *shankhheya* (read *sankhāya*) from *sank-khyā*.

## F.—SUFFIXES

The pleonastic affix *-ka* (or *-kya*) occurs in *hakan* (= Skt. *aham*), *etaka*, *ava[ta]ka* (from Skt. *yāvāt*), *tāvataka*, *nātika* or *nātika* (= Skt. *jñāti*), *panātikya* (= *pranāpti*), *svāmika* (= *svāmin*). The adjective *shayuka* seems to be formed from Skt. *śvayam*; see Text, p. 49, note 2.

With the affix *-āluka* or *-ālaya* is formed *mahāluka*, 'wide' (XIV, 20), 'aged' (V, 16), = Prākṛit *mahālaya* (Lüchel's *Grammatik*, p. 402). As suggested in the Text (p. 33, n. 3), *supādālaya* (V, 14) seems to contain the same affix and to signify 'stepping fast'.

The affixes *-tara* and *-tama* are added to substantives in *kam[ma]talā* (i.e. *karmataram*, VI, 20) and *gajatame*, 'the best elephant' (Text, p. 50).

## CHAPTER VIII.

GRAMMAR OF THE SHAHBAZGARHI ROCK-EDICTS,  
WITH NOTES ON THE MANSEHRA VERSION

The Shāhbāzgarhi version has received the advantage of a detailed treatment by an accomplished linguist, Professor Johanson.—*Der Dialekt der sogenannten Shāhbāzgarhi-Redaktion der uezehn Isdikte des Königs Aśoka*. (*Tiré des Actes du 8<sup>e</sup> Congrès International des Orientalistes, tenu en 1889 à Stockholm et à Christiania*). [Part 1,] Leide, 1892. Part 2, Upsala, 1894. In the following pages the results of his investigations are utilized for my own inventory of the language of the text, which I had been able to improve by repeated examination of the fresh impressions.

## A.—PHONETICS

## I VOWELS.

The vowel *a* becomes *u* after a labial in *mus[a]* (= Skt. *mata*, XIII, 8) and *uchavuka*. In *meñati* (= *manyatā*, XIII, 11) the change of *a* into *i* is perhaps caused by the palatal *ñ*.<sup>1</sup>

If the reading *etra* (VI, 15) is correct (the other versions have here *yañ*, *eske*, &c.), it would correspond to *eta* (Girnār) and *keta* (Kālsī) = *\*itra*, see above, pp. lvi and lxx. As at Kālsī, the vowel *e* corresponds to Skt. *i* in *edisa* (= *idrīsa*).

As in Pāli, Skt. *u* is represented by *a* in *pana* (VI, 14, 15) = *puna* (six times, for Skt. *punnā*), and in *garuna* (IX, 19) = *guruna* (XIII, 4, for Skt. *gurunām*). Michelson suggests that the form *pana* may be due to vowel-assimilation, see IF, 23, 258, n. 1. In *kho* (= Skt. *khalu*) Skt. *u* is represented by *o*, see above, p. lvi and n. 2.

The vowel *ri* is replaced by (1) *a*, (2) *i*, (3) *u*, (4) *ra*, (5) *ri*, (6) *sr*, (7) *ru*, causing at the same time the lingualization of a following dental. See (1) *usatena*, *dukatañ*, *bhata*, *bhataka*, *vadh* (= Skt. *vridh*), *vapata* and *vyapata* (= *vyāpṛita*), *ananiyañ*, *[da]khati*, (2) *kita*, *s[ri]kita[m]*, *edisa*, *ladisa*, *yadisa*, *pranatika*, (3) bases in *-ri*. *pitusku*, *bhratuna*, *spasa(su)na* (= *svasṛiṇām*),

<sup>1</sup> With *meñati* Johanson (p. 19) and Wackernagel (*Altind. Grammatik*, vol. 1, p. xx) compare Gothic *ga-maijan* and German *meinen* (English *to mean*).

and for *ri* after a labial : *agrabhūti*, *viyaputa* (= *vyāpṛita*), *niuta*, *vutām* and *cutām* (= *vṛittām*), *ni. nṛta* (= *nirvṛita*), *niṛvṛti* (= *nirvṛitti*), *vudha* (= *vṛiddha*); (4) *grakatha* (= *grihastha*); (5) [kṛ]/[kṛa] (II, 4), *driddha*, *vṛstīna*; (6) *kitra* (i.e. *kṛita*, = Skt. *kṛita*);<sup>1</sup> (7) for *ri* after a labial *pu[ri]p[ra]*, *hhu*, *mruga*, *mrugaya* (= *mṛgaya*). In *ṣṛṇeyu* (XII, 7) the *ru* is due to the influence of *ṣṛu*, *ṣṛu*, &c.

In a few cases the vowel *e*, both if it is inherited from Sanskrit and if it is due to dialectical changes (cf. Johansson, § 23), appears to have become *i*, see *duv[i]* = *du[ɛ]* at Mānsehrā for Skt. *duḥ* (II, 4) and *dvau* (I, 3), *aye* for *\*aye* = Skt. *ayam*, *amūi* (VIII, 17) for *amūe* = Skt. *anyah*, *Amūkini* (nom. sing., XIII, 9), *vajani* (nom. plur., XIII, 9).

The two diphthongs *ai* and *au* have become *e* and *o*, respectively, see *niche* (perhaps = Skt. *nichai*, VII, 5), [o]i[ha]dha]ni (II, 5), *papota* (XIII, 11), *paialokika*, *-opaka* and *-opaya*.

The Kharoṣṭhi alphabet does not mark the length of the three vowels *a*, *i*, *u*, and we must always keep in mind that every *a*, *i*, *u* of the text may be meant for *a* or *ā*, *i* or *ī*, *u* or *ū*, respectively.

Initial *a* is dropped in *pi* (= Skt. *api*), *i* in *ti* (= *iti*) and *liti* (= *\*lit + iti*), *e* generally in *va*, while *eva* is preserved three times through Sandhi. Besides *va*, the text often uses the two forms *vo* (= Vedic *vō*, i.e. *eva + u*)<sup>2</sup> and *yo*, which Johansson (§ 36) derives from Prākṛit *yeva* (= Skt. *eva*).<sup>3</sup>

## II SIMPLE CONSONANTS

The guttural *k* has become *y* in *nirathiya* (= *niṣṭhiya* at Kālat) and *-opaya* (VIII, 17) = *-opaka* (II, 5), instead of which the remaining versions of the rock-edicts (besides Mānsehrā) have *-opaga*. It seems to be dropped altogether in *diadha* = *\*dvikā dha*. Greek *χ* is expressed by *k* in *Amityoka*, and *y* by the same in *Amūkini* and *Maka*. Skt. *gh* has become *h* in *lahu* and *lahuku*.

The palatal *j* has become *y* in *Kambaya*, [p]rayukhotave, *samaya* (= Skt. *saṃaya*, I, 1, 2), *raya* (= *rājā*), and is represented by *ch* in *vachaspi*, *vacha-bhumika* (also at Mānsehrā), and in *vachaspi*, [p]achayam, cf. Prākṛit *vachchū* (for *\*vrajyati*?) = Skt. *vrajati*.

Skt. *ṇ* is generally preserved, except in *kshamanaye*, *garana*, *aviprahino*, *pranatikha*, *Pitunika* (= *P[re]t[er]ika* at Gīrnār). In terminations, however, dental *n* is never lingualized after *ri*, *i*, or *sh*, see *akarena*, *agrena*, *anamariyena*, *khudrakena*, *Devanapriyena*, *paikramena*, *putrena*, *vajrena*, *abhiramam*, *rupam*, *sakusam*, *Gandharanam*, *manwanam*, *mahamam*, *Kathikanam*, *garuna*, *garuna*, *pituna*, *bhratuna*, *spasa(su)na*. On the other hand lingual *n* is newly developed after *r* in *prapnati* (from Skt. *prāpnōti*), *santirana* (from *ṣṛirayati*), and wrongly in *Devanapriy[er]* (I, 1).

Dentals are lingualized after an original *ri* (see above, p. lxxxiv), after *ra* in the preposition *pats* (eight times) or *prats* (twice) for *prats* (five times), and after *sha* in [o]sh[ā]dha]ni (II, 5), *prashanda* and *prashada* (for *\*pārshanda* and *\*pārshada* = Skt. *pārshada*). Between vowels *i* is replaced by *d* in *hapēdadi* (= *hopēdats* at Mānsehrā) and, as at Kāli, in *hida-sukhaye* (V, 12)<sup>4</sup>. Here we have the beginning of the process which, later on, every intervocalic *i* underwent in the Saurāṣṭri dialect. For *hida* (five times) = *idha* at Gīrnār, see above, p. lxxv.

As in literary Prākṛit, the labial *p* becomes *v* between vowels in *avatrappay* (XIII, 8). Initial *b* is replaced by *p* in *padham* (VII, 5) for *budham* (XIII, 3). The aspirate *bh* has turned to *h* in *hōti* (only VIII, section E, for the usual *bhōti*), *aho*, and in the termination *-hi* (= Skt. *-bhik*) of *bahukhi* and *satchi*.

As at Kāli, *y* becomes *j* in *majura* (= Skt. *mayura*, I, 3), and *v* in *vishava* (VIII, 4). It is dropped at the beginning of *eva* (five times) for *yava* (IX, 19) = Skt. *yavat* and of [i] (XIII, 5) for *ye* = Skt. *yat*, and between two vowels in *Priadruts* (thrice), *Devanapriya* (four times) or

<sup>1</sup> The spelling *kitra* suggests that (7) [kṛ]/[kṛa] is also meant for *kṛita*. Cf. Johansson, § 27, Michelson, AJP, 31, 57, and below, p. lxxxvii.

<sup>2</sup> See Hübler, ZDMG, 43, 136, according to a suggestion of the late Professor Kirst.

<sup>3</sup> Michelson (JAOS, 30, 86, n. 4) identifies *yo* with the nom. sing. masc. of the relative pronoun.

<sup>4</sup> At Mānsehrā (VIII, 35) *i* is softened also before *r* in *yada* (for *\*yadi* = Skt. *yātrā*), and *tenada* (= *tēndāra*) in both versions presupposes an intermediate form *\*tenuadra*. Cf. *adra*, *padra*, *midra* in the Wardak vase-inscription, EI, 11, 208, n. 3.

\**piasa* (I, 2), *ekatia* (I, 2), *vijetav[ra]* (XIII, 11). The syllable *ya* becomes *i* in *paritijitu* (= *palitiditu* at Kālvī). The causative affixes *aya* and *ayi* either remain unchanged (in *anapayami*, *dratayitu*, &c.) or are contracted (in *anapemi*, *anapēsamis*, &c.). The same contraction takes place in *annuneti* (XIII, 7). The *e* of the 3. sing. optative *nivatelyati* (= Skt. *nivartayati*) corresponds to an original *aye*, and the *o* of the numeral *todasa* (= Skt. *trayōdasa*) to an original *ayo*.<sup>1</sup>

The change of *r* into *l* in *palig[e]dha* (V, 13), *palibodha* (V, 13), *sala* (= Skt. *sāra*, XII, 2, 8), *lo[ck]e[sh]u* and *a-lockes*<sup>2</sup> is a Māgadhism, while, as at Girmār, *r* corresponds to *l* in \**arabhatti*, 'to kill', = Skt. *ālabhatti* (see below, p. xciv), and in *Turamaye* = *Πτολεμαῖος* (XIII, 9). As stated above (p. lvii), this wrong translation of the foreign name *Tulamaye* (Kālsī) proves that the Shāhbāzgarhi version is based on a Māgadhā original. In *Keraḍaputro* (II, 4) the *d* corresponds to the lingual *ḍ* of Tamil *Kiraḍa*, the other versions of the rock-edicts have *l* instead of *ḍ*.

The semivowel *v* is developed out of *u* and *ṛ* in *vuckati* (= Skt. *uehyati*), *vuta* (= *upta*, II, 5), and *aparvudha* (= *apēdha*). As at Kālvī, the syllable *vā* becomes *u* in the ablatives in *-tu* (= Skt. *-tū*). Contraction of *ava* into *o* takes place in *orodhana*, *bhoti*, *hoti*, *bhotu*, *aho*.

Like the Kālsī version, the Shāhbāzgarhi one distinguishes the three sibilants *ś*, *sh*, *s*, but with one important difference. While at Kālvī these three symbols are used indiscriminately (see above, p. lxxii), the Shāhbāzgarhi text generally employs each of them where it would have been in its proper place in Sanskrit.<sup>3</sup> Thus we find *ś* in *anusasti*, *atamana*, *ediśa*, *iodiśa*, *yadiśa*, *dāśa*, *deśa*, *dratana*, *dratayitu*, *Priyadrasta*, *paśu*, *pradeśi[la]*, *yaśo*, *śaka* (= Skt. *śakya*), *śata*, *śila* (i. e. *śīla*), *[śilama]* (i. e. *śilava*), *śudh* (i. e. *suddha*), *śatayiki*, *prativestiya*, *nīśita* (= Skt. \**nīśrita*), *śramana*, *śravaṇa*, *śruṇa*, *śrutu*, *śruṇeyu*, and *sh* in *eshc*, *csha*, *[o]sha[dha]u*, *ghusha*, *tośho*, *dosha*, *parisha*, *prashavinda*, *vushava* (= *vushaya*), *pitushu*, in the loc. plur. in *-eshu*, in the gen. plur. *tesha[hi]* and *yesha*, in the 3. plur. aorist *niskramishu*, *mañishu*, *lo[ck]e[sh]u*, in *vasha* (= *varsha*) and *kashati* (= \**kashyati*). Exceptions are not frequent: *s* for *ś* in *anusachana*, *[s]retha* (= *śrēṣṭha*); *s* for *sh* in *abhisita* (= *abhiśhikta*), *yesu*, *u[sha]y[sa]*, *[arabhi]yu[shu]*, *sh* for *s* in *pasichashu* and *shashu* in *manusha* (= *manushya*) and in the futures in *-sati* and *-sati* the *ś* is a defective spelling for *ś*, in which the original *sh* had been palatalized through the influence of the following *y*. In *śutruska*, *śutruskhatu*, *śutruskeyu* the first *s* (for *ś*) is probably due to dissimilation, and in *an[us]āsana*, *anusatitakiti* the second *s* (for *ś*) is due to assimilation.<sup>4</sup>

Cases of Cockneyism are *hahche* (see above, p. lxxii), *hahati* (twice) for *ahati* (thrice) = Skt *āha*, *kudu* (see above, p. lxxii), *kudalokika*. Conversely, *h* is dropped at the beginning of *[a]stina* = Skt *hastināh*, and between two vowels in *mas* = Prākṛit *maha* (gen. sing. of the pronoun of the first person), *ia* (= Skt *iha*) and *uloka*.

As at Girmār and Kālsī, all final consonants are dropped. In some cases this applies also to the *s* of final *as*, see *jana*, &c. (below, p. xc), *[sa]* (XIII, 10), *ekatia* (I, 2), *[a]stina* (= Skt *hastināh*, IV, 8), *vacha* (XII, 2). But generally final *as* becomes *o*, and frequently, as in the Māgadhā dialect, *e*, see *bhuy[ra]*, *chature*, and the nom. sing. masc. *csha*, *y[ra]* (V, 13), *ahe* (XII, 9), *jane*, &c. (below, p. xc). In *amū* (VIII, 17), *Ahitiḥini* (XIII, 9), *rajani* (XIII, 9) = *rajano* (II, 4), *-s* has taken the place of *-e*.

The Anuvāra of words ending in nasal vowels is omitted in many instances. The reason of this deficiency need not be the carelessness of the writer, but may have been as well the faint articulation of the nasal sound. Examples of the omission are *prajava* (= Skt. *prajāvān*), *ida* (IX, 20) = *idani* (XIII, 3), *ima* (IX, 19) = *imani* (passim), *aya* (twice) = *ayan* (V, 13), *[i]dani* (= Skt. *idānini*),<sup>5</sup> *eva* (twice) = *evani* (passim), the acc. sing. masc. *ath[ra]*, *doḥa*, *ba[hu]ka*, the nom. and acc. sing. neut. *dana*, &c. (below, p. xc), the acc. sing. fem. *puya*, &c., and *Sabodhi*, &c., the gen. plur. *hātina*, *Nabhitina*, *gurnna*, *bhratuna*, *spas[ra]na*, *tesha*, *yesha*, *u[sha]y[sa]*, *abhratuna*, &c. (below, p. xc).

As in the Māgadhā dialect, the nom. sing. neut. frequently ends in *-ani* instead of *-ani*, see *eshc* (X, section 1), *ye* (VI, section F, IX, F and I, XIII, 1), *savre* (XII, 5, XIV, 13), *[saha]sre*

<sup>1</sup> Mānśchrā has *tredasa*, Dhāuli and Kālsī *tedasa*, for \**trayadasa*.

<sup>2</sup> But not in *locheta*, see Text, p. 8, n. 3.

<sup>3</sup> I differ here from Johansson, §§ 14, 4th, and side with Michelson, AJP, 30 289.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Skt. *śaka* instead of \**śasa*, which is presupposed by German *Hase* (English *hare*).

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Hēmachandra, I, 29

(XIII, 1), *dane*, &c. (below, p. xc). This barbarism is due to the analogy of the nom. sing. masculine.<sup>1</sup> The termination *-e* is found even in the acc. sing. masc. (*sayame*, VII, 2) and in the particle [*e*] (= Skt. *yat*, XIII, 5). While in the nom. sing. masc. we often have *-e* for *-o* (see above, p. lxxxvi), the *-e* of the nom. sing. neut. is replaced by *-o* in *kalato* and three other gerundives (see below, p. xc), and the nom. sing. neut. of the pronoun *idam* has once the form *ivo* (XII, 2) for *iyam* (VIII, section E). The nom. sing. masc. *so* is used for the nom. sing. neut. (XIII, 2) and for the acc. sing. neut. (passim), and the relative *yo* (X, 21) for the acc. sing. neut. *yat*. Instead of *anudisvasam* at Girmāi we find *anudisvaso* (I, 2), and at XII, 6, the acc. sing. of the masculine *dhrama* is *dhramo*. Finally it must be noted that *ayi* occurs repeatedly instead of *ayan* and *aya* (= Skt. *ayam* and *iyam*).

### III. SANDHI.

Final *m* is preserved before the particle *eva* in [*e*] *rameva* and *parati* [*la*] *m eva*, and hiatus is prevented by *m* in *añam-añasa* and *bhatam-ayeshu*.

As the length of *ā* is not marked in the Kharoṣṭhi alphabet, the result of *a + u* always appears in writing as short *a*, see *kitabhikao*, *grabhagava*, *unada* (= Skt. *tendāra*), *nasti*, *pranarambho*, *mahatthavaha*, *-vashabbhista*, *supathay* [*e*], *dhramanusasti*, &c. The hiatus remains in [*atha*] *vasha-aḥhu* [*ta*] *sa* (XIII, 1).

*a* is elided before *i* in *braman-abhesku*, before *u* in *chu* (= *cha + u*) and *paj-upadane*, before *e* in *cheva*, before *o* in *manuṣ-opakani* and *lat-opayam* (see above, p. lxxii), and *u* before *o* in *paṭ-opakani*.

*s + a* are contracted into *i* in *s[stri]dhi* *yaksha* (= Skt. *stry-adhyaksha*).

### IV. GROUPS OF CONSONANTS.

As at Girmār (above, p. lix), there is some inconsistency in marking the letter *r* if it is combined with other consonants. The order of the symbols does not conform to the actual pronunciation, but to the convenience of the combinations.<sup>2</sup>

(1) *r* is combined with the preceding *akshara*

(a) in *rbk* *grabhagava* (= *garbhāgava*)

(b) in *rm*. *dhrama* (i.e. *dharma*) and *dhraima* (i.e. *dharmma*), *krama* (= Skt. *karmman*) and *kraima* (i.e. *karmma*).

(c) in *rv* *pruva* (= Skt. *pūrva*)

(d) in *rs*. *dratana* (i.e. *darsana*), *drastaytu* (= Skt. *darsayitvā*), *Priyadrasi*

(e) in *rsk* *prashamda* and *prashada* (from Skt. *pārshada*).

(2) *r* is attached to the next following consonant

(a) in *rg* *vagra* (i.e. *varga*), *spagra* (= Skt. *svarga*).

(b) in *rt*. *kirta* (i.e. *kirta*, = Skt. *kṛta*), *kirti* (= Skt. *kīrti*)

(c) in *rth* and *rth* *athra* and *athra* (= Skt. *artha*).

(d) in *rv* *savra* (i.e. *sarva*) and *savratra* (i.e. *sarvatra*)

It must be remembered that, wherever the above-mentioned words occur in the text, the transcript shows the imperfect spelling of the inscription, but not the actual pronunciation.

As at the end of words, the Anusvāra is often omitted before consonants, see *atara* and *atukra*, *atukra* (= Skt. *atīkrānta*), *Atiyoka* and *Antiyoka*, *anata* and *ananta*, *Atikasudaro* (= *Ἀτίξασδρος*), *karatani* and *karanani*, *Katiga*, *Devanapriya* and *Devanampriya*, *prashoda* and *prashamda*,<sup>3</sup> *badhana* and *sambh* [*m*] *dha*, *magala* and *manigala*, *rikisa* (= Skt. *śhimsā*), *salam* and *sa* [*m*] *tam*, *Sabodhi*, *sayama* and *sa* [*m*] *yama*, *s* [*a*] *yuta* (= *samyukta*), *suṣayika* (= *samsayika*),

<sup>1</sup> Cf. above, pp. lxxii, lxxiii, and Johansson, part 2, p. 47.

<sup>2</sup> Buhler, ZDMG, 43, 133. Cf. Johansson, § 17, and Michelson, AJP, 30, 289, n. 2.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. lxxiv, n. 4.

*sastuta* and *saṁstuta*, and the 3. plur. *karo[ti]* (IX, section C), *prapūṇati* (XIII, 6), *bhōti* (XIII, 7), *vasati* (XIII, 4), *nīk[r]amatu*, *mañā[tu]*, *aradhetu*, *pativedetu*, *rochetu*.

Some groups of consonants are avoided by the development of an auxiliary vowel, which is *a* in *garahati*; *u* before or after a labial in *duv[i]*, *prapūṇati*; and frequently *i*, as the subjoined list of Sanskrit groups and of their equivalents at Shāhbāzgarhi will show. Michelson has proved that some of these correspondences are in reality Māgadhisms and alien to the Shāhbāzgarhi dialect, see his articles in *AJP*, vols 30 and 31, and *JAOS*, vol. 30.

*ki* becomes *i* in *abhisita*, &c.

*ky* becomes *k* in *fako* (= Skt. *fakya*).

*kr* remains in *atkratañ*, &c.

*ksh* remains<sup>1</sup> in *akshati*, [*adhi*] *yaksha*, [*kshari*] *ti*, *kshayati*, *kshamanaye*, *kshamitavya*, *mo[kshaye]*, *saṁkshita*, but becomes *kh* in *khudrakena* and [*da*] *khati*.<sup>2</sup>

*khy* becomes *ksh* in *vakshamti*.

*lhy* becomes *kh* in *mukha* (= Skt. *mukhya*, XIII, 8), *saṁkhyay[a]* (= *saṁkhyāya*).

*khl* becomes *kh* in *kho* = Skt. *khalu*, see above, p. lvi and n. 2.

*gr* remains in *agra*, [*a*] *pag[r]atho* (XIII, 5), but the *g* seems to be aspirated in *apaghratho* (XIII, 6).

*chy* becomes *ch* in *vuchati* (= Skt. *uchyati*).

*jñ* becomes *ñ* in *kitrañala* (= Skt. *kṛtājñālā*), *ñati*, *ñatka*, *ñanam*, *rañā*, *raño*, *ñ*, as in literary Prakrit, in *anapayami* and *anapemi*, *anapetañiti*, *anapita*.

*yy* becomes *y* in *yoti* (= Skt. *vyōti*, IV, 8).

*ñy* becomes *ñi* in *vaiññanato* (= Skt. *vaiññanataḥ*).

*dy* becomes *d*, as at Gīrnār, in *Pañda* (XIII, 9), but *diy*, as at Kālsī, in *Pañdiya* (II, 4).

*ny* becomes *ñ* in *puñā*, *hirañā*, but *niy* in *ananiya* (= Skt. *anr̥iṇya*).

*tp* becomes *p* in *pajupadane*.<sup>3</sup>

*tm* becomes *t* in *ata* (= Skt. *ātman*).

*ty* becomes *ti* in *ekatia*, but *ch* in *aḥayika*, *apacha*, *chati*.

*tr* remains in *trayo*, *atra*, *putra*, *satvatra*, &c., but becomes *t* in *savata* (V, section N) and *todata* (= Skt. *troyōdasa*, V, 11), and *d* in *tenada* (= Skt. *tēnātra*, VIII, 17).<sup>4</sup>

*tv* remains in *tadatyaye*, but becomes *t* in the absolutes in *-ti* (= Vedic *-tv*).

*ts* becomes *s* in *usatsna*, *chukisa*.

*tsṭh* becomes *th* in *uthanas[i]* (VI, 15), but *th* in *uthanam* (ibid.).<sup>5</sup>

*dy* becomes *j* in *aja*, *patipajyati*, *y* in *nyana* (= Skt. *udyāna*).

*dr* remains in *khudrakena*.

*dv* becomes *duv* in *duv[i]*, but *h* in *badnya[sa]* (cf *dhādasā* at Gīrnār), and *d* in *diadhā*.

As at Kālsī, *dhy* becomes *jh* in *nijha[ti]* and *anunija(jha)pets* (= [*a*] *nu[nijha]* *paya[ti]* at Mānsehrū), but *dhyi* in [*adhi*] *yaksha*.

*dhr* remains in *dhruva* and *Avadhra*.

*nm* becomes *m* in *yamatra* (= Skt. *yanmātra*).

*ny* becomes *ni* or *ñ* in *anīha* and *añā*, *mañati* and *meñati*, *mañishu*, *hamñam[i]*, [*ha*] *ñiñyama*.

*pt* becomes *t* in *guti*, *nijha[ti]*, *vuta* (= Skt. *uṣta*, II, 5), *asamatani*, *saṁkshistena*, *nataro* (= *nāptarak*), *pranatika*, *Turamaye* (= Πτολεμαῖος).

*pu* becomes *pun* in *prapūṇati*.

*pr* remains in *Priyadāsi*, *Devanampriya*, *priti* (i. e. *prīti*), *prakara[ṇe]* (XII, 3) *p[r]aja* and *prajava* (V, 13), *praṇa* (i. e. *prāṇa*), *pradet[i]ka*, *pranatika*, *prapūṇati*, *prabhau*, [*p*] *rayukotave*, [*pr*] *va[ṭh]* [*e*] *sañiti*, *pravase*, *pravajyati*, *prasado*, *prasana*, *prasavati*, *avprahino*, *pratipa[ti]* (XIII, 5), *pratibhagam*, *pratibh[ā]* [*o*] *gye*, *pratruṣiyena*, [*p*] *ratruḥkane* (VIII, 17), *prativedetavo* (VI, 14), but becomes *p* in *Devanapriya* (I, 2), [*a*] *pakaranasi* (XII, 3), *pajupadane* (IX, 18), *papotra*, *patipajyati*,

<sup>1</sup> For the sign which I have transcribed by *ksh*, see Text, p. 55, note 5.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. lxxiv, n. 5.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. lxxv, n. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Mānsehrū has *yada* (for *\*yadra* = Skt. *yātrā*) in the same section.

<sup>5</sup> Mānsehrū has *uthana* in both cases.





*str* remains in *i[stra]*, *striyaka*.  
*sth* becomes *th* in *graktha*, *chra-thitka*.  
*sn* becomes *sn* in *[sɪ][ne\*]ho* (XIII, 5).<sup>1</sup>  
*sm* becomes *sp* or *s* in the locatives singular in *-aspi* and *-asi*.  
*sy* becomes *sty* in *rabhasiye*, *styā*, *styāti*, *styāsu*, but *s* in *asu* and in the genitives singular in *-asa* and *-isa*.  
*sr* remains in *paṣṣrave*, *sahasra*, but becomes *s* in *sahasani* (I, 2).  
*rv* becomes *sp* in *spa[kā]*, *spagra* (= Skt. *svarga*), *spamikena*, *spasa(su)na* (= *svasṭīṇa*).  
*hm* becomes *m* in *bramaṇa*.

## B.—DECLENSION

### I. BASES IN -a.

#### (1) Masculines and neuters in -a.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom masc. <i>jano</i> , &c ; neut <i>danam</i> , &c	Masc. <i>putra</i> , &c ; neut. <i>[o]sha[dha]ni</i> , &c.
Acc. masc. <i>dhramam</i> , &c., neut <i>maṅgalam</i> , &c.	Masc. <i>yutani</i> , &c., neut. <i>divani</i> , <i>rupani</i> .
Instr. <i>putrena</i> , <i>danena</i> , &c.	<i>śatehi</i> .
Dat. <i>athayr</i> , &c.	
Abl <i>karana</i> (= Skt. <i>kāraṇāt</i> , III, 6), <i>paśha</i> .	
Gen <i>janasa</i> , &c	<i>pramanani</i> , &c.
Loc (a) <i>orodhanaspi</i> , &c., (b) <i>dhrame</i> , &c	<i>vasheshu</i> , &c.

Nom. sing. masc.—The original termination *-s* is dropped in *jano* (XIV, 13), *ghoshu* (IV, 8), *pradeśi[kā]* (III, 6), *vadha* (XIII, 3), *saṁba[śi]dha* (XI, 23), *sayama* (VII, 4), *Maka* (XIII, 9). The Māgadhā termination *-e* is frequent, see *jane* (X, 21), *vivade* (VI, 14, 15), *Turamaye* (XIII, 9), *Devanapriye* (X, 21), &c. In *Amṛtkini* (XIII, 9) we have *-s* instead of *-e*.

Nom. sing. neut.—The Anusvāra is omitted in *dana*, *a[cha]yika* (VI, 14), *anusochana* (XIII, 2), *[du]kara* (VI, 16), *drasana* and *dasana* (VIII, 17), *puṣa* (XI, 24), *maṅgala* (IX, sections D and F), *maha-phala* (IX, 1'). As in the nom. sing. masc., Māgadhā forms in *-e* are frequent; see *dane* (VII, 4), *dratane* (VIII, 17), *likhite* (XIV, 13), *vijite* (XIV, 13), &c. In a few gerundives we have *-o* instead of *-ni* or *-e* *katavo* (IX, 18, 19; XI, 24), *prativede'avo* (VI, 14) and *paṭivedetavo* (VI, 15), *vatavo* (IX, 19, XI, 24, XII, 8), *śako* (XIII, 7). The Sanskrit masculine *bhāga* is used as neuter in *sahasra-bhagam* (XIII, 7).

Acc. sing. masc.—In *ath[ra]* (VI, section E), *dosha* and *ba[hu]ka* (I, 1), the Anusvāra is omitted. There are two irregular forms *dhramo* (XII, 6) and *sayame* (VII, 2).

Acc. sing. neut.—The Anusvāra is omitted in *[da]na* (XII, 1), *karana* (XIV, 14), *vasana* (XIII, 5), and in a few other instances.

Loc. sing.—The group *sp* of the termination *-spi* is assimilated in *[a]pakaraṇasi* (XII, 3), *nihana[s]* (VI, 15), *[ga]janasi* (III, 7), *mahana[sas]* (I, 2), *yu[tā]si* (V, 13). The termination *-e* occurs also in *anutaṭe*, *abadhe*, *avahu*, *Kalhe*, *prakara[re]*, *pravase*, *vijay[re]* (XIII, 11), *vijite*, *vivake*, *śile*.

Nom. plur. masc.—The Sanskrit neuter *apatya* is used as masculine in *[y]e me apacha vṛakṣanūts* (V, 11).

Nom. plur. neut.—The termination is *-a* instead of *-ani* in *[o]sha[dha]ni* . . . . *harapita cha vata cha* (II, 5).

The remaining instances of the acc. plur. masc. are *-kaśidhani*, *Kalga[ni]*, *-prashamāni*, *pravrajita[ni]*, *grakṣitani*.

Gen. plur.—The Anusvāra is omitted in *abhiratana* (XIII, 5), *mukhamatrama* (VI, 14), *-bramaṇa* (twice), *-bramaṇana* (IV, 9).

<sup>1</sup> Mānsehrā reads *sī[ne]he*.

(2) Feminines in -i.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. <i>ichha</i> , &c.	<i>chik[ɪ]sa</i> , [ <i>kr</i> ɪ] <i>ta</i> , <i>striyaka</i> . <sup>1</sup>
Acc. <i>puja</i> , &c.	
Instr. <i>pujaye</i> , <i>vividhaye</i> .	
Loc. <i>sa[n̄]tirāṇaye</i>	

II. BASES IN -i.

(1) Masculines in -i.

Nom. plur. *trayo*.  
Gen. plur. *ātama[is]*, *ātama*, *Nabhatma*.

(2) Feminines in -s and -s

Singular.	Plural
Nom. <i>dṛṣṭi</i> , &c.	<i>aṭavi</i> .
Acc. <i>Sabodhi</i> , &c.	
Instr. <i>-anuta[stṛ]ya</i> , <i>bhatya</i> .	
Dat. <i>-anū stīye</i> , <i>vaḍhiya</i> .	
Abl. <i>nevutya</i> , <i>Ta[n̄]bapam[is]ya</i>	
Loc. <i>ayatiya</i> .	

With the nom. plur *aṭavi* cf. Pālī *rattī*, nom. plur. of *ratti* (= Skt. *rātri*)

III. BASES IN -u.

The same forms as at Gīrnār and Kālsī occur, viz nom. sing masc, fem., and neut *śadhu*, nom and acc. sing. neut. *bahu*, nom. and acc. plur. neut. *bahuni*, instr plur. *bahuhi*, gen. plur *gurnna*, *garuna*

IV. MASCUINES AND FEMININES IN -u

Nom. plur *nataro*.  
Gen. plur *bhratma*, *spasa(su)na* <sup>4</sup>  
Loc. plur. *pitushu*.

The instr sing. follows the *u*-declension: *pituna*, *bhratma*.

V BASES IN CONSONANTS

(1) Present participles in -at

As at Kālsī, we have the two nom sing masc. *sa[n̄]tan̄ (satan̄)* and *karamtan̄ (karatan̄)*

(2) Masculine in -vat

Nom. sing. *prajava* (= Skt *prajāva*)

(3) Masculines and neuters in -an

Singular	Plural
Nom masc <i>raja</i> , <i>raya</i>	<i>rajano</i> , <i>rajani</i>
Acc neut. <i>nama</i> .	
Instr. <i>raña</i>	
Gen. <i>raño</i> .	

The neuter base *karmān* follows the *a*-declension: nom. sing. *kāmanam*, dat *kāmanā*

<sup>1</sup> The Skt. feminine *stri*, from which this curious diminutive is formed, occurs at XII 9 in the form *i[stri]*.

<sup>4</sup> At Mānsehrā (V, 24) the reading is *spas[u]na*

## INTRODUCTION

(4) Masculines in *-in*.Nom. sing. *Priyadrafti*.Instr. sing. *Priyadraftina*.Gen. sing. *Priyadraftusa*.Acc. plur. [*a*]stina (*asrī[ne]*) at Mānśhrā.The gen. sing. follows the analogy of the *a*-declension.(5) Neuters in *-as*Acc. Sing. *yato*, *bhny[et]*.The base *vacha-* (XII, 2) corresponds to Skt. *vachas*.(6) Neuter in *-is*.The base *joti-* (IV, 8) corresponds to Skt. *jyōtsi*.(7) Feminine in *-d*.

The base *parishad* follows the *a*-declension. loc. sing. *parishaye*. The nom. sing. *parisha* is preserved at Mānśhrā (III, 11).

## C.—PRONOUNS

## (1) Pronoun of the first person.

Nom. sing. *akan*.Instr. sing. *mayā*.Gen. sing. *maa*, *me*.

With the gen. *maa* cf. Prākṛit *maka*, which seems to be derived from the Skt. genitive *mama* under the influence of the dative *mahyam*; see Michelson, JAOS, 30. 85, n. 2.

(2) Base *ta*.

Singular.	
Nom. masc. <i>so</i>	} neut. <i>tan</i> , <i>so</i> .
Acc. masc. <i>tan</i>	
Instr. <i>tena</i> .	
Dat. <i>taye</i> .	
Gen. <i>tasa</i> .	
Loc. <i>tasi</i> .	

P
Masc. <i>te</i> .
<i>tesha[m]</i> , <i>tesha</i>

Nom. sing. fem. *sa*.Acc. plur. fem. *ta* (XIII, 7).

In two places (XIII, section T, and V, section H) we have *sa* for *so* (nom. masc. and acc. neut.).

(3) Base *sha*.

The acc. plur. neut. *sha* (VI, 16) corresponds to *she* (acc. plur. masc.?) at Mānśhrā, cf. Text, p. 59, n. 1.

(4) Base *eta*.

Singular.		Plural.
Nom. masc. <i>eshe</i> , neut. <i>eta</i> , <i>etam</i> , <i>etake</i> , <i>eshe</i>		Masc. <i>eta</i> (I, 3).
(X, section E).		
Instr. <i>etakena</i> .		
Dat. <i>etaye</i> , <i>etakaye</i> .		
Gen. <i>etasa</i> (III, 6, XII, 9).		

Nom. sing. fem. *eska* (XIII, 4).

The *s* of the gen. sing. *etisa*, which is found also at Mānśhrā (XII, 8), is perhaps due to the analogy of the Pāli interrogative *kissa* (from base *kī*) = *kassa* (from base *kā*)

(5) Demonstrative *idam*.

Singular.

Nom. masc. *ayanī*, *ayi*, neut. *idañī*, *ida*, *imañī*, *ima*, *iyani*, *iyō*.

Acc. neut. *imañī*.

Gen. *imisa* (IV, 10).

Nom. fem. *aya*, *ays*.

Dat. fem. *imisa* (III, 6)

With the gen. masc. *imisa* cf. *etisa* (from *ēta*) and the Gmār and Pāli instrumental *iminā*.

The dat. fem. *imisa* is an imperfect spelling of Pāli *imissā*. Cf the feminine bases *imi*, *tī*, *ei*, *ji*, *kī* in Prākṛit (Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 424).

(6) Interrogative pronoun

The indefinite *kachi* (nom. and acc. sing. neut.) forms the nom. sing. masc. *kachi* (XII, 5). The compound *kits* is used in the sense of 'that'.

(7) Relative pronoun.

Singular.

Nom. masc. *yo*, *y[e]*; neut. *yani*, *ye*.

Acc. neut. *yani*, *yo* (X, 21), [*e*] (XIII, 5)

Instr. *y[na]*.

Gen. *yasa*

Loc.

Masc. *ye*.

*yeshā* (*yeshā[m]* at Mānśhrā).

*yeshu*.

Nom. sing. fem. *ya* (XIII, 12).

Nom. plur. fem. *ya* (XIII, 7).

(8) Base *anya*.

Singular.

Nom. masc. *añe*, *aññe*, neut. *añāñī*.<sup>1</sup>

Acc.

Dat. *añaye*.

Gen. *añamañasa*.

Masc. *aññe*

Plural.  
neut. *añāñī*

(9) Base *sarva*.

Singular

Nom. neut. *sav[ra]ñī*, *sav[ra]*.

Acc. masc. and neut. *savram*, *savani*.

Loc.

Masc. *sav[ra]*.

Plural.  
*sav[ra]eshu*, *sav[ra]shu*.

(10) Base *ubhaya*.

Gen. plur. *u[bbhu]y[e]sa* (*ubhayesañī* at Mānśhrā).

(11) Base *ekātara*.

Loc. sing. *ekātare*.

(12) Base *\*ekatya*.

Nom. sing. masc. *ekattu*.

<sup>1</sup> *añ[e]* at Mānśhrā, IV, 15

## D.—NUMERALS

One.

Acc. sing. neut. [*e\**]*kañi*.

Two.

Nom. masc. and fem. *duv[ɪ]*.

Three.

Nom. masc. *trayo*.

Four.

As in Ardhmāgadhī (Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 439), the acc. masc. *chature* (= Skt. *chaturāḥ*) is used in the place of the nom. (XIII, 9)

Five, six.

Loc. *pañchashu, shashu*

Eight, ten, twelve, thirteen.

[*atha*], *dasu, badaya(sa), todasu*.

Hundred.

Acc. plui. *śatani*, instr. *śatahi*, loc. *śateshu*.The ordinal is *śata*; see *śata-bhūge*, XIII, 7.

Thousand.

The ordinal is *sahasā* (XIII, 7)

Hundred thousand.

Nom. sing. *śa[śa-saha]śre*.Nom. plur. *śata-sahasani*

## E.—CONJUGATION

## I PRESENT.

(1) *Bases*.

First Sanskrit class.

Root *lram*: *parakramati, nik[r]amati*Root *garh*: *garahati*.Root *js* [*vs*] *jinamano, vijnanti*, see above, p. lxxxi and n. 1Root *trap* *avatrapeya*Root *dris* [*da*] *kkati*.Root *ni* *annuñati*Root *bhu* *bhōti, hoti*

Root *labh*, the absolutive *ara[bhū]* and the two passive forms [*arabhi*]*y[ɪ]n* and *arabhi-śanti* presuppose the present \**arabhati*, 'to kill' (= Skt. *ālabhati*)

Root *vas* *vasati*.Root *vrit* *anuvratatu, anuvatanti*

Root *vraj*: *vraçhaiñi*. For Prākṛit *vachchai* (for \**vrajyati*?) = Skt *vrajati* see Hīma-  
chandra, IV, 225; Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 202 and n. 3

Root *stkh*. The absolutive *tīkṣhi* (IV. 10) presupposes the present \**tīkṣhati* (= Skt. *tīkṣhati*).

#### Second Sanskrit class.

Root *as*: *asti*.

Root *han*: *upahanti*.

#### Third Sanskrit class.

Root *ku*. The gerundive [*ṣ*]*rayukotave* is formed from the Skt. present *jukhōti*.

#### Fourth Sanskrit class.

Root *pad*: *patipajeyati*.

Root *man*: *mañati* and *meñati*.

#### Fifth Sanskrit class.

Root *āp* follows the ninth class: *prapūyati*.

Root *śru* follows the *a*-conjugation: *śruṣyēu*.

#### Sixth Sanskrit class.

Root *isk*: *ukhati*.

#### Seventh Sanskrit class.

Root *yuj* follows the *a*-conjugation: *yujamtu*

#### Eighth Sanskrit class.

Root *kṛi*: *karoti*, but the optative *apakareyati* and the two present participles *kṛiñantam* and *ka[rā]min[o]* presuppose the present \**karati*, \**karate*.

Root *kṣan* follows the *a*-conjugation: *kṣanati*.

#### Ninth Sanskrit class.

Root *as* follows the *a*-conjugation: *asamana* (part. pres. middle)

#### Tenth Sanskrit class.

(a) With *aya*: *dispayami*, *drasayitu*, *sukhayami*. The character *aya* is contracted into *e* in *pujēti*, *pujastayēu*, *a[rā]dhēti*, *anadhētu*, *irochetu*, *lo[çh]e[sk]u*, *u-locheti*, *pativēdētu*, *pativēdētau*, *urvatēti*, *vadhetē*.

(b) With *paya*. *anipāyami* and *anipāyēu* are *anipāyati* and *anipāyēu*, *hapiśēti*.

(c) With *āpaya*. *āpāyati*, *āpāyēu*, *āpāyati*, *āpāyēu*, *āpāyati*, *āpāyēu*.

#### (2) Moods

The terminations of the middle are replaced by those of the active, with the exception of the present participles [*ru*]*ñamāna*, *ka[rā]minā*, *asamana*.

##### (a) Indicative

1. sing. *parak[rā]ñamāmi* and *anipāyami*

3. sing. *parak[rā]ñamati*, *anipāyati*, *anipāyati*, *anipāyati* and *hotti*, *asti*, *upahanti*, *mañati* and *meñati*, *iskhati*, *karoti*, *kṣanati*, *anunij[ya]peti*, *pujēti*, *a[rā]dhēti*, *urvatēti*, *vadhetē*

3. plur. *anuvatañti*, *vraçhaiñti*, *ichhamti*. The Anuvāra is missing in *bhōti* (XIII, 7), *vasati*, *prapūyati*, *karō[ti]* (IX, section C).

##### (b) Subjunctive

1. sing. *dispayami* and *sukhayami* (with indicative termination)

## (c) Optative.

- 1 sing. *v[r]ackeyan* (from \**vackchati* = Skt. *vrajati*).  
 3 sing. *siya* and *siyati* (= Skt. *syāt*), *patipajeyati*, *apakareyati* (from Skt. *apakarōti*), *nivatyati*<sup>1</sup> (= Skt. *nivṛti* *tyati*; cf. above, p. lxxii). The four last forms have the termination of the indicative.  
 3 plur. *avatrapeyu*, *vaseyu*, *śrimeyu*, *asu* (= Pāli *assu*) and *siyasu*. With the last form cf. the optative passive [*ha*] *mūeyasu* (below, V)

## (d) Imperative.

- 3 sing. *bhotu*, *anuvatatū*.  
 3 plur. *parakramantu*, *yijantu*. The Anusvāra is missing in *mk[r]amatū*, *mañā[tu]*, *aradhētū*, *rochetū*, *pativedetū*.

## (e) Imperfect.

- 3 sing. *aho* (= Skt. *abhavat*).

## II. AORIST.

## (a) Indicative.

- 3 sing. *nikāmi*.  
 3 plur. *nikramishu*. In *abhuvasu* (VIII, 17) the aorist termination *-an* seems to be affixed to *abhuvan*, the Sanskrit aorist of root *bhū*, cf. Johansson, § 30.

## (b) Subjunctive.

- 3 plur. *mañishu* (from Skt. *manyatē*), *lo[çh]e[sh]u* (*alochayisu* at Kālāsi and Mānsehrā)<sup>2</sup>

## III. PERFECT.

To the Sanskrit perfect *āha*, which has the meaning of the present (see Pāṇini, III, 4, 84), the termination of the 3 sing. indicative present is affixed *akati* and *hakati*.<sup>3</sup>

## IV. FUTURE

- 1 sing. *kasham* ([*ka*] *sham* at Mānsehrā), *likh[ə]śam* (while Gīrnār has *likhāpaysam*)  
 3 sing. *kashati*, *vadhīśati*, *hapśati*.  
 3 plur. *kashanti*, *an[ə]vatiśanti*, *vraśhanti* (from root *vraj*), *anvāsatiśanti* (from *anu-śās*), *anapāsanti*, *pi[ə]d[ə]śanti* (*paradhayīśanti* at Mānsehrā)

## V. PASSIVE

- 3 sing. indicative *vachati* (= Skt. *uchyati*), *prasavati* (= *prāsavyati*)  
 3 plur. indicative [*a*] *nuvidhiyanti* (= *anuvidhiyanti*), *hamñānti* [*r*] (= *hanyanti*)  
 3 plur. optative [*ha*] *mūeyasu* (XIII, 8) with aorist termination, cf. *siyatu* (= Skt. *siyuh*, XII, 7), and see Johansson, § 140.  
 3 sing. imperative *anuv[ə]dyatu*.  
 3 plur. aorist [*arabhi*] *yis[ə]* (from Skt. *ālabhyati*)  
 3 plur. future *anuv[ə]dhiyam[ə]* [*ti*] (from Skt. *anuv[ə]dhiyati*), *arabhisanti* (for \**ālabhyishanti* from Skt. *ālabhyati*)<sup>4</sup>

## VI. DESIDERATIVE

- 3 plur. optative *sūśrusheyu*  
 3 sing. imperative *sūśruchatu*

<sup>1</sup> Mānsehrā reads *nivatyeta*

<sup>2</sup> See Text, p. 31, n. 7

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Text, p. 52, n. 11

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *ārabhate*, *ārabhisu*, and *ārabhisare* at Gīrnār, where *bh* is also a defective spelling for *bh*

VII. PARTICIPLES

(1) Present participle.

Active.

Root *as*: *sa[n]tām* (*satām*).

Root *kṛ*: *karāntām* (*karatām*).

Middle.

Root *ji*: *[v]jinamāna*; see above, p. lxxxii and n. 1.

Root *kṛ*: *ka[r]amāna*

Root *as*: *asamāna*.

Other participles in *-mina* or *-mīna* are found in the Māgadha edicts; cf. Bühler, ZDMG 46, 72, and below, p. cx, and chapters X and XI.

(2) Past passive participle.

(a) In *-ta*. *mata* and *mūta* (= Skt. *mata*, XIII, 8), *mūta* (= *mṛta*), *kīta*, *[kr]ṣ[ta]*, and *kīta* (= *kṛta*), *vapata*, *vyapata*, and *vyapata* (= *vyāpṛta*, V, 13), *vistṛta* (= *vistṛta*), *usata* (= *uśṛta*), *nīṣita* (= *\*nīṣita*), *nīṣita* (= Ancient Persian *nīṣita*, see above, p. xlii), *nīṣita*, *nīṣapata*, *likhita*, *likhaputa*, *hanapita*, *harapita*, *aropita*, *anapita*, *bhūta* (i.e. *bhūta*), *atkruta* (= *atkrānta*), *[la]ṣita*, *nivṛta* (= *nīrvṛta*), *vuta* (= *uṣta*), *samata* (= *samāpṛta*), *saṁkṣita* (= *saṁkṣipta*), *vudha* (= *vṛddha*), *apavudha* (= *apṛdha*), *ladha* (= *labdha*), &c.

(b) In *-na*. *prasana* (i.e. *prasanna*), *viprahina* (i.e. *\*hina*)

(3) Future passive participle.

(a) In *-tavya*. *kshamāṭavya*, *puṣṭāṭavya*, *vijayāṭavya*, *kaṭava*, *vatava*, *[p]rayukṭavya*, *putive-datava*

(b) In *-niya*. *v[e]danīya*.

(c) In *-ya*. *śaka* (= Skt. *śakya*)

VIII. ABSOLUTIVE

(a) In *-tu* (= Skt. *-tvā*). *ara[ḥ]tū*, *paritijitū* (from root *tyaj* with Samprasarana of *ya*), *śrūtu*, *drasayitū*

(b) In *-ti* (= Vedic *-tvī*)<sup>1</sup> *tīkṣti* (from the Skt. present *tīkṣhanti*) *vijñati* (from the present *vi-jñati*; see above, p. lxxxii and n. 1), *a-lochati*.

(c) In *-ya*: *saṁkṣay[a]* (from *saṁ-kṣyā*)

The dialect of the *Mānsehrā* text is nearly identical with the Shāhbāzgarhi one, but contains some more Māgadhiṣms.<sup>2</sup> It will, therefore, be sufficient to draw attention only to those forms at Mānsehrā which differ from the corresponding ones at Shāhbāzgarhi

The vowel *e* for *a* in the second syllable of *sayame* (VII, 33) may be due to the preceding palatal *y*, unless it is a clerical error. For the form *m[un]ta* (II, 8) see above, p. lxx. Instead of the vowel *ri* the Mānsehrā version has (1) *a* in *koti*, *sakoti*, *[ma]ṭe*, (2) *u* in *[pā]ṣ[ta]* *puchha*, *vapūṣa* (= Skt. *vyāpṛta*), (3) *e* in *gachtha* (= *grihastha*);<sup>3</sup> (4) *ra* in *vyapāṣa* (V, 24),<sup>4</sup> (5) *ai* in *kaṭra* (i.e. *karta* = Skt. *kṛta*), *vadhri* (i.e. *varddhi* = Skt. *vṛddhi*), (6) *ii* in *mrig[e]*, *mrigavya* (= *mrigavyā*), (7) *ru* in *vudhi* (= *vṛddhi*),<sup>5</sup> (8) *ur* in *vuṭhra* (i.e. *vṛddha* = Skt. *vṛddha*). For *ruchha* = Skt. *vrksha* (II, 8) see above, p. lxx f.

The guttural *k* becomes *y* in *[di]ya[dha]* (XIII, 1). Greek *χ* is represented by *g* in *[t]tyoge*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Delbrück's *Altind. Verbum*, § 221; Macdonell's *Vedic Grammar*, p. 412

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Michelson, *AJP*, 30, 285 f.

<sup>3</sup> The Prakrit form *gēha* is used for *griha* also in Sanskrit. Another instance of this is the root *ṛdh* = *ṛdh*; see Wackernagel's *Altind. Grammatik*, 1, 39

<sup>4</sup> The spelling (5) *kaṭra* (for *karta*) suggests that (4) *vyapāṣa* is meant for *vyapāṣa*

<sup>5</sup> The spellings (5) *vadhri* and (8) *vudhra* suggest that (7) *vudhi* is meant for *vudhi*



(II, 6) As at Kālsī, the palatal *ch* has been aspirated in *kechhi* (= Skt. *kacchī*) and *kichhi* (= \**kud + chud*). Dentals are lingualized in *duva[da]śa* (III, 9) = *duva[da]śa* (IV, 18), *tredaśa* (V, 21), and after *ri* in *kaśa, sukaśa, [ma]śa, vapaśa, vyapaśa, vruḥśa*. Sanskrit *ṣ* is preserved in *paṇaśa* (= *pranapṛśa*), but is represented by dental *n* in *ti[ni]* (= *triṇi*). In *aṇaṇyam* (VI, 31) the first *n* is due to assimilation. The *t* for *dh* in *śuti* (VII, 33) is perhaps a clerical error. The *h* of the root *bhī* has become *k* in *hoṭi, hoṭu, aho, [ku]vryu, kusu, kuta-prvū* (twice), but not in *bhūta-prvū* (V, 21) and in the substantive *bhūta* (i.e. *bhūta*). The semivowel *y* is prefixed to *e* in *yeva*, while initial *y* is lost in *e, am* (= *yat*), *[a]śise* (twice), *atra* (twice = *yatra*), *atha* (thrice = *yathā*). In *śpadāṣṭaye* (V, 21) we seem to have *r* for *l* and *v* for *y*; see Text, p. 33, n. 3, and above, p. lvii, n. 2. The first *f* of *śa[śa]yike* (IX, 7) is due to assimilation. In the aorists *kusu, [arabhi]su*, and *[alo]k[ha]y[ī]su*, dental *s* has taken the place of *śh*. In *aa* (VI, 26) = *aha* (i.e. *āha*) and *am* (VI, 30) = *aham* (VI, 28), *h* is elided between vowels.

Final *a* becomes *o* only in *tato, mukhato* (VI, 28), *yato, Devanapriyo* (VII, 32), *nīsto* (V, 25), but generally *e*, see *he[tu]r, vi[yañja]nate, natara* (= Skt. *napṭārah, rajane* (= *rājñah*), *ra[jane]* (= *rājanah*), *īryadraṣṭe* (gen. sing.), *Devanapriye*, &c. In *vinī[ś]ramaṇi* (XIII, 5) the *-e* is replaced by *-i*.

The hiatus remains in *dhramayuta-apāśbodhaye* (V, 23). *a + e* becomes *e* in *usaṇevva* (X, 11), and *ā + u* becomes *o* in *praj-opadāye* (IX, 2).

As at Shāhbāzgarhi, the letter *r* is sometimes attached to the next following consonant. Thus *nirathriya* (IX, 3) is meant for *nirathriya, vadhrite* and *vadhrayiśati* (IV, 15) for *vardhite* and *vaidhryavati*. Similarly *lapa* (= Skt. *kṛta*, V, 24) stands for *karṣa*,<sup>1</sup> *vadhri* (= *vridhri*) for *vardhri, vudhra* (= *vridhha*) for *vurdhha*. Anusvāra is omitted before consonants in *ata* (II, 5), *aparata* (V, 22), *śamata* (II, 6), *[A]tiyoge, Adha, a[nā]śaiyena, anarabhe, anubadha, apa-bha[da]ta, [abā]ka, asapa[ś]ipati, Gadharana, chhadre, para[kra]mate* (3. plur.), *śatiraṇa* (VI, 30), *nache* (for *hanche*).

*ksh* becomes *kh* in *chhanati* and *ruchhani*

*jñ* becomes *n* in *kṛtunata* (= Skt. *kṛtājñatā*), but *jñ* in *rajina* (= *rājñā*) and *rajne* (= *rājñah*).

*ny* becomes *n* in *puṇa, puṇani, apu[nē]*.

*tm* becomes *tv* in *atva* (= Skt. *ātman*).

*ty* becomes *ty* in *apatye, [eka]tiya*.

*tr* remains in *tredaśa*, but becomes *ś* in *ti[ni]* (= Skt. *triṇi*), and *d* in *tenada* and *yada*.<sup>2</sup>

*dr* becomes *d* in *khuda* and *khudakena*.

*dv* becomes *dvi* in *duva[da]śa* and *duva[da]śa*.

*dhy* becomes *jh* in *īstiya(jha)ksha*.

*ny* becomes *n*, as at Kālsī, in *ana[tra]* (X, 11), *n aṇe, aṇata* (X, 9), *aṇamaṇasa, maṇati, maṇ[ī]khu*

*pr* remains in *pī ap[ra]tra*, but becomes *p* in *paṇaśa, pavadhayāśanti, avipahin[ra], paṭibhogaye, paṭvēcīyena*.

*br* becomes *b* in *bamana* (IV, 15) = *brahmana* (passim).

*bhy* remains in *-ibhyeshu*, but becomes *bhiy* in *[ara]bh[ī]yanti*, and *bh* in *[arabhi]su* (aorist passive).

*bhr* becomes *bh* in *bhata(tu)na* (V, 24) = *bhratuna* (twice).

*my* remains in *sanya-*

*rg* becomes *g* in *ma[ge]khu*.

*rt* becomes *t* in *anuvāṭu* and *kṛti* (= Skt. *kṛti*).

*rth* remains in *nirathriya* (i.e. *nirathriya*).

*rth* remains in *vadhrite* (i.e. *vardhite*, IV, 15) and *vadhrayiśati* (i.e. *vardha*°), but becomes *dh* in *vadhite* (IV, 12)

*ly* becomes *y* in *kayana* (= Skt. *kalyāna*).

*vy* becomes *v* in *vapaśa*; *vry* in *viyapraśa, vi[yañja]nate, niryavya, kalavya, pra[johi]stavye, vatavye, paṭvēcīyaye*.

*vr* becomes *v* in *[p]rava[re]tani*.

*st* becomes *śh* in *śantika[re]*.

<sup>1</sup> In *viyapraśa* (i.e. *viyapraśa* = Skt. *vyāpṛśa*) the *r* is combined with the preceding *akshara*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. above, p. lxxxv, n. 4.

*sth* becomes *ph* in *chira-phitka*.

*sr* becomes *s* in *pa[r]savu*.

Masculines in *-a*: abl. sing. *anubadha*; dat. plur. *mahamatrehi*.

Feminines in *-ā*: acc. sing. *puja[nh]*, loc. sing. *prajopadaye*; nom. plur. *janika*<sup>1</sup>

Masculines in *-i*: loc. plur. [*Na*]bhapa[nh]ishu.

Masculines in *-ri*: nom. plur. *natare*.

Present participle in *-at*.—The gen. sing. *aśatasa* follows the *a*-declension.

Masculines and neuters in *-an* instr. sing. *rajana*, dat. sing. *kāma[n]e* (i. e. *karmāni*), gen. sing. *rajane*; nom. plur. *ra[jane]*.

Masculines in *-in*: gen. sing. *Priyadrasine*.

Pronoun of the first person nom. sing. *aani* (VI, 30) = *ahan* (VI, 28), invtr. sing. *me* (III, 9)

Base *ta*.—The nom. sing. masc. *se* is used also as nom. and acc. sing. neut., dat. plur. *tehi* (XII, 7); gen. plur. *ta[nani]* (XIII, 5).

Base *ṛta*: nom. sing. masc. [*ṛsha*] (XIII, 6), gen. sing. *ṛ[ta]sa*, nom. plur. neut. [*ṛ*]tani

Demonstrative *idam*: nom. sing. neut. *iya* (VIII, 35), gen. sing. *imasa*, nom. plur. masc. *ime*.  
nom. sing. fem. *iyam*; dat. sing. fem. *imay*

Indefinite pronoun: nom. sing. masc. *kechhi*, nom. and acc. sing. neut. *kichhi*

Base *stara*: nom. sing. neut. [*ṣ*]tare.

Numerals: [*ṣ*]a[*ṣ*] (nom. sing. masc.), *du[v]e*, *tū[ni]*, *duva[da]va* and *duvo[da]ṣa*, *tredasa*

Present indicative 3. plur. *yaanti* (from root *ṣ* or *yā*).—Subjunctive 1. plur. *dipayama*, 3. plur. middle *para[kra]matr*.—Optative 1. sing. *ye[hami]* and 3. plur. *[hu]reyu*, as in the Kālsī version, which cf. also for the aorist *husu* (VIII, 34) and the perfect *aha* (1 c. *aha*)

Passive: 3. plur. indicative [*ara*]bh[*yaanti*] (*alabhi[ya]nti* at Kālsī), 3. plur. aorist [*arabhi*]vnu (*ārābhīsu* at Gīrnāi).

Present participle: *aśatasa* (gen. sing.) from root *aś*.

Past passive participle: [*anapayit*]e (III, 9),<sup>2</sup> *ropapita* (*ropāpita* at Gīrnāi)

Future passive participle *pa[johi]taviye*, see above, p. lxxxv

Absolute in *-is* *draseti*

## CHAPTER IX. GRAMMAR OF THE DHAULI AND JAUGADA ROCK-EDICTS

### A.—PHONETICS

#### I. VOWELS

The vowel *a* is converted to *i* through the influence of a neighbouring *y* in *majhima* (= Skt. *madhyama*) and *likhyis[ami]*<sup>1</sup>. It becomes *u* after a labial in *munisa* (= *manushya*), *uchavucha*, and is assimilated to the vowel of the first syllable in *udupana* (= *udapana*)

The *a* in the second syllable of *puṭhavi*, which corresponds to Skt. *i*, was originally an auxiliary vowel; see Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 115. In *su* = Skt. *śrud*, *i* has become *u* through the influence of the preceding *v*. For *e* = *i* and *i* in *hita* (= *\*itra*) and *edisa*, *hedisu* (= Skt. *idrisu*), see above, p. lxx

Skt. *u* is represented by *a* in *pana* (= *panah*). In *putisa* (= *putisha*) the *i* of the second syllable, which corresponds to Skt. *u*, was originally an auxiliary vowel, see Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 124. For the *i* in the second syllable of *munisa* (= Skt. *manushya*), see above, p. lxx and n. 3. In *kho* (= Skt. *khalu*), Skt. *u* is represented by *o*, see above, p. lvi and n. 2

<sup>1</sup> This is a diminutive of *janī*, 'a wife', which occurs at Kālsī

<sup>2</sup> Cf. above, p. lxxxiii, n. 3.

Skt. *ṛ* becomes (1) *a* in *anāṇ* [a] (= *anṛṇa*), *ānāṇna*, *ānāṇya*, and *ānāṇya*, *usaṇa*, *kaṇa*, [ka]tū and *katu* (= *krivā*), *dakṣha*, *dakṣhā*, [bha]ṇka, *bhaṇi*, *vaḥṇi*, *viṇṇa*, *viṇṇa*, *viṇṇa*, (2) *i* in *edisa* and *hedisa*, *iḍisa*, *āḍisa* (= *yāḍisa*), *dhiti*, *p[i]ṭi*, *dhāṭi*, *māṭi*, *māṭi*, (3) *u* in *pitū* (= *pitri*, Dhau. IV, 4), and after labials in [a]nāṇ[ṇ]i (= *anāvṛṇi*), *p[al]i* [pachhā], *puṭhau* (= *prithivī*), *vudha* (= *vriddha*); (4) *e* in *dekhata*, (5) *ra* in *drakṣata* (Jau. I, 2). The syllable *vr* is represented by *lu* in *lukha* (= *vrakṣa*).

The diphthong *ai* becomes *e* in *niche* (perhaps = Skt. *nichai*), and *au* becomes *o* in *-opaga* and *-oṇa*, *osadhāni*, *mokhya* and *mokhiya*, *paṇatā*, *pālalokika*.

Short *a*, *i*, *u* are lengthened in *atyāyike* (= Skt. *ātyāyikam*), *abhikāṭa*, *ch[ai]ṭa*, *ch[ai]ṭa*, [v]iṭa, *anāvṛṇi* (Dhau. Sep.) = [a]nāṇ[ṇ]i [ya] (Jau. Sep.), *iṭanāṇi* and *aṭ[ai]ṇā* (for which Jau. Sep. reads [u]ṭāya and [aṭanāṇi]), *nithuliyena*, *y[ai]ṇi* and *yūṇi* (also *yūṇi* and *yūṇi*), *bahūni*, *bahūni*. Final *a*, *i*, *u* may be lengthened either when they are followed by the particle *ti* (= *iti*) or without it; see *ālāṇ[ai]ṇi*, *āḥ* (passim) = *āḥ* (Jau. Sep. II, 1), *chā*, *kechā*, *paṭpādāyemā* *ti*, *maṭ[ai]ṇi* *ti*, *vā* (twice = Skt. *iva*), *savēṇā* (Jau. Sep. II, 3), *koṣāni*, *apheṇi* *ti*, *ālāṇ[ai]ṇi* *ti*, [ka]tū (Jau. Sep.) = *katu* (Dhau. Sep.), *pālakama* [ai]ṇi, *yūṇi*, *ch[ai]ṭa* *ti*. Final *a*, *i*, *u*, which stand for original *am*, *is*, *ur*, are treated in the same way, see [aṭ]āṇā *ti*, *anusaṇi* *ti*, *āḥ* [aḥ] *ti*, [u]ṇi, *h[ai]ṇi*, *h[ai]ṇi*, *v[ai]ṇi*, *sudhā*, *alochayāṇi*, *ālāṇ[ai]ṇi* and *ālāṇ[ai]ṇi*, *chaleṇi* *ti* and *chaleṇi*, *nukhāṇi*, *pāṇuṇi* *ti*, *yūṇi* *ti* and *yūṇi* *ti*, *yūṇi* *ti* and *yūṇi* *ti*, *h[ai]ṇi* *ti*, *h[ai]ṇi* *ti*, *h[ai]ṇi* *ti*, *h[ai]ṇi* *ti*.

The three derivatives *gamuṭa*, *nagalaka*, and *vachanikā* correspond to Skt. *gāṇuka*, *nāgaraka*, and *vāchanika*. The *ā* of *mahā* is shortened in *mahamāṇi* (Jau. Sep. II, 1). Final *ā* is often shortened, see *athu* and *athā* (= Skt. *yathā*), *ada* and *adā* (= *yadā*), *tatha* and *tathā*, *pita* and *pitā*, *lāja* and *lajā*, *va* and *vā*, *kani* [mana] and *kamana* (= *karmāṇā*), [a]nāṇ[ṇ]i [ya] and *anāvṛṇi*, and the nominative singular feminine *achala*, *ichha*, *likhita*, *sotaviya*. Long *i* is shortened in *nityāni* (thrice) = *nityāni* (Jau. Sep. I, 7) and in the nom. plur. *nati* (Dhau. IV, 5) = *nati* (Dhau. and Jau. V, 2).

Initial vowels are dropped in *pi* (= Skt. *api*), *kakam* (for *ahakam* = *aham*), *ti* (passim) = *iti* (thrice) and *h[ai]ṇi*, *va* and *vā* (= *iva*). In *h[ai]ṇi* (Jau. Sep.) = *h[ai]ṇi* (Kālsī and Mānschrā), the vowel *u* seems to be elided.

## II. SIMPLE CONSONANTS

In the separate edicts at Jaugada the guttural *k* is softened in *pālalogai*, *hidalog[am]*, *hidalogika*, while Dhau. reads *pālalog[am]*, *hidaloka*, *hidalokika*.<sup>1</sup> *k* is represented by *y* in [ni]ṭaṇi [ya]ni (Dhau. IX, 2) and *sapādāyē* (Dhau. and Jau. V, 3), *g* by *y* in *-oṇa* (Dhau. VIII, 3) = *-opaga* (Dhau. and Jau. II, 3). In *akhakhasa* (= Skt. *akarkṣa*, Dhau. Sep. I, 22) the aspiration of the first *kh* is perhaps due to the influence of the second *kh*, which is a defective spelling of *kḥ*, and which was produced by the assimilation of the group *rk*.<sup>2</sup> Greek *χ* is expressed by *k* in *Antiyoka*.

The palatal *ch* is aspirated in [k]ṇ[ai]ṇi (Dhau. Sep. I, 7) = *kechā* (Jau. Sep. I, 4), *kimchhi* and *kichhi*. It is softened in [a]ṇ[ai]ṇi (Dhau. Sep. II, 7) = *achala* (Jau. Sep. II, 9, 11), while *j* is hardened in *Kaṇibocha* and *vachani* (= Skt. *vraj*). The palatal nasal *ñ* occurs only in *paṇinā* (Dhau. Sep. II, 6), instead of which the Jaugada text reads *paṇinā*. It is replaced by dental *n* also in *ānāṇ[ai]ṇi*, [a]ṇ[ai]ṇi [ya]ni [ai]ṇi, *nāṇi*.

As at Kālsī, lingual *n* is replaced by dental *n*. But *n* is used in four other instances [kha]ṇ[ai]ṇi (Dhau. Sep. II, 10), *myhaṇ[ai]ṇi* [ya]ni (Jau. Sep. I, 1), *pālalog[ai]ṇi* (Jau. Sep. II, 4), and *savēṇā* (Jau. Sep. II, 3).

Dentals are linguized after *ra* in the preposition *paṭi* (also *paṭi* in *paṭivedāyāni*, Jau. VI, 2), and after *ṛ* in *nsala*, *kaṇa*, [ka]tū and *katu*, *puṭhavyāni*, [bha]ṇka, *bhaṇi*, *vaḥṇi*, *viṇṇa*, *viṇṇa*, *viṇṇa*. *t* becomes *ch* in [ch]iṇ[ai]ṇi. In the Jaugada separate edicts, *d* is hardened in the following forms of the root *pad* *paṭipātayamāni*, [paṭipātayamāni], *vipaṭipātayamāni*, [saviṭipātayamāni], *saviṭipātayamāni*, while Dhau. reads [paṭipātayamāni], &c. For [dha]ṇi (Dhau. IV, 8) and *hida* (passim) see above, p. lxxii. The enclitic particle *nam* (in *h[ai]ṇi*, Dhau. and Jau. VIII, 1)

<sup>1</sup> Both Dhau. and Jau. have *sava-loka-hita* and *pālalogika*.

<sup>2</sup> For other instances of the aspiration of initial *k* see Fischel's *Grammatik*, § 206.

is derived by native grammarians from Skt. *nānu*; but in Pi-chel's opinion (*Grammatik*, § 150) it goes back to Skt. *nānam*, which would have lost its first syllable.

The labial *p* is aspirated in *apha[usa]ji* (Jau. Sep. I, 11), as in Prakrit *pharusa* (= Skt. *parusha*), see Fischel's *Grammatik*, § 208. *bh* becomes *h* in the instrumental and dative plural in *-ha*, in *laher[ā]* and *laheru*, *hota*, *hotu*, *a[h]o*, *huvanti*, *[h]uveyā*, *huvuru*, and in the participle *hutu*, while *bhūta* is used as substantive.

The semivowel *y* becomes *j* in *majūla* (= Skt. *mayūra*), and *h* in the optatives *ālubhehañ*, *yahan*, *[pa]t[ī]padayehañ* and *paṭipātneyehañ*. It is replaced by *v* before *n* and *ā* at Dhauli, while it remains at Jaugada, see *āvūtki*, *asvaseru*, *ālādhyevū*, *chalevū*, *[p]ā[p]unuru* and *pāpūnuru*, *yūyevū* and *yūyevū*, *laheru*, *[va]sevu*, *huvuru* and *huvuru*, instead of which Jaugada reads *-āp[ū]t[ī]jū*, &c. But both Dhauli and Jaugada have *nikhamavū* (III, 2) *y* is prefixed to *ε* in *yeva*, but is dropped at the beginning of *ε*, *ena*, *ani* (= Skt. *yañ*), *ata* (= *yatra*), *athā* and *atha* (= *yuthā*), *adū* and *adu* (= *yadā*), *asa* (= *yasya*), *ā* (= *ya*), *āni*, *ādise*, *āva* (= *yavat*). The syllable *ya* becomes *i* in *upa* *vya[a]t[ā]*, *paṭistij[ū]*, *bhaṭi* (= *bhṛitya*). The syllables *aya* and *ayi* are contracted to *ε* in *tedasa* (= *\*trayadāsa*), *Ujēni* (= *Ujjayini*), *ṛijhap[ε]tā[vi]ye*, *paṭivedatavīye*.

As at Kālsī, *r* becomes *l* throughout.

*v* is prefixed to *n* in *v[n]te* (= *uktam*). The syllable *va* becomes *u* in *[u]lāya* and *[atulanō]*, *vā* becomes *ū* in *[ka]tū* (= *kritvā*), and *u* in *katu*, *anusāsitu*, and other absolutes. The syllable *ava* and *avi* become *o* in *olodhana*, *vuyavaditā[vyē\*]*, *-vuyōhāka*, *hota*, *hotu*, *a[h]o*, and *hvasati* (= *bhāvishyati*).

The two sibilants *ś* and *ṣ* are replaced by *s* throughout. Skt. *ś* is represented by *ch* in *chakrye* and *chaghatha*, from root *chak* (= *śak*).

*h* is prefixed in *hida*, *heta*, *hedisa*, *hevani*.

As in other Prakrits, final consonants are dropped. A preceding short vowel is lengthened in *samiyā* (= Skt. *samyak*), *p[ā]t[ā]* (= *parishat*), *anusathī*, *ālādhyevū*, &c. (see above, p c). Conversely, a preceding long vowel is sometimes shortened, see *[siya]* and *siya* (= *syāt*), *du[khrya]* and *dakk[ε]yā*, *anubandh[ε]* (= *anubandhāt*, Dhau. V, 6), and the nom. plur. masc. *unuvigina*, &c. (below, p. civ). Final *a* generally becomes *ε*, see *Ujēnīte kute*, *[a]kha[ε]t[ī]late*, *divulati*, *mukhate*, *vayāniyante*, *ketute*, the genitives singular *atanu*, *lājine*, *Piyadasine*, the nom. plur. *lājine*, *do[ε]t[ī]ye*, *[bhūy]*, *ne*, *jane*, &c. It becomes *o* only in *seto*, *[ya]so*, and *man[ō]*, *a* in *[sam]p[ā]t[ī]pāda* (?), *so*, *esa*, <sup>1</sup> *ā* in *[ā]*. Final *ar* becomes *ε* in *ante* = Prakrit and Pāli *anto* (Skt. *antar*), and *a* in *panta* (= *punar*).

Final *a* and *u* are nasalized in *mamañ* (Jau. Sep. II, 7) = *mama* (pañim) and *sahasuñ* (Dhau.) = *sahasenu* (Jau), while the Anusvāra of words ending in short nasal vowels is omitted in *hidaloka*, *bahuka*, *vacham[ā]*, *-a[m]it[ā]*, &c. (below, p. civ), the acc. sing. fem. *Sambodh[ī]* and *hini*, *aphāka* (= Skt. *asmākaṃ*) and *[u]phāka[ā]*. The Anusvāra is dropped and the preceding vowel lengthened in *kīpti*, *vadhī*, *sudhī*, *katavijatalā*, *k[am]matala*, *divālā*, *[aph]āka* *ti*, c.f. above, p. c. But the nom. sing. of neuters in *-a* generally follows the analogy of the masculines and ends in *-ε*, see below, p. civ.

Long nasalized vowels are generally shortened, see the genitives plural *bhaginīnam*, *gūḥnam*, *bhāt[ī]nām*, *[te]p[ā]m*, *pānām*, &c., the acc. sing. fem. *yātam*, *sūśisam*, and the loc. sing. fem. *[pā]tisā[ā]* (Jau. VI, 4), *Samāpāyāni*, *Tosāyāni*, *nitiyāni*, *puṭhāyāni*. The Anusvāra is omitted in *paṭisāya* (Dhau. VI, 3); in *te[a]* and *santīlanāya* the long *ā* is shortened at the same time.<sup>2</sup>

### III. SANDHI.

Final *d* is preserved in *[ta]d[ā]payā*, and final *m* in *hedivam* *εva*. In *hemva* (= Skt. *hemva*) the syllable *va* of *ivam* is dropped.<sup>3</sup> The final *m* is doubled in *hevammeva* and *sukhammeva*. Hiatus is prevented by *m* in *bhāt[m-ayesu]*.

Hiatus remains in *svag[ā]lādhi* (Jau. Sep.), *mahā-apīye* (Dhau Sep.) = *mahāpīy[ε]* (Jau

<sup>1</sup> The two last words, although masculine in form, are used as neuters.

<sup>2</sup> But *paṭisāya* and *santīlanāya* may as well be genitives used in the sense of the locative.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *emeva* = Skt. *ivam-iva*, Hémachandra, I, 271, and Jacobi, ZDMG, 47, 579.

Sep.), *duḥhale* (Dhau. Sep. and Jau. Sep.), *pasu-opagāns* (Dhau. and Jau.), *man[o]-atsleke* (Dhau. Sep. and Jau. Sep.) As a rule, *a* + *ā* are contracted into *ā*; see -*vasābhūsta*, *pānālam̐bhe*, &c. But the *ā* is shortened before a group of consonants; see *atata* (= Skt. *yatra yatra*), *āpalam̐tā* (= \**āpa-rūtāh*). [*r*][*u*][*tā*] (= *tuātra*), *uathu* (= *nāsti*), *badhana*[*n*][*ik*][*a*] (= *bandhanāntikam*), *sāpakhāye*. Final *a* preceding *i*, *u*, *e*, *o* is dropped in *bābha*[*n*]-*ibhi*[*yes*]*u*, *chu* (= *cha* + *u*), [*p*][*a*]*j-upadāye*, *chēva*, [*tā*][*e*]*sa*, *munis-opagāns*. In *ere* (Jau. Sep. I, 7) the nasal vowel *aiu* of *evam* is treated in the same manner before *e* (= *yak*) *a* is elided after *e* in [*r*][*y*][*aiu*] for *e* + *ayaiu* (= Skt. *yāyam*).

#### IV GROUPS OF CONSONANTS.

The only Sanskrit groups which occasionally remain unchanged are *kky*, *tr*, *tv*, *ny*, *pr*, *my*, *vy*, *vr* (which becomes *sv*), *sm*, *ty*, *sv*. Moreover the group *rs* is preserved at Jaugāda in *drasayitu* (IV, 1) and *Piyadi asine* (I, 3), which are meant for *darsayitu* and *Piyadarsine*, cf. above, p. lxxvii. All other groups of consonants are either assimilated, or an auxiliary vowel is developed within them.

A long vowel preceding a group is generally shortened, see *atane* (= *ātmanah*), *atānaini*, *atijyāiki* (= *ātyayikam*), *anusathi* (= *anūstāti*), *anusathe*, [*ayesu*] (= *āryēshu*), *asvāsānāye*, *asvāsa*[*n*][*yā*], [*a*]*svaseryu*, *asvaseryu*, *asamati* (= *asamāpti*), *aladhi* (= \**ārāddhi*), *tadatvāye*, [*a*]*lakāmāu*, *palakāmāu*, *māga* (= *mārga*), *mahamatā* (Jau Sep II, 1), *lathika*, *sasvatam*, *isāya* (= *iśhyā*), *kiti* (= *kīrti*), *pūruva* (= *pūrva*).<sup>1</sup> But *ā* remains in *ānapayāmi*, *ā[na]*[*p*][*ay*][*u*][*a*]*ti*, *mahāmāta* (passim), *sāsvatam* (Jau. Sep. II, 14). In *timu* (= *trini*) the *i* is shortened and the nasal doubled. Similarly, the short vowels *i* and *u* in *asvāsā*[*n*][*yā*], *da*[*v*][*y*]*ye*, and [*bhuy*]*e* suggest that these three words are meant for *asvāsaniyyā*, *daviyye*, and *bhuyye*, cf. above, p. lxxiv.

A long nasalized vowel is shortened before consonants in *atikamitaiu*, *apa-bh[aiu]datā*, *kilamte*, *Dvānampiya*, *Paṇḍiya bambhana*, while the nasal is dropped and the length retained in *bābhana*. In *chhūda* (Jau Sep II, 5, 11) = *ikhaṇḍa* (passim), the *au* is lengthened although it is followed by a consonant. Anusvāra is omitted after short vowels in *kichhi* (cf. above, p. lx), *badhana* (= Skt. *bandhana*), *vahisā*, after *e* in *kaleti* (Dhau and Jau IX, 2), and before *y* in *anusayānam*, *sayama*, *sayuta* (= *sānyukta*).

The auxiliary vowel which is developed within some groups is *u* before or after labials in *duve*, *duvadasa*, *duvāla*, *pūruva*, *svāmika*, *pāpandti*, *e* in *ānaneyam* (Jau Sep.) = *ānanayam* (Dhau.), and frequently *i*, as the subjoined list of Sanskrit groups and of their equivalents at Dhau and Jaugāda will show. I need not quote any examples of the groups *kr*, *gr*, *dr*, *dhr*, *br*, *bhr*, *ś*, *ṣ*, which have become *k*, *g*, *d*, *dh*, *b*, *bh*, *ś*, *ṣ*, respectively.

*khh* becomes *kh* (i.e. *khh*) in *dukha*[*n*] and *dukhiyati*.

*kt* becomes *t* in -*ā*[*u*][*ke*], -*ānutile*, &c.

*ky* becomes *kuy* in *vakiye* and *chakiye*.

*kl* becomes *kil* in *kilamte*, [*i*][*l*]*annathena*, *palakilesa*.

*ksh* becomes *kh* in *khausa*, *khamstave*, *khamisati*, [*k*][*h*]*nd[aiu]*, *kṛudakena*, *T[a]**kha*[*s*]*ilāte*, *dukṛāmi*, &c.<sup>2</sup> *nokhatana*, *mokhāye*, *lukhāni*.

*kshu* becomes *khu* in [*u*][*k*]*hna* (= Skt. *śukshna*).

*kchy* becomes *gh* in *chughutha*.

*khy* remains in *mokhyu* (Dhau Sep.), but becomes *khiy* in *mokhiyu* (Jau. Sep.).

*khl* becomes *kh* in *kho* = Skt. *khalu*; see above, p. lvi and n. 2.

*gu* becomes *g* in [*a*][*ei*], but *gin* in *anuvagina*.

*jū* becomes *ju* in *lājūā*, *lājue*, *jū* in *patimūā* (Dhau Sep.); *iū* or *u* in *patimūā* (Jau. Sep.).

*ānapayāmi*, *ā[na]*[*p*][*ay*][*u*][*a*]*ti*, *ānap[ay]*[*u*][*a*]*ti*, *natisu*.

*yy* becomes *y* in the passive forms *yujeyā* and *y[ū]**reyā*.

*dy* becomes *dy* in *Paṇḍiyā*.

*ny* becomes *nu* in *kilānina* and *ānānne*, but *ny* in *ānanayam*, and *ney* in *ānaneyam*.

*tp* becomes *p* in [*p*][*a*]*jupadāye*.

<sup>1</sup> *pūruva* presupposes an intermediate form \**pūruva*, in which the *ū* of *pūruva* was shortened before the group *rv*. The same applies to *ātyayike*. Cf. above, p. lxxiv, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. lxxiv and n. 5.

- tm* becomes *t* in *atane* and *atānān*.  
*ty* becomes *tiy* in *atīyāyke*, *apatīye*, *ekatiyā*.  
*tr* remains in *s[a]vatra* (Jau. II, 4), but becomes *t* in *s[a]vata* (passim), *tīnni*, &c.  
*tv* remains in *tadotvāye*.  
*ts* becomes *s* in *usafena* and *chikisā*.  
*tsk* becomes *th* in *uṣhāna*, but *th* in *uthāy[ā]*, cf above, p. lxxviii  
*dg* becomes *g* in *uga[ckha](ckhe)*.  
*dy* becomes *y* in *nyānāsi*, *j* in *aji*, [pə]t[pa]j[ā]ti, pətpəjyā, saṇipətpəjati, sa[m]pətpəjati, [j]n[r].  
*dv* becomes *v* in *anuvigana*, but *duv* in *du.v*, *duvādasu*, *duvāla*.  
*dhy* becomes *jh* in [n]yhatī, nyhap[ē]ta[ṣ]ye, naghau, naghime[na]  
*ny* remains in [anyr] (Jau. Sep. I, 5), but becomes *nu* in *anina* (passim) and *mamu[ati]*  
*pt* becomes *t* in *asamati*, *nat[ā]* and *nati* (= Skt. *naptārah*), [n]yhatti.  
*pn* becomes *pun* in *pāpunāti*, &c.  
*pr* remains in *prativadayanti* (Jau. VI, 2), but becomes *p* everywhere else.  
*bky* becomes *bhu* in *āla[ā]bhayanti*, *ālabhīyisu*, *āla[ā]bhīyisanti*, *-ibh[ā]yisu*.  
*my* remains (with the nasal doubled) in *saṇmya-*.  
*rk* becomes *lū* in *akkhakaṣa* (= Skt. *akarkasa*).  
*rg* becomes *g* in *magesu*, *vaga*, *svaga*.  
*rt* becomes *t* in [anu]ratatu and *anuvatsanti*, *t* in *vaṣṭatvya*, *lahatvya*, *liti*  
*rth* becomes *th* in *atku* (Jau. Sep. II, 2, 12, 14), *th* in *otku* (passim) and [ulathi]yati  
*rdh* becomes *dh* in *vadhite*, *vadhīy[ā]ti*, *paradhayisanti*.  
*ibh* becomes *bh* in *gabdhāgāsi*  
*rm* becomes *mm* or *m* in [m]chātūmmāsam, *kauma-* (= Skt. *kauman*) and *kamau* (= *ka-* *maṇā*), *dhāmna*.  
*ry* becomes *y* in [ayvā], but *liy* in *ānautalyam*, *nithūlyena*, *mādhulyāye*  
*rv* becomes *v* in *povalasi* and *savu*, but *luv* in *puluva*.  
*rs* becomes *s* in *dasana* and *Piyadas-*, but *rs* in *drasayitu* (i.e. *darsayitu*, Jau. IV, 3) and *Piyadrasue* (i.e. *\*darsue*, Jau. I, 9).  
*rsh* becomes *s* in *vasu*.  
*rshy* becomes *s* in *usāy*.  
*lp* becomes *p* in *apa* and *-kapai*  
*ly* becomes *y* in *kayāna*  
*vy* remains in *samkultavye* (Jau. Sep. I, 7), but becomes *y* in [ichhi]tye (Jau. Sep. I, 5), and *vyy* in *samkultavye[r]* (Dhau. Sep. I, 13), *ichhitavye* and other gerundives, *driv[ā]yanti*, *mug[ā]v[ā]*  
*vyājanate*, *vyāpātā*, *vyahāla*  
*vr* becomes *v* in *vachasi* (= Skt. *vraje*)  
*sch* becomes *chh* in *pachhā*  
*śl* becomes *s* in *s[a]khina* (= Skt. *ślokhina*).  
*śv* becomes *sv* in *asvasanāye*, *asvasa[n]v[ā]*, [ā]svasayn, *asvasayn*, *sasvatam* and *asvatam*, but *s* in *seto*.  
*shk* becomes *k* in *dukutāni* and *dnkala*.  
*shkr* becomes *kū* in *nikhamaru*, [n]ikhāni, [n]ikhā[m]r[ā]s[ā] *nikhāmisanti*, *nikhāmisama*  
*shkr* becomes *th* in *athika*.  
*shth* becomes *th* in [ch]th[ā]tu, *nithūhāna*, *st[ā]th*, *th* in *adhithana*  
*shp* becomes *ph* in *niphati*.  
*shm* becomes *ph* in *tuphe*, &c.  
*shy* becomes *s* in *tsa*, *munsa*, *horati*, *esatha* (Jau. Sep.), and other futures, but *h* in *chathi* (Dhau. Sep.), cf Mūhāśhtri *chhi* in Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 549, and *chiti* in Pāli  
As at Kāsi, *ti* becomes *l* in [ā]gī *kamdhani*.  
*st* becomes *th* in *athi*, *nathi*, *anusathi*, *ausvathe*, *vithatāni*, *santhuta*, *hathāni*, *th* in *atki* (Jau. Sep. I, 4).  
*str* becomes *th* in *sthi*  
*sth* becomes *th* in *chila-ṣṭhila*  
*sm* remains in *akusmā*, but becomes *ph* in *ophe*, &c., and *s* in the locative singular in *as*

*ty* remains in [āla]s[ɣ]c[na] (Jau. Sep. I, 6), but becomes *siy* in *ālasiyena* (Dhau. Sep. I, 11), *siyā* and [siya] (= Skt. *syāt*), and *s* in the genitive singular in *-asa*.

*sv* remains in *vaga*, but becomes *sv* in *svāmika[na]*

*hm* becomes *nhk* in *bambhana*. In *bābhana* the Anusvāra is omitted, and the long *ā* of Skt. *brāhmaṇa* is preserved.

## B.—DECLENSION

### I. BASES in *-a*.

#### (1) Masculines and neuters in *-a*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom masc. <i>jane</i> , &c., neut. <i>dāne</i> , &c.	Masc. <i>putā</i> , &c.; neut. <i>osadhāni</i> , &c.
Acc masc. <i>dhāmanāni</i> , &c., neut. <i>maṇḍalanāni</i> , &c.	Masc. <i>kaṇḍhāni</i> , <i>ṣ[u]ṭ[ān]</i> ; neut. <i>vasāni</i> , &c.
Instr. <i>putena</i> , &c.	<i>jāte[k]</i> .
Dat. <i>aṭhāye</i> , &c.	<i>mahāmātehi</i> , <i>samanehi</i> .
Abl. <i>anubandh[a]</i> , <i>paṭkhā</i>	
Gen. <i>janava</i> , &c.	<i>pānānāni</i> , &c.
Loc. <i>aṭhasi</i> , &c.	<i>vasesu</i> , &c.

Nom sing. masc.—The original termination *-s* seems to be dropped in [*saṃpa*]*ṭpāda* (Dhau Sep. I, 14). The termination is *-o* instead of *-e* in the colophon of Dhau: *seto* (Text, p. 91).

Nom sing. neut.—The termination is *-āni* in *jivāni* (Dhau. and Jau I, 1) and *duvālanāni* (Jau Sep. I, 2), *-a* in *-a[m]ṭk[a]* (Dhau. Sep. I, 9, Jau Sep. I, 5), *duvāl[a]* (Dhau. Sep. I, 3, Jau. Sep. II, 2), *mata* (four times), *v[a]ṭṭavāya* (Jau Sep. I, 7), *-ā* in *kaṭavvatalā* (Jau. IX, 6), *k[āni]matalā* (Jau. VI, 5), *duvālā* (Dhau. Sep. II, 2).

Acc. sing. masc.—The Anusvāra is omitted in *ḥadaloka* (Dhau Sep. II, 6).

Acc. sing. neut.—The Anusvāra is omitted in *bahuka* (Jau. Sep. I, 4) and *-vaṭhanik[a]* (Jau. Sep. I, 12, II, 1). The form of the nominative is used in *ānānāni* (Dhau. Sep. I, 14).

Nom plur. masc.—The final *ā* is shortened in *anuvigna* (Dhau Sep. II, 4; Jau. Sep. II, 5), *āya[ta]* (Dhau. Sep. I, 4, Jau. Sep. I, 2), *nagulaka* (Jau. Sep. I, 10), *ma[ḥā]māta* (Dhau. Sep. I, 1), *vataviya* (Dhau. Sep. I, 2, II, 1), *-vayohālaka* (Jau. Sep. I, 1).

Nom plur. neut.—The termination is *-ā* instead of *-āni* in *lopāpitā* and *kālāpitā* (Dhau II, sections B and C, Jau II, 4). As at Kālm and Mānsehrā, the two Sanskrit masculines *vrīkṣa* and *prana* are used as neuters *lukhāni* (Dhau. and Jau II, 4) and *pānāni* (I, 4).

#### (2) Feminines in *-ā*

Nom. sing. <i>paṭā</i> , &c.
Acc. sing. <i>yātani</i> , <i>suśūsāni</i>
Instr. sing. <i>isāya</i> , <i>[ul]ṭṭya</i> , <i>tūlanā[ya]</i>
Loc. sing. <i>Samāpāyāni</i> , <i>saṃtānāya</i> , <i>paṭāye</i> , <i>[pa]ṭpādāye</i>

Nom. sing.—The final *ā* is shortened in *achala*, *ichha*, *likhiṭ[a]*, *sotaviya*

## II BASES IN *-i*

#### (1) Masculines and neuters in *-i*

Nom. and. acc. plur. neut. *tsūni*.  
Loc. plur. *nātsu*.

#### (2) Feminines in *-i* and *-ī*

Nom. sing. *anusathi*, *āladhi*, *hpi*, &c.  
Acc. sing. *Sambodh[i]*, *hina*.  
Instr. sing. *anusathiyā*, *anāvūttya*

Dat. sing. *anus[ath]iy[ē], [va]dhiye*

Abl. sing. *niphaty[ā]*

Loc. sing. *Tosahiyān, nityān, puthavyān, ā[ya]tīye.*

Nom. plur. *ūhī*<sup>1</sup>

Gen. plur. *bhugūnam*

Nom. sing.—The final vowel is long in *anusatht, ā[adh]i, [u]jhatī, lpi, r[ā]dhī* (Dhau IV, section I), *sudhī* (Dhau VII, section E).

Acc. sing.—The termination is -ī in *kīṭi, vaḍḍu* (Dhau IV, J), *sudhī* (Dhau and Jau VII, B)

### III. BASES IN -u

Nom. sing. masc, fem, and neut *sādhu, sād[h]ū*.

Nom. and acc. plur. neut *bahūni*

Instr. plur. *bahūhi*

Gen. plur. *gūlunam.*

Loc. plur. *bahusu*

### IV. MASCULINES IN -ri.

Nom. Sing. *pitā, pita* (Jau Sep II, 10)

Gen. plur. *bhāt[i]nam.*

Loc. plur. *p[ī]t[ī]nam.*

The instr. sing. follows the *i*-declension [*p[ī]tinā, bhātina*], likewise the nom. plur. *nat[i], nati*.  
(cf. Pāṇini and Pāli *aggī* (nom. plur. masc.).

### V BASES IN CONSONANTS

#### (1) Present participles in -at

Nom. sing. masc. *sahitān, kalamitān,<sup>1</sup> upatipātayantān, [sāmpatipa]tā[yam]tām*

The base *mahat* follows the *a*-declension nom. sing. masc. *maham*

#### (2) Masculines and neutrs in -an

Singular	Plural
Nom. masc. <i>lājā, lāja</i> (Dhau, Sep II, 4)	<i>lājāne</i>
Acc. masc. <i>atanam</i> ; neut. <i>nāma.</i>	
Instr. <i>lājūnā, kam[ī]munā, kamana.</i>	
Dat. <i>kamūne</i>	
Gen. <i>atanē, lājūn.</i>	

The neuter base *kamīn* may also follow the *a*-declension nom. sing. *kamīne* acc. *kamm.*  
gen. *kammasa*

#### (3) Masculines in -in

Nom. sing. *Piyadasi.*

Instr. sing. *Piyadasiṇi*

Gen. sing. *Piyadasiṇe*

Acc. plur. *kathini* (— [*ka*]thini at Kāśi)

#### (4) Neuters in -as.

Acc. sing. [*ya*]so, *da[ṭṭ]iyē, [bhuy]e*

#### (5) Feminine in -ā.

The base *parishad* follows the *a*-declension nom. sing. *p[ā]śā, loc. [pā]śān[ī]nam* and *pāśā*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *afav*, above, p. xci.

<sup>1</sup> For these two forms see above, p. lxx.



## C.—PRONOUNS

## (1) Pronoun of the first person

Singular	Plural.
Nom <i>hakam</i>	<i>maye.</i>
Acc	<i>aphe, a[ph]eui</i>
Instr <i>mamāyā, mamāye, mamayaye, m.</i>	
Abl <i>mamate</i>	
Gen. <i>mama, mama, mamau, m.</i>	<i>aphāka, [aph]āka, ne</i>
Loc.	<i>[aphesu], apheui</i>

For the forms *hakam* and *mamāyā* see above, p. lxxviii. With the instr. sing. *mamāye* (Dhau Sep.), instead of which Jau. Sep. reads *mamāyāye*, cf. *mamāi*, Hāmachandīa, III, 104. The ablative *mamate* for Skt. *mattah* is like the instrumental *mamāyā*, due to the influence of the genitive *mama*. The nom. plur. *maye* is derived from Skt. *vayam*, but influenced by the instr. sing. *maya*, and the acc. *aphe* (Dhau Sep. II, 7) is formed from the same base as Skt. *asmāu*. The acc. *a[ph]eui* (Jau. Sep. II, 10) and the loc. *aphesu* follow the analogy of the masculines in -a.

## (2) Pronoun of the second person.

Nom. plur. <i>tuphe, phe.</i>
Acc. plur. <i>tuphe, tuphenu.</i>
Instr. plur. <i>tuphehi.</i>
Gen. plur. <i>t[u]phāh[a].</i>
Loc. plur. <i>tuphesu</i>

The base \**tushma*, from which the nom. and acc. plur. *tuphe* (= Prākṛit *tumhi*) is derived, seems to be a compromise between the Skt. base *yushma* and the singular *tvam* (Prākṛit *tumam*)<sup>1</sup>. With the form *phe* (Jau. Sep. I, 2) cf. *bhi*, Hāmachandīa, III, 91. The three forms *tuphem* (Jau. Sep.), *tuphehi*, and *tuphesu* follow the analogy of the masculines in -a.

(3) Base *ta*

Singular.	Plural
Nom. masc. <i>te, ti</i> (Dhau. Sep. I, 13).	<i>te, te</i>
Acc. neut. <i>tavi, si, sa</i>	
Instr. <i>tava</i>	
Gen. <i>tava</i>	<i>[te]u[ti], tes[a].</i>
Loc. <i>tavi</i>	

In Dhau. Sep. II, 7, the nom. plur. neut. *tāvi* takes the place of the masc. *te* (Jau. Sep. II, 9)

(4) Base *eta*

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. <i>e[ā]</i> (Dhau. VIII, 3), neut. <i>eta</i> .	Masc. <i>ete</i> , neut. <i>etāvi</i>
Acc. masc. and neut. <i>etam</i> .	
Instr. <i>[e]tācam</i>	
Dat. <i>etaye, etakaye</i>	
Gen. <i>etava</i>	
Loc. <i>etavi</i>	

Nom. sing. fem. *etā(ta)kā*.

In Dhau. Sep. I, 11 f, the nom. plur. masc. *ete* [*jātā*] corresponds to the nom. plur. neut. *et[ā]u[ti]* in Jau. Sep. I, 6.

<sup>1</sup> With *aphe* and *tuphe* cf. the Singhalese nom. plur. *api* and *topi*

(5) Demonstrative *adam*

Singular.		Plural.
Nom. masc. <i>ay[am]</i> , <i>iyam</i> , neut. <i>iyam</i> .		Masc <i>ime</i>
Acc. neut. <i>imahi</i> .		
Instr. <i>imena</i> .		<i>imehi</i>
Dat. <i>[i]m[ā]ye</i>		
Gen. <i>imasa</i>		
	Nom. sing. fem. <i>iyam</i> .	
	Dat. sing. fem. <i>imā[ye]</i> .	

As at Kālvi, the nom. sing. masc. *ayam* occurs only in *[e]y[am]* (= Skt *ya yam*, Jau Sep 1, 6)

## (6) Interrogative pronoun.

Nom. sing. neut. *kim*. The acc. sing. neut. *kam* and the acc. plu. neut. *kāni* are used as demonstratives. The abl. sing. of the same base is preserved in *akasmā*. The indefinite pronoun is formed with *cha* or *chha* (nom. sing. masc. *kechā*, *[ē][chha]*), and with *chhi* = Skt *chut* (neut. sing. *kūchhi*, *kuchhi*), and *kimit* is used in the sense of 'that'.

## (7) Relative pronoun

Singular.		Plural
Nom. masc. <i>ye</i> , <i>e</i> , neut. <i>e</i>		Masc <i>je</i> , <i>e</i> , neut. <i>ani</i>
Acc. neut. <i>ahi</i>		
Instr. <i>ena</i>		
Gen. <i>asu</i>		
	Nom. sing. fem. <i>yā</i> , <i>ā</i>	

(8) Base *anya*.

Singular		Plural
Nom. masc. <i>[anye]</i> , <i>anhe</i> , neut. <i>anne</i>		Masc <i>ānhe</i> } neut <i>anām</i>
Acc.		
Dat. <i>annāye</i> .		
Loc		<i>annasu</i>

(9) Base *sava*

Singular		Plural
Nom. neut. <i>savē</i>		Masc. <i>savē</i>
Acc. masc. and neut. <i>savam</i>		
Instr. <i>savēna</i> , <i>savēna</i> .		
Gen. <i>savasa</i>		
Loc		<i>savasa</i>

(10) Base *\*ikatya*

Nom. plu. masc. *ekatiya*

## 1) —NUMERALS

One

Nom. sing. masc. *eke*, instr. sing. *ekena* *ek[ə]k[ə]na*

Two, three, five

Nom. masc. *duve* (cf. above, p. lxv), nom. and acc. neut. *tuani*, loc. *puvhasa*

# INTRODUCTION

Ten, twelve, thirteen.

*d[a]śa, dvadvāśa, tedasa.*

Hundred.

Acc. plur. *satāni*; instr. *satehi*.

Thousand.

Loc. plur. *sahasasu, sahasesuṁ* (Dhau. Sep. I, 4)

Literary Prakrit also uses the termination *-esuṁ* besides *-esu*, see Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 371

Hundred thousand

Nom. plur. *sata-saḥ[a]śāni*.

## E.—CONJUGATION

### I. PRESENT.

#### (1) Bases.

First Sanskrit class.

Root *kamp* *anukampati*

Root *kram* *p[a]lakaṁhanti, nikkaṁhanti*.

Root *gam* *gacchema*.

Root *hal* *chalay[ā]*

Root *drī* *drakṁhanti, drakṁhanti, dekhata*.

Root *bhū* *hoti, huvanti* (sixth class).

Roots *rabh* and *labh* *ālabhekam, labhey[ā]*

Root *vas* *[va]vanti*

Root *va* *[va]vatatu*

Root *vas* *[a]vasasyu*.

Root *sthā* *[ch]ṛ[th]ṣtu* (from *\*chutṭhati*), *uthāy[ā]* (from *\*utthāti*)

Second Sanskrit class

Root *as* *athi, athi* (Jau Sep I, 4)

Root *et*

The two roots *va* and *sā* follow the *a*-conjugation *yeḥam, anvasāmi*

Third Sanskrit class.

Root *hu* *pajohitavye*, see above, p. lxxxii

Fourth Sanskrit class.

Root *pad* *[pa]tṣa[ya]ti*.

Root *mau* *mam[ate]*

Fifth Sanskrit class

Root *ap* follows the ninth class (*pāpunāti, pāpunātha*) and the *a*-conjugation (*pāpunayati*)

Sixth Sanskrit class.

Root *ish* *ukhati*.

Seventh Sanskrit class.

Root *yuj* follows the *a*-conjugation *yujyā* and *yūjyu, yujanti, yujanti*

## Eighth Sanskrit class.

Root *krī* *kaleti*, *kalāmi*, *kalānti*, *kalantam*, see above, p. lxxvi

## Ninth Sanskrit class

Root *jñā* *jāntu* and *jānīsvanti* are formed from the present *jānūti*

## Tenth Sanskrit class

(a) With *aya* *atukāmayivati*, *nikhāmayivāmi*, *dasayitu* and *drasayitu* (i.e. *dasayitu*), *patipādīyemā*, *ālādhayānti*, *lūkhyisānti*\*, *alochayisā*, *vadhaḥ* [a] [ti], *vedayati*, *sukhayaṃ*. The character *ays* is contracted into *e* in *pativedatavye*.

(b) With *payā* *hāpayisa* [i] [t]. In *anāpayami* and *nīhāp* [e] [ta] [ye]<sup>1</sup> the long vowel of the two roots *jñā* and *dhya* is shortened.<sup>2</sup>

(c) With *āpaya* *kāhāpātāmi*, *lūhāpātā*, *kālāpātā*.

(d) With *pāpaya* *lopāpātā*.

(e) With *īya* *dukhayati* (denominative of Skt. *duḥkha*)

(2) *Moods*.

## (a) Indicative

1. sing. *p* [a] [lakamāmi], *dakhāmi*, *anusāsvāmi*, *ichhami*, *kalāmi*, *anapayāmi*

3. sing. *aaukāṣipati*, [*p* [a] [lakamā] [t]i], *drakhati*, *hoti*, *atī* and *atīti*, *eti*, [*p* [ti] [pā] [ti] [ti] *viṃpatīpayati*, *pāpūṇāti*, *ukhati*, *ka* [e] [ti], *vedayati*, *dukhayati*. The only middle form is *manu* [ti] [ti] (Dhau. X, 1)

2. plur. *pāpūṇātha* (from the strong base of the ninth class)

3. plur. *huvāmi*, *ichhami*, *kalāmi* and *kaleti* (Dhau. and Jau. IX, 2)

## (b) Subjunctive.

1. sing. *sukhayaṃ* with indicative termination, cf. above, p. xciv

3. plur. *nikhāmīrā* with optative termination, cf. Johnson, *Shakṣh*, part 2, p. 89 n. 2

## (c) Optative

1. sing. *ālābhekām*, *jeham*, [*p* [ti] [pādīy] *cham* and *patipādīyicham*, see above, p. lxxvii

3. sing. *uga* [chka] [chke], *dukhā* [ya] and *da [lheyi] *utthāy* [ā] (from the indicative *\*utthāti* = T. *utthāti*, cf. Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 483), [*h* [uvayā] *vā* and [*vya*] (= Skt. *vāt*) *patipapaya**

1. plur. *gachhema*, *patipādīyema* and [*p* [ti] [patayem] *a*].

3. plur. *chalecy* [ā] and *chakru*, *hveyā*, *huvem* and *huvayā*, *lūhcy* [u] and *lūhcyā*, [*vya*] *u*, [*a*] *svasecy* and *svasecyā*, *pāpuniya*, [*p*] *ā* [*p* *uvu* and *pāpūnī*, *yu* [i] [*u*], *yjye* [u] and *ymā* *ālādhaicy* [ā] and *ālādhaicyā*

## (d) Imperative

3. sing. *hotu*, [*anu*] *vātatu*

2. plur. *dakhatha* (with indicative termination), *dekhata*

3. plur. [*p* [a] [lakamāntu and *palakamā*] *m*] *et* [u], *vajanti*, *ālādhayānti*, *pātrayānti*

## (e) Imperfect

3. sing. *a* [h] *o*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the Sanskrit form *\*nudhyati* (= *\*nudhyati*) in the rock-text VI, which is formed from *\*nudh* [ye] *pa* [ti] *na* [ti] *ayati* (from *jñāpayati* = *jñāpayati*)

<sup>2</sup> But in *ānāpaya* (Dhau. III, 1), the long vowel of the root *jñā* is preserved

# INTRODUCTION

## II. AORIST.

### (a) Indicative

3 sing. [*u*][*ikhami*], 3. plur. [*u*][*kho*][*m*][*i*][*t*][*u*].

### (b) Subjunctive.

3 plur. *alochayisū*; see Text, p. 31, n. 7

## III. PERFECT

3. sing. *a[ku]* (only Jau Sep II, 1) and *āhā*.

## IV. FUTURE

1 sing. *havamī* and *hosāmī* (= Prākṛit *hṛṣāmī*), *nikhāmayisāmī*, *likhīyis[āmī]\**

3 sing. *khamvati*, *hovati*, *kachhati*,<sup>1</sup> *atikamayisati*, *ā[nā]* *p[ay]is[ā]* *tī*, *vadhayis[ā]* *tī*.

2 plur. *vatha* and *chatha*, *chaghatha* (from root *chak* = Skt. *śak*),<sup>2</sup> *ālādhayisatho* and *ālā[dha]-yis[ā]* *th[ā]*

3. plur. *nikhāmisanti*, *anuvatsanti*, [*u*][*nu*][*ā*][*sisam*][*i*], *yupisanti*, *kachhamti*, *jānisanti*, *pavādhayisanti*.

## V. PASSIVE.

3 plur. Indicative *ah[ā]* *bhīyanti*.

3 plur. optative *yuy[ā]*, *y[ā]* *ye[ya]*, *yuyev[ā]*, *y[ā]* *h[ev]* *u*

3 plur. aorist *ālābhīyis*

3 plur. future *ālā[bh]īyisanti* and *ālā[nh]bīyis[ā]* *tī*.

## VI. DESIDERATIVE.

3 sing. imperative *susūsatu*

## VII. PARTICIPLES.

### (1) Present participle.

#### Active

Root *as* *santam*

Root *kṛi* *kalamtam*

Causative of *pad* *vipatpātayamtam* and [*saṃpatpā*][*ta*][*yaṃ*]*tam* (Jau Sep.).

#### Middle

Root *pad* *sa[n]* *patpāyam[i]* *n[e]*, and causative [*vi*][*pat*][*i*]*padayamīur* (Dhau Sep.).

### (2) Past passive participle

(a) In *-ta* *mata*, *kata* (= Skt. *kṛita*), *vayāpata* (= *vayāpṛita*), *vuthaṭa* (= *vistrīta*), *usata* (= *utsṛita*), [*n*]*isita* (= *\*nisṛita*), *likhita*, *likhapita*, *khānāpita*, *kālāpita*, *ālopita*, *lopāpita*, *āna-*

<sup>1</sup> For an explanation of this form see above, p. lxxxiii, n. 1

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *sagghasī* in the Suttanipata, verse 894

<sup>3</sup> For the probable origin of the nasal within the root, see above, p. lxxxiii, n. 2

$\phi[ay]i[ta]$ ,<sup>1</sup> *kūta*, *atkhanta*, *kāmta*, *āya[ta]* (i.e. *āyatta*), *sayuta* (= *saṃyukta*), *v[u]ta* (= *ukta*), *vudha* (= *vṛddha*), *anusatha* (from *anu-sās*), &c

(b) In *-na*: *uvigina* (= *udvigna*).

### (3) Future passive participle.

(a) In *-tava*: *etaviya*, *sotaviya*, *kalaviya*, *vataviya*, *pajohitaviya*, *ukhutaviya* and *[ichhi]tava* (from the present *ichchhati*), *chalitaviya*, *saṃchalitaviya* and *\*lavaviya*, *vahitaviya*, *vayavadita[riya]* | *pativedetaviya*, *ujhap[e]ta[riya]*

(b) In *-aviya*: *asvāsa[n]viya*

(c) In *-ya*: *sakiya* and *chakiya*.

## VIII. INITIATIVE.

*khamstave*, *ālūdhāyave*, *saṃpatipadāyave* and *saṃpatipālaya[re]*.

## IX. ABSORPTIVE

*kaṣu* and *[ka]tu* (= Skt. *kṛtvā*), *anvāsitu*, *alabhitu*, *saṃkalitu*, *javitu* (from *janāti*), *palitip[re]* | (from root *tyaj*), *[ch]i[th]itu* (from *\*chithati*), *davayitu* and *drasayitu* (i.e. *darśayitu*), *hāpayitu* | In *-vditu*, which corresponds to Skt. *-dāyitrā*, the causative character *ay* is neglected.

A few words may be inserted here on the small **Bombay-Sōpārā** fragment of the eighth rock-edict (Text, p. 118). The preserved forms agree with the Magadha dialect of Dhauli and Jaugada. But, as at Gīr, the semivowel *r* is not changed to *l*, see *harama* (= Skt. *haranya*, l. 7) and *[ra]ā* (l. 9). In the acrost *nikhamaṭha* (l. 5) the lingual *l* is retained, while *k* also has *nikhamaṭhā* and the pillar-edicts have *huthā* and *vadhutha*, with dental *th*.

## CHAPTER X

## GRAMMAR OF THE PILLAR-EDICTS

### A. -PHONETICS

#### I. VOWELS

THE vowel *a* is replaced by *i* in the second syllable of *gīthika* (see above, p. 135), in *manhina* (see above, p. 131), and perhaps in *mu[a]* (Dhī-Mīrath) and *mina* (= Skt. *manāka* ?). It becomes *u* in the second syllable of *udhapa* (see above, p. 131), and after *m* in *mada* (= *māṭha*), *manva* (= *manushya*). The change of *a* into *i* in *sevaka* (i.e. *śrīvaka*), which is the reading of three versions instead of *sevaka* (= Skt. *śalyaka*) at Delhi-Tōprā, is due to the following palatal *r*.

Skt. *i* is represented by *a* in the first syllable of *kāpika* (Dhī-Tōprā) = *kāpika* (Allahabad-Kōsam) and = Skt. *pāpika*, and by *u* after original *r* in *dutya* and *dutva*, *dupata*, *kīnasa* (i.e. *kīnassa*) = Skt. *kīnasa* (see Text, p. 134, n. 1). *r* corresponds to Skt. *i* in *hāsa* (Sūnath, ll. 6, 7).

*i* corresponds to Skt. *u* in the second syllable of *pulva* (see above, p. 131) and of *munva* (see above, p. 132). In *kha* (= Skt. *khalu*) Skt. *u* is represented by *a*, see above, p. 131 and n. 2.

*ri* becomes (1) *a* in *augahmāva*, *apokatha* (= Skt. *apokāśhita*), *koti*, *kāpina* (= *kāpina*), *dava* | *[gah]e* (Queen's edict, l. 3), *bhotaka*, *vadika* and *vadhikā* (= *vādhika*), *vadhī*, *vivapata*, (2) *i* in

<sup>1</sup> Cf p. lxxxiii, n. 3.

<sup>1</sup> Cf *gahatha* (= Skt. *gāhastha*) at Kalsi.

*gīthika* (= *grīkashtha*), *nisipitu* (from *nisipyati*), *pit[ī]su* (= *pitṛishu*), *simala* (= *śṛimara*), *hedisa* (= *idrisa*), (3) *e* in *dekhati*, &c

*i* corresponds to Skt *e* in *ika* (Sārnāth, II 6, 7, 8), i e. \**ikka* = Prākṛit *ekka* and Skt. *eka* Cf. *Ardhamāgadhī ikkārasa* = Skt. *ikādala*; Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 443

*ai* becomes *e* in *keṇata* (= Skt. *karvata*), and *au* becomes *o* in *opugānu*, *Kosambhiyānu*, *putā-papetike*, *wolhya*

Initial *a* is lengthened in *ānāvāsnu* (Sārnāth) = *anā[vā]sasu* (Kauśāmbi and Sārnāth). Final *a* is lengthened frequently, see *eva*, *yeva*, *va* and *eva*, *yeva*, *vā* (= Skt. *eva*), *cha* and *chā*, *na* and *nā* (in *nāsomānu*), *hātā*, *āha* and *ākā* or *akhā*, *vadhātā*, *huthā*, *uvāsāpayātā*, [*sa*] *munādhāpayyā*, *vama* and *uāma* (in *nūmā ti*), *mama* and *mauā*, *asvata* and *asvasā*, *gonasa* and *gonasā*, *jānapadasa* and *jānapadasā*, *Divanaviprayashā*, *lokasa* and *lokasā*, *usāheṇa* and *usāheṇā*, *bhoyena* and *bhoyenā*, [*sa*] *khaneṇa* Interconsonantal *i* and *u* are sometimes lengthened, see *ganiyati* (Queen's edict, I 4), *-thitika* and *thitika* (also *-thitiku* and *-thitika*), *ślita* (thus Allahabad-Kōsām; *ślita* in the other versions), *devye* (Queen's edict, I 2, *devye*, id., II 4, 5), *parajitānānu*, *lāpiku* (instr. plur. of Skt. *lapan*), *anupatipajayantu*, *anupatipajayantu* (also *anupatip*), *anupatipati* (also *anupatip*), *anupatipati*, *patipati*, *pakhogga* (also *paṭi*), *paṭivisuttham* (also *paṭi*), *paṭi[vedāyanti]*\*, *nithālyr*, *pachāpagamane* (*pachāpa* Allahabad-Kōsām), *bahūnu* (but *gūhūnu*). Final *i* and *u* may be lengthened before *ti* (= *iti*) or without it, see *anuvadhīyanti*, *āvahānti ti*, *kākhatti ti*, *khādiyati ti*, *ti ti* (Delhi-Tōpā, II 1 16), [*ho*] *khavayam*, *anupatipajayanti*, *hotu ti*. Final *i* and *u*, which stand for original *is* and *us* or *ai*, are treated in the same way, see [*gū*] *ti* and *goti ti*, *tipa* and *tipi*, *bhukhu* and [*bhukh*] *ti*, *Sak yammū ti*, *sādhū* and *sādhū*, *āldhayeṇu* and *āldhayeṇū ti*, *upadaheṇu* and *upadaheṇū*, *paritayeṇu ti*

Initial *ā* is shortened in *āvahānti* and *ava*<sup>1</sup> (Delhi-Tōpā) = *āvahānti* and *avu* or *āvā* (in the other versions). Interconsonantal *ā* is shortened in the Queen's edict in *āama* (= Skt. *ārāma*) and *mahamata* (= *mahāmātra*). Final *ā* is often shortened, see *athā* and *atha* (= Skt. *yathā*), *tathā* and *tatha*, *va* and *vā* (= Skt. *vā*), *apakhā* and *apakhā*, *laja* and *lāja*, *atamā* and *atama*, *lājina*, *Piyadasina*, *anusathiya* and *anusathiya*, and the nom. sing. fem. *esa* (pillar edict I, section D), *apekhā* and *apekha*, &c. Also final *i* is sometimes shortened, see *Piyadasā* (Allahabad-Kōsām) and *Piyadasā*, *dudi* and *duli*, *dhāti* (= Skt. *dhātri*), *athamā-pakha* (Delhi-Tōpā) and *athamā-pakha*, *chātumāsā-pakha*, *dev-kamalanam*, *bhukhūti*, *Lūmmi-gāme*. Interconsonantal *i* is shortened in *dituya* = *dituyā*<sup>2</sup> (Queen's edict, I 5), and *i* in *anulupāyā*, *thube*, *bhūtānānu*, *susūā* (also *susūā*).

Initial vowels are dropped in *pi* (= Skt. *api*), *laghamti* (for \**alaghamti* = Skt. *arhamti*), *hakanu* (for *ahakam* = *aham*), *ti* (for *iti*) and *kmiti*, *pusatha* (for *upavasatha*), *va* and *vā* (for *eva*).

## II SIMPLE CONSONANTS.

As at Kāśī, palatal *ñ* and lingual *ṇ* are replaced by dental *n* throughout.

The guttural *k* is palatalized in *adha-[lo]kyānu* and *vadikyā*,<sup>3</sup> cf. above, p. lxxi. It is represented by *y* in *atha-bhāgyi* (Ruinminder, I 5), *atu patiyi* (Delhi-Tōpā, IV, II 4, 14), *nimsi-[dhi]ya* (= Skt. \**nīśishālā*), and perhaps in *geṇayā*, see Text, p. 120, n. 4. *gh* is preserved in *laghamti* (for \**alaghamti* = Skt. *arhamti*), but has become *h* in *lahu*.

The palatal *ch* is softened in *sānikya*, which is probably connected with Skt. *sānikuchi*, a 'skate-fish'. It is aspirated in *kūhhi* (Queen's edict, I 4) = *kūhhi* at Kāśī, &c.

Lingual *d* may become *l*, see *edake* and *elake*, *edukā* and *elaka*, *dudi* and *duli*.

Dentals are lingualized after *ri* in *kata*, *bhuktesu*, *vadhi*, *vijāpata*, *vadikā* and *vadikyā* (= \**vritikā*), in which the *t* (for *ti*) is softened, and after *va* in *nigāntha* (= Skt. *nirgrantha*) and in the preposition *pāti*, but not in *pachāpagamana* (= *pratyapagamana*), *patyāsānu* and *patyāsānu* (= *pratyāsānu*) *t* is elided, a lengthened,<sup>4</sup> and *v* developed from *u* in *chāvudāsā* (= Skt. *chaturdaśā*), while *au* is contracted to *o* in *chodasa* (= *chaturdaśa*). *d* becomes *o* or *l* in *duvādasa* and *duvā[lu]*-*va*, *pamvādasa* and *pamvādasa* (= Skt. *pañchadaśā*). The original *d* of the root \**nadh* (= Skt. *nah*)

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *ava*, *avā*, *avānu* at Kāśī. Michelson (IF, 23 236) compares Avestan *yavat* (= Skt. *yavat*).

<sup>2</sup> Pischel (*Grammatik*, § 82) derived Prākṛit *dhudā*, &c. from a supposed Skt form \**dhutya*.

<sup>3</sup> In *ambā-vadikyā* (Delhi-Tōpā, VII, I 23) = *ambā-vadikā* (Queen's edict, I 3)

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Pischel's *Grammatik*, §§ 78 and 443.

is preserved in [sa] *māmadhāpayitā* and *sanaidhāpayitā*.<sup>1</sup> *dh* becomes *h* in *niḡoḥa* (= *nyagrodha*), *vidakāmi* and *upadahevi* (from *dadhāti*). For *hida* (= *idha* at Gīṛnā) see above, p. lxvii.

*ṣ* is softened in *thuba* (= *stūpa*, Nigāli Sāgar, l. 2) and *libi*.<sup>2</sup> (Delhi-Tōprā, VII, ll. 31, 32) = *lips* (passim). It becomes *k* through divimilation in *kṣipikā* and *kāṣṭikā* = Skt *pṣipikā*.<sup>3</sup> *bh* becomes *h* in [a] *hye*, *hoti*, *hotu*, *hurati*, *hosanti*, *hohanti*, *huthu*, *husu*, and in the *ma* plur in *-hu* (for *-bhūh*) *m* becomes *ṣ*, and the aspiration changes place, in *kapha* = Skt *kamatha*, cf *aphe* and *tuphe* (= Prākṛit *amhe* and *tunhe*) at Dhauli and Jaugada, and [tu] *phā* (= Skt *tasmāt*) at Kāśī.

*y* is represented by *h* in *abhyūnnāmayahān*, and by *v* in *āvati* ( = *āyukti*), *vishava* (= Skt *vishaya*), *sochava* for *sochaya* (= *sauchya*), *pāpo.ā* (= *pi āpnō* + *yati*), *yāvu*, *anugahyevu* *ālādhaṣevu*, *upadahevu*, *pavatarevu*. It is prefixed to *ε* in *jevā* and *jevū* (also *evu* and *e.ā*) but is dropped at the beginning of *ata* (= Skt. *yatra*), *athā* and *atha* (= Skt *yathā*), *ava* (also *yāva*, = Skt *yāvāt*), *āvate*, *e* (also *ye*), *eva* (also *jeva*). At the end of *etad-athā* (Delhi-Tōprā VII, l. 24) the syllable *ya* seems to be dropped, cf. above, p. lvii. It becomes *i* in *niḡoḥa* (= Skt *nyagrodha*), *patrevahāni*, *dupatrevhe*, and *avi* becomes *e* in *phāpetaviye* (also *phāpaviyave*).

*r* has become *ṣ* throughout, except in *chāṇḍa* [m] *a-sū* [r] [y] [r] (Saitchi, l. 4).

*va* becomes *u* in *anuvēkahāne*, *vā* becomes the same in the absolutes in *-tu* (= Skt. *va*), *ava* and *avi* become *o* in *odātu*, *oladhāna*, *posatha*, *palyovadathu*, *palyovadasanti*, *vayovadsanti*, *vayohāla*, *hoti*, *hotu*, *hosanti*, *hohanti*.

The two sibilants *ś* and *ṣh* have become *s* throughout. But *śh* is used in *vishava* (= Skt *vishaya*, Sārnāth, l. 10), *Devānampryaśā* and *shu* (Queen's edict, ll. 1 and 4). In *chughati*, *s* is represented by *ch*, cf. above, p. ci.

*h* is prefixed in *huta*, *hulata*, *hedsu*, *hevam*. For *leta* (Queen's edict, l. 2) see above, p. lxx.

Final consonants are dropped. A preceding vowel may be shortened, see *maṇḍā* and *mita* (= Skt *maṇḍā*?), *papevā* and *papava*, *siyā* and *siyu* *acumana* and *acumana*, *abbhita* and *abbhita*, &c. (below, p. cxvi). Conversely, a preceding short vowel may be lengthened, see *āve* and in the acc sing *āvatū*, *lips* and *lipi*, *sādhu* and *sādhu*, &c. (above, p. cxvi). Final *o* generally becomes *ε*, see *th*, *surv* (= *svas*), *bhaye*, *lāpue*, *vijāpatase*, *jane*, &c. But it becomes *o* in *vaṇa*, *a* in *chavānna* and *eva* (nom. sing. masc. and neut.), and *ā* in *esā* (nom. sing. neut.).

The vowel *u* is nasalized in *chum* (Sārnāth, l. 3) for *chu* (passim). Final Anusvāra is omitted in *bādha* (Delhi-Tōprā, III, l. 21), *heva* (= Skt *ivam*,<sup>4</sup> Rāmpurvā, l. 1), and in the acc. sing. *vadhi* (pillar-edict VI, B). The Anusvāra is dropped, and the preceding vowel is lengthened, in the acc. sing. *anupatipati* (Delhi-Tōprā, VII, l. 24) and in the nom. sing. *[da]ṇa* (Delhi-Muath, II, l. 2). But the nom. sing. of neut. in *-a* generally follows the analogy of the masculine and ends in *-e*, see below, p. cxvi.

Long nasal vowels are generally shortened, see *kṛyam* (= Skt. *kṛyam*) *Bhagayam* (= *Bhagayān*), the gen. plur. in *-am*, the loc. sing. fem. *trāyam*, *teyam*, *Kevambhayan*, *pamnamāyam* and the acc. sing. *nam* (= *mām*), *imam* (= *imam*), *tom* (= *tām*, pillar-edict VI, B) *ikam* (= *ekam*) *paṇam* (= *paṇam*), *dakṣhayanān*, *chāvudasan*, *pamnadasan*, *patipadam*, *hedsam* (acc. sing. fem., Sārnāth l. 7). But the Anusvāra is omitted in the acc. sing. *pātipado* (Delhi-Muath, V, l. 6) and the long *ā* is shortened at the same time in *kṛye* (Lamiya Nandangāth, II l. 1).

### III. SANDHI.

Final *d* is preserved in *etad-athā* (Delhi-Tōprā, VII, l. 24) and final *m* in *etam e.ā* (id., l. 23, Sārnāth, ll. 8, 9), *kayānam e.ā* (Allahabad-Kōsam, III, l. 1) *hedsam e.ā* (Sārnāth, l. 7). The final *m* is doubled in *iyammana* (= Skt *idam anyat*), *kayānamneva hevamneva*. In *heveva heveva*, the syllable *va* of Skt *ivam* is dropped.

Hiatus remains in *-vasa-abhivatu* at Delhi-Tōprā (15 times), while the remaining versions (and Delhi-Tōprā, VII, l. 31) read *-vasābhivatu*. Other instances of *a ā ā* = *ā ā* *dhaṁmanapātipati*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *pilaṇḍhātī* &c. in E. Muller's *Pali Grammar*, p. 34.

<sup>2</sup> This Prākṛit form is mentioned already by Pāṇini, III, 2, 21.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Geiger's *Litteratur und Sprache der Singhalesen*, § 29, section 1.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. above, p. lviii, n. 2, and p. lxxvi, l. 6 from bottom. <sup>5</sup> Also at Delhi-Muath, V, l. 14.



*dhammānusatti*, *dhammāpadāna*, *dhammāpekkhā*, *apāsīnavre*. The *ā* which results from the contraction is shortened before a group of consonants in *suñghathassa* and *-apadānathāye* (Delhi-Tōprā, VII, ll 25 and 28). The nasal vowel *ai* of *tuphākai* and *upāsakānam* is treated in the same manner before *antitkam* in *tuphāk-antitkam* and *upāsakān-antitkam* (Sārnāth, ll. 6 and 7). In *itike* (= Skt *itihika*), *chu* (= *cha + u*), *ch eva*, and *chhay-opagāni*, final *a* and *ā* are elided before the initial *t*, *n*, *s*, and *p* of the next following word.

#### IV. GROUPS OF CONSONANTS.

The only Sanskrit groups which occasionally remain unassimilated are *ky*, *lhy*, *ty*, *dhy*, *dhr*, *bhy*, *shy* (which becomes *sy*), *sv* (which becomes *sv*), *shy* (which becomes *sy*). For the group *ky* see also above, p. cxii and n. 3.

A long vowel preceding a group is generally shortened, see *ata-* (= Skt. *atman*), *asvatha* (= *ās-vata*) *anusatti* (= *anuvāṣṭi*), *ālotika* (= *\*āvāḍḍha*), *kinasu* (for *\*kinā + su* = Skt. *evad*), *pata* (= *prāpta*), *magā* (= *mārga*), *madava* (= *māḍava*), *mahamata* (= *mahamātra*, Queen's edict, l. 1), *Sakyanum* *isyū* (= *tiṣṭhā*), *-sulyika*<sup>1</sup> (for *\*sūlyika*), *dusa* (= *dāshya*), *punnamāsyani*. But the length remains in *anupayati*, *pāpavā* (from *pāpnvā*), *mahāmāta* (for *\*mātra*), *palikkā* (for *parikkā*). While long *i* is preserved before *n* in *-gāmini* and *bhikkhūnani*, it is shortened, and the following nasal is doubled, in *tuṇi* (= *tiṇi*). Similarly, *anuvāṣṭani* and *devanani* are perhaps defective spellings for *anuvāṣṭani* and *devanani*. Before *y* and *l* the length is preserved in *anuvāṣṭani*, *sukhiyānā*, *kapilika*, but it is shortened (and probably the following consonant is doubled) in *anuvāṣṭani*, *sukhiyānā*, *bhuyā*, *kapilika*, cf. above, p. cxii. A short vowel preceding a group is lengthened in *āgāha* (= *āgāya*), *dokkhā* (also *dukkhā*, i.e. *dukkhā*), *putāpapotika*<sup>2</sup> (for *putāpota*), *punnāvasani* (for *punnava*), *kichhi* (for *\*kid + chi*, Queen's edict, l. 4), *nilakkhiyati* (for *nilā*), *nilakkhiyati* (also *nilā*) at Rāmpurivā, V, l. 9), *vadhissati* (also *vadhissati*, i.e. *vaddhissati*), *sampatipajjati* (also *\*jati*) *anupatipajjati*, *anūpātipajjati* (for *anupatipajjati*).

A long nasal vowel is shortened before consonants in *ambū* (= Skt *āmra*), *atikāṣṭani*, *Kosambiyani* (= *Kaṇḍambiyani*), *Devānampiyani*, while the nasal is dropped, and the length is retained, in *bakkhā* (= *bāḥkhā* at Girmā). Anusvāra is lost after a short vowel in *thabhu* (Rummindei, l. 3) = *thambha* (Delhi-Tōprā), in *sayame* and *savabhāge* (also *savayani* and *savabhāge*), in *evahāye* but not in *evahāyāye* and in *savavāṣṭi*. The nasal vowel *im* is replaced by a length in *ṛṣati*, *pānuvāṣṭi*, and *sadvāṣṭi*. Similarly, *am* seems to be replaced by *ā* in *bhāṣṭi* (= Skt. *bhāṣṭi*). In *asvānuyāṣṭi* (Sārnāth, ll. 8, 9) the nasal vowel *am* corresponds to Skt *u*.

The auxiliary vowel which is developed within some groups is *u* before *v* in *durehi*, *durehivā*, *sadvāṣṭi*, *sure*, *u* in *dusanpatipajjati*, *laghanti* (for *\*alaghanti*), *sachay* and *sachave*, and frequently *u* as will appear from the subjoined list of Sanskrit groups and of their equivalents in the pillar-edicts. It is unnecessary to quote examples of the groups *kr*, *q*, *tr*, *pr*, *br*, *sr*, *ṣr*, which have become *k*, *g*, *t*, *p*, *b*, *s*, *ṣ* respectively.

*kh* becomes *kh* (i.e. *kh*) in *dukkhiyānam*

*kt* becomes *t* in *abhisita*, *yata*, *zataraya*, *vyata*.

*kr* remains in *Sakyanum* (Rummindei, l. 2).

*kh* becomes *jh* in *ghoparivāṣṭi*, but *kh* everywhere else.

*khy* becomes *khy* in *nilakkhiyati*, *kh* in *dupatipajjati* and *bhikkhūnani*, *gh* in *chaghati*

*khy* is preserved in *mukhya* and *mokhya*, but is assimilated in *mukha* (Delhi-Tōprā, VII, l. 27)

<sup>1</sup> This word presupposes an intermediate form with short *u* *\*sūlyika*; cf. above, p. cxii, n. 1. In the Magadha dialect the affix *-ika* does not, as in Sanskrit, necessarily involve Viddhi of the first syllable, see *putāpapotika* and *hulotika*, but *ānugahika*. In *antitika*, *adhakosika*, *chandamasika* we cannot say whether the *a* preceding the group of consonants in the first syllable was originally long and subsequently shortened. The same applies to the first *a* of *chandya*, which was formed from Skt. *chanda* with the affix *-ya*. In *withthya* and *punnānāsyani* the first vowel has remained unchanged, while the corresponding Skt. forms are *nāṣṭhuryani* and *punnānāsyani*, with Viddhi of the first vowel.

<sup>2</sup> The Sanskrit pillar (section C) has *putāpapotika*.

<sup>3</sup> The Anusvāra is omitted in *Devāna[pi]yana* (Rummindei, l. 1).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 326.

- khl* becomes *kh* in *kho* = Skt *khalu*, see above, p. lvi and n. 2.  
*chy* becomes *chay* or *chav* in *sochaye* and *sochare*<sup>1</sup>  
*jñ* becomes *jin* in *tājina*; *nn* in *chhainduddāni* and *nnanapayitavye*, *n* in *ānapayati*, *anapita*, *natikā*, *nātivu*.  
*nch* becomes *nn* in *pannavatsati*, *pannadusā* and *pannahusā*, but remains in [*pa*]mha[dasi] (Allahabad-Kōsam).  
*dy* becomes *diy* in *chandiyē*.  
*dv* becomes *duv* in *sadivusati*.  
*nni* becomes *nnu* in *asannmāyike*.  
*ik* becomes *k* in *ukasā*.  
*tm* becomes *t* in *ata-* (= Skt *ātman*).  
*ty* remains in *patyāsanna*, but becomes *ty* in *patiyāsanna* (Delhi-Tōpiā), and *ek* in *agācha*, *paṭhapaganna*, *saike*.  
*tv* becomes *t* in *usapāpīte*.  
*ts* becomes *s* in *usāha*.  
*tsy* becomes *chh* in *maḥke*.  
*db* becomes *b* in *ubahke*.  
*dy* becomes *j* in *anupatipajamtu*, &c.; *diy* in *khādiyati*, *day* in *duṣampatipādāya*.  
*dr* becomes *d* in *chanduma-*.  
*dvy* becomes *d* in *dipada*, *dutya* and *dutya* but *duv* in *duvhi*, *duvādasā*.  
*dhy* remains in *avadhya*, but becomes *dlay* in *avadhya* and *jh* in *maghūā*, *ujhātīyā*, *ujhāpayitavye*, *ujhāpayita*, *ujhāpayisanti*.  
*dhr* remains in *dh[ḥ]iraye* (Delhi-Mirath), but becomes *dh* in *dhuc'iy* and *adhū* (pillar-edict V, 11).  
*ny* becomes *nn* or *n* in *anna* (passim) and *ana* (pillar-edict III 11).  
*pt* becomes *t* in [*ga*]t, *goll* (= Skt. *gōṣṭi*), *nikhātā*, *ujhātīya*, *paṭa* (= *piṭṭa*), *vata* (= *vapta*), Delhi-Tōpiā, VII, 1 31).  
*ph* becomes *p* in *pāpava*.  
*bhy* remains in *abhyannammyānu* and *abhyannamysati*, but becomes *hy* in [*h*]hī.  
*bhi* becomes *bh* in *palibhāvayānu*.  
*mḥ* becomes *mm* in *l uumun-* (Kummadī, 1 4).  
*mr* becomes *mb* (for *mhi*) in *ambā-* (= Skt *āma*).  
*yy* becomes *yy* in *āśvayyē* and [*sa*]nnanulhāpayiya.  
*rg* becomes *g* in *magasa* and *evaga*.  
*rgs* becomes *g* in *maganthasa*.  
*rgḥ* becomes *lagh* in *laghamti* (for *alaghamti*).  
*rn* becomes *nn* in *panna* (pillar-edict V, 11) and *pannamāsvam*.  
*rt* becomes *t* in *paṭatavye*, but *t* in *katavya*, *kaṭata*, *palibhātā*, *apahatā*.  
*rth* becomes *th* in *atha* (Delhi-Tōpiā, VII, W and O), but *th* in *atha* (passim).  
*rd* becomes *d* in *chakhdane*, *chodasa*, *chavādasā*, *modave*.  
*rḥ* becomes *dh* in *vadhuti*, *vadhūyī*, *vadhūthā*, *vadhīsati*, *vadhita*.  
*rḥh* becomes *bh* in *gabhihū*.  
*sm* becomes *mm* in *kammāni*, *chatnumāva*, *dhamma* (spelt *dhamā* at Tawitza-Aṭṭaj, II, 1 3).  
*sy* becomes *hy* in *nithūdye*, *patyovadātha* and *patyovadisanti*, *satijike* (Delhi-Tōpiā VII, 1 31), but *sy* in [*sā*]r[ī]r[ī]ke (Sanchi, 1 4).  
*rl* becomes *t* in *nīlakhiyati* and *nīlakhitavye*.  
*rv* becomes *v* in *panāvavane* and *sava*.  
*rs* becomes *s* in *Piyadisi*.  
*rsh* becomes *s* in *ukasā* and *vasa*.  
*rshy* becomes *sy* in *tyā*.  
*lp* becomes *p* in *apa* (pillar-edict II, C).  
*ly* becomes *y* in *kuyāna*, *sayaḥ* and *yjaka* (= Skt. *satyaka*).

<sup>1</sup> Three versions of the pillar edict II, C, read *socheye*, which Michelson (IF, 23 241) identifies with Pali *socheyya* (= Skt. *\*sauchya*).

*vy* becomes *vy* in *vyāñjanena*, *viyata*, *vyūpata*, *viyovadissanti*, *vyohāla*, and in the gerundives in *-tavya*.

*vy* becomes *v* in *parapitānuu*.

*vy* becomes *ṣ* in *patibhasayissati* (future of the causative of Skt. *bhrasyati*).

*st* becomes *sis* in *nivṣṭi[dha]ṣṭe* (= Skt. *\*nṛtiskṭakā*); cf. Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 74.

*ṣṭ* becomes *ṣṭ* in *asva*, *asvatha* (= Skt. *āsvasta*), *visvamsayitave* (infinitive of *visvāsayati*), *su* in *sure* (= *śukh*), *ṣ* in *sita*.

*skt* becomes *th* in *vadhithā* and *huthā*, *th* in *atha-bhāgiye*, *athami*, *apakathesi*, *tuthāyatan[ā]ni*, *pativṣṭitham*, *dth* in *adtha* [*Lo*] *lokya* and *nivṣṭi[dha]ṣṭe*.

*skth* becomes *th* in *nithuliye*

*skp* becomes *p* in *chatupada*

*chp* becomes *p* in *dupativakkhe*

*shy* becomes *sy* in *tisyam*; *vy* in *tisyam*, *s* in *tisūyam* and *tisūye*, *duśanti*, *pusitaviya* (from Skt. *pushyati*) *munisa* (= *mauṣkya*), *hosanti* and other futures, *h* in *hohanti*.

*st* becomes *th* in *athu*, *anusathi*, *asvatha* (= Skt. *āsvasta*), *thaubhāni*, *thuba* (= *stūpa*), *pavthu-lsanti*

*sth* becomes *th* in *gutha* (= Skt. *grihastha*) and *-thitika* or *-thitika*,<sup>1</sup> *th* in *anathika* and *-thitika* or *-thitika*<sup>2</sup>

*sv* becomes *su* in *astureva* (from *ā-sun*)

*su* becomes *ṣ* in the locative singular in *-asi*.

*vy* becomes *sv* in *svā* (= Skt. *syāt*), *s* in the genitive singular in *-asa*, *h* in *dāhanti*

*hv* becomes *hu* in *anugrahuvu*.

*hu* becomes *hh* in *bābhaua*

## B.—DECLENSION

### I. BASES IN *-a*.

#### (1) Masculines and neutres in *-a*.

Singular	Plural.
Nom masc <i>jane</i> &c, neut <i>dānu</i> , &c	Masc <i>pulisā</i> , &c
Acc masc <i>janani</i> , &c, neut <i>dānum</i> &c	Masc <i>pulisāni</i> } neut. <i>sāvanāni</i> , &c
Insti <i>dhaumena</i> , &c	<i>akāḥhi</i> , <i>pulimchi</i> , <sup>1</sup>
Dat <i>athavi</i> , &c	
Gen <i>janava</i> , &c	<i>pānānam</i> , &c
Loc <i>janasi</i> , &c	<i>athasu</i> , &c.

Nom sing neut — In [*da*] *nā* (Delhi-Mirath, II, l 2) the termination is *-ī*

Insti sing. — The final *a* is lengthened in *nsāhenā* *bhuyena*, [*va*] *hanuā*

Gen. sing. — The final *a* is lengthened in *asvāsā*, *gousāsā*, *jānapadasā*, *Drevānampiyasha*, *lokasā*.

Nom plur masc — The final *ā* is shortened in *abhīta*, *asvatha*, *ayata*, *kata* *pūpta*, *mahāmā* [*ta* (Kausambi edict, l 1), *lapāka*. The Vedic termination *-āsah* is preserved in *vyūpātāse* (Delhi-Topia, VII, ll. 25, 27)

Nom plu neut. — The final *i* is lengthened in [*ha*] *pīntavyani* (Delhi-Mirath, V l 8) The following Sanskrit masculines have the termination of the neuter *thambhāni*, *mlāyāni*, *nigohāni*, *nyamāni*, *mokhāni* *timni* *divasāni* and *etāni* *divasāni* (acc.).

<sup>1</sup> With the compound *chilum-thitika* or *chilam-thitika* cf. Skt. *chiranyivin* and *chirantana*.

<sup>2</sup> In *chila-thitika* (Delhi-Topia, VII, l. 32) and *chila-thitika* (Allahabad-Kōsam, II, l. 3).

<sup>3</sup> From *pulma* = Pālī *purima*.

## (2) Femines in -ā.

Singular.	Plural
Nom. <i>ichhā</i> , &c.	<i>vadhīyā</i> , &c.
Acc. <i>pajam</i> , &c.	
Inst. <i>pājyā</i> and <i>pājya</i> , &c.	
Dat. <i>vahsāye</i> , <i>avahmsāye</i> .	
Abl. <i>dakṣināye</i> , <i>dākhināye</i> .	
Gen. <i>dutyāye</i> , <i>dutyaye</i> .	
Loc. <i>tsāyani</i> , <i>tsāye</i> , <i>chāvudāsāye</i> , <i>pannadasāye</i> , <i>patipadāy[ā]</i> <sup>1</sup>	<i>disāsu</i>

Nom. sing.—The final *ā* is shortened in *apikha*, *avadhya*, *rya*, *kopika*, *kālapita*, *patika*, *daya*, *palana*, *lakhāpita*, *vadhita*, *viyata*, *sātika*, *sakhīyana*.

Acc. sing.—The termination is -*a* in *p[a]tipadā* (Dulhi-Minath, V, l. 6).

Inst. sing.—The termination is -*ya* in *avāya*, *anulapāya*, *kāmatāya*, *patikhāya*, *evadhāya*, *sakhāyāya*, *susāyā*, while the final *ā* is shortened, as at Girnar, Dhavli, and Jangada, in *avāya*, *kāmatāya*, *patikhāya*, *evadhāya*, *susāyā*.

## II. BASIS IN -i

## (1) Masculines and neutrals in -i

Nom. sing. masc. *vadhi*, *Sakyamuni*, acc. plur. neut. *tinu*, loc. plur. .

The feminine base *anuvathi* forms the nom. and acc. plur. *anuvathini* with the termination of the neuter.

## (2) Femines in -i and -ī

Singular	Plural
Nom. <i>vadhi</i> , <i>dhātī</i> , &c.	
Acc. <i>lipi</i> , <i>vadhi</i> (pillar-edict VI, B) <i>anupatipati</i>	
Inst. <i>vadhīyā</i> , <i>anupatipatīyā</i> , &c.	
Dat. <i>anupatipatīyī</i> , <i>dhātīyī</i> , <i>devyī</i>	
Gen. <i>Kāṭavakīyī</i> , <i>devyī</i> and <i>devīyī</i> .	<i>bh[ī]kṣu[ī]ṣaṃ</i> , <i>devīna</i> .
Loc. <i>tiyaṃ</i> , <i>tiyaṃ</i> , <i>Kosambiyam</i> , <i>puṇnamasiyam</i> , <i>chātummavayī</i>	<i>chātummavayīsu</i>

Nom. sing.—The final vowel is long in *gabhinī*, *sikālī*, *duṭṭī* (also *duḥ*) *līpī* (also *līpi*).

Inst. sing.—The final *ā* is shortened in *anuvathīna* (also *anuvathīyā*).

## III. MASCULINES AND NEUTERS IN -u

Sing.	Pl.
Nom. masc. <i>bhikkhu</i> and <i>[bhikkh]ū</i> , <i>sādhu</i> and <i>sadhū</i> , <i>lahu</i> , neut. <i>bahu</i>	Neut. <i>bahūni</i>
Gen. <i>[bhikkh]ū</i> , <i>[sādhu]ṃ</i>	<i>[bhikkh]ūṃ</i> , <i>[sādhu]ṃ</i>
Loc. <i>puṇnāvāsīni</i> , <i>bahūni</i>	<i>puṇnāvāsīni</i> , <i>bahūni</i>

The loc. sing. is formed from a base in -*ni*.

## IV. MASCULINES AND FEMINES IN -ī

Nom. sing. <i>apahota</i> and <i>apahota</i> , <i>nyāpavāṭa</i>
Gen. sing. <i>māta</i>
Loc. plur. <i>pitṛu</i>

<sup>1</sup> As in Pāli, the Skt. feminine *patipatī* has the form *patipatā*. Cf. Hünichandra.

<sup>2</sup> In Sanskrit the corresponding form is *tiṣṭhu*.

## INTRODUCTION

## V BASES IN CONSONANTS

(1) Present participles in *-at*.

Nom sing masc *samlam, anupatipajamtam*, cf. above, p. cx

(2) Masculines in *-yat* and *-vat*

Nom sing masc *kīyam* and *kīya* (Lauṛiyā-Nandagarh), *Bhagavan* The base *yāvat* follows the *a*-declension nom. sing masc. *āvate* (Saināth, l. 9)

(3) Masculines and neuter in *-an*

Singular	Plural.
Nom masc <i>lāya lāpa</i>	<i>lājāne</i>
Acc neut <i>nana</i>	<i>kanmāni</i>
Instr <i>atana, atana, lājina.</i>	<i>lājini</i>

The instr. plur. follows the *i*-declension

(4) Masculines and neuter in *-in*

Nom sing masc *Piyadasi*, instr sing *Piyadasina*, nom. plur neut *-gāmīni*

The final *i* of the nom sing masc is preserved only in the Allahabad Kōsam version while all others read *Piyadasi*

(5) Masculines and neuter in *-as*

Acc sing neut *bhuvā*

The masculine *chindama-* (= Skt *chandamar*) and the neuter *ayya-* occur as first member of compounds The base *aymana* follows the *a*-declension nom. plur. masc *aymanā* and (with shortening of the final *ā*) *aymana*

## C.—PRONOUNS

## (1) Pronoun of the first person

Nom sing *halam*

Acc sing *man*

Instr sing *mamajā* and *mamya*, *mama* and *mama, me*.

Gen sing *mama, me*

## (2) Pronoun of the second person

Nom plur *tuphr*, gen plur. *tuphalam*

(3) Base *ta-*

Singular	Plural
Nom masc and neut <i>ta</i> <sup>1</sup>	Masc <i>te</i>
Acc neut <i>tan, se</i>	Neut <i>tāni</i>
Instr. <i>tesa</i>	
Gen.	<i>tesam, tānam</i>
Loc	<i>tesu.</i>

Acc. sing fem. *tañi.*

Dat. sing fem *tāye.*

(4) Base *na-*

Nom. plur neut. *nāni*, see Text, p. 127, n. 10.

<sup>1</sup> Moreover, the nom. sing. neut *she* occurs in the Queen's edict, l. 4

(5) Base *eta*

Singular.		Plural
Nom. masc <i>eta</i> , neut <i>eta</i> , <i>esa</i>		Masc <i>eta</i>
Acc. neut. <i>etam</i>		Neut <i>etam</i>
Instr <i>etena</i>		
Dat <i>etāye</i> .		
Loc		<i>eta</i>
		Nom. sing. fem. <i>esa</i>

(6) Demonstrative *ama*

Nom. sing. neut. *iyam*; nom. plur. masc. *ama*, neut. *amā*, nom. sing. fem. *iyam*, acc. *imam*.

## (7) Interrogative pronoun

The base *ki* forms the acc. sing. neut. *kim* (in *kimti*), *kimam* or *kimmam* (see Text, p. 129, n. 7) and the instrumental \**kimā* (in *kimasa*, i.e. \**kimassa* = Palh *kimassa* and Skt. *kimasat*). The base *ka* is used as demonstrative nom. plur. neut. *kām* (in *potake cha kam*, see Text, p. 127, n. 10) and acc. plur. masc. *kām* (four times). The indefinite pronoun is formed with *pa* (= Skt. *apa*) or *chi* (= Skt. *chad*) instr. sing. *kenapi*, nom. plur. neut. [*kjanchi*]

## (8) Relative pronoun

Singular.		Plural
Nom. masc. and neut. <i>ya</i> , <i>i</i>		Masc. <i>y</i> neut. <i>yām</i>
Instr. <i>yena</i> , <i>eua</i>		
		Nom. sing. fem. <i>yā</i> .

(9) Base *appa*

Singular		Plural
Nom. masc. <i>amme</i> , neut. [ <i>u</i> ] <i>umē</i> , <i>ana</i>		Masc. <i>amme</i> , neut. <i>ammā</i>
Gen		<i>ammānam</i>
Loc		<i>ammāni</i>

The gen. plur. *ammānam* follows the analogy of the nouns in *-a* (above, p. cxvii) of *tanu* for *tesam* (above, pp. lxxviii and cxviii), *talnam* at Mān-chia and the dat. sing. fem. *toye* (above p. cxviii), *imaya* and *imā* [*y*]e at Gūrūt, Kālī, and Dhauī, *imaye* at Mān-chia.

(10) Base *sava*

Singular		Plural
Nom. masc. <i>sava</i>		<i>savasa</i>
Loc. <i>savāni</i>		

## D—NUMERALS

## One

Nom. sing. masc. *ikike* (= Skt. *ikārikā*), fem. *ikā*, acc. sing. fem. *ika* *u*

## Two

Instr. masc. *durechi* (from the base *dva*) The base *dva* appears as *du* in the ordinal *dutya* or *dutya*, and in the compound *dupada*

# INTRODUCTION

Three, four, six

Acc neut *trims*, loc fem *trisu* The bases *chatur* and *shash* form part of the compounds *chaturpada* and *āsannasāka*

Twelve, fourteen, fifteen

*dvādaśa* and *dvāṣṭā* [a] [a], *chodasa*. The ordinals *chāvudasa* and [*pa*] *ucha* [*dasā*] (Allahabad-Kosām). *pamudasa*, *pamudasa* correspond to Skt. *chaturdaśi* and *pañchadaśi*

Twenty, &c

*vivati*, *pamuvivati*, *saduvivati*, *saturvivati*

Hundred thousand.

Loc plur *sata-sahasra*

## II.—CONJUGATION

### I PRESENT

(1) *Base*.

First Sanskrit class

Root *arh* (= Skt. *arh*) *arhami* for *araghami*, cf Skt. *arhu* and Pāli *arhami*, and see Laufer, SPAW, 1913 997

Root *iksh* *patikshāmi*, *anvikshāmi*

Root *dris* *dekhati*

Root *bhū* *hoti*, *hivati* (sixth class)

Root *vad* *pativadathi*

Root *vaḥ* *āvāhami*

Root *vadh* *vadhati*

Second Sanskrit class

Root *as* *athi*

Root *e* *eti*

Root *ia* *yāti*

Root *sās* *anv[ā]śāmi* (subjunctive)

Third Sanskrit class.

Root *dha* *vidahāmi*, *apadahāmi* (which follows the *a*-conjugation)

Fourth Sanskrit class

Root *paṭ* *anupatipajamti*, &c

Root *pusḥ* The gerundive *pusitavya* is formed from the Sanskrit present *pushtyati*

Fifth Sanskrit class

Root *āp* *pāpota*

Sixth Sanskrit class

Root *ish* The aorist *ishisu* and the gerundive *ishitavya* are formed from the Sanskrit present *ishkhati*

Root *kship* *nikhīpātha*.

Root *siy* absolute *nisiyita* (from the Sanskrit present *nisiyati*)

## Ninth Sanskrit class

Root *grāh* follows the *a*-conjugation *anugahinevu*  
 Root *jñā*. The future *jānīṣanti* and the infinitive *ājāntave* are formed from the present *jāndti*.

## Tenth Sanskrit class

(a) With *aya* *abhyunnāmayeham*, *sañipatipādāyañti*, *pāyaminā* (from *pāyati* = *pājeti*, see Childers, *Pāli Dictionary*, s.v. *prati*), *palibhasayisām* (future of the causative of Pāli *bhassati* = Skt *bhṛṣayati*, see Michelson, IF, 23, 263), *ālādhaṣeyu*, *āvāsāyiyu*, *vivāsāyūtha*, *pati[vedāyañti\*]*, *pavālayevū*, *vivāṣāyitave*.

(b) With *peya* *jhūpayitavīye* and *jhūpetavīyu* (from root *kṣhai*) The long vowel of the roots *jñā*, *dā*, *dhyai* is shortened in *ānapayati*, *vūṇāpayitavīye*, *saṃādapayitave*, *nyūhapayisāñti*, *nyūhapayitā*, *nyūhapayitave*.

(c) With *āpaya* *kālāpita*, [*sā*] *ūṇāñdhāpayiyā* and *saṇāñdhāpayitu* (from root \**nadh* = Skt *nah*), *likhāpita*, *vā[sa]petavīy[ā]*, *vivāṣāpayūthā*, *sāvūpayūmi*.

(d) With *pāpaya* *lopāpita*, *usāpāpita*, cf. Ardhmagādhi *usāpaya* (= \**uchchhrapāpita*) in Pischel's *Gramm* ik, § 64, and Skt *uchchhrāpayati*. Similar forms are *vivūṣāpāpita* in E. Muller's *Pāli Grammar*, p. 122, *thapāpita* in Geiger's *Pāli*, § 182, and *darāpita* in Pischel's *Gramm*atik, § 552.

(e) With *apāpaya* *khānāpāpātāni*, *likhāpāpātā*.

(f) Denominatives *ñīlita* and *ñīlita* (from Skt *ñīrayati*), *sukhoyite*, *sukhāyanā*, *sukhiyanā*, *dukkhiyanā* [ā], *mahiyyite*.

(2) *Moods*.

## (a) Indicative

1. sing. *pativekhāmi*, *vidahāmi*

3. sing. *dekkhāti*, *hoti*, *vadhāti*, *atthi*, *eti*, *yāti*, *ānapayati*

3. plur. *laṅghanti*, *dekkhanti*, *sampatipādāyañti*, *pati[vedāyañti\*]*

## (b) Subjunctive.

1. sing. *āvahāmi*, *anus[ā]sāmi*, *savūpayami*.

3. sing. *huvāti* (Sārnāth, l. 6)

2. plur. *nikhāpātha*, *palīyavadātha*, *vivāsāyūtha*, *vivāṣāpayūthū*

## (c) Optative

1. sing. *abhyunnāmayeham*, cf. above, pp. lxxvii, cix

3. sing. *siyā* and *siya*, *anū[pa]tīpīyā*, *pāpovā* and *pāpova* (from the strong base *pi āpnu-*), *vadhēyā*.

3. plur. *yāvu*, *upadahevu*, *anugahinevu*, *ālādhaṣeyu*, *pavālayevū*.

## (d) Imperative

3. sing. *hotu*, 3. plur. *anupatīpayañtu*

## II. AORIST

3. sing. middle. *huthā*, *vadhithū*

3. plur. active *husu*, *ichhisu*

## III. PERFECT.

3. sing. *āha*, *āhā*, *ahā*, the last of which is unduplicated, see Michelson, IF, 23, 244



IV. FUTURE.

1. sing. *palibhasayisam* Cf *likhāpayisam* at Girmār.

3. sing. *abhyanumnasati*, *vadhiasati* and *vadhiasati*, *anupapayisati* (from the present \**pajjati* = Skt *padyat*), *saṃpatipayisati* and \**payisati*, *chaghasati* (from root *chak* = Skt. *śak*), *bh[ā]khati* (= Skt. *bhaṅkshyati*), *kachhāti* (see above, p. lxxxiii, n. 1)

3. plur *patichalsanti*, *vadhasanti*, *hosanti* and *hohanti*, *palyovadhasanti*, *viyovadhasanti*, *pavithalsanti* (from root *strī*), *dāhanti*, *chaghanti*, *kachhanti*, *jāniasanti* (from the present *jānāti*), *nijhapayisanti*

V. PASSIVE

3. sing. indicative *khādiyati*, *nilakhiyati*, *ganīyati* (Queen's edict, l. 4).

3. plur indicative *anuvadhiyanti* and \**dhiyanti*

VI. PARTICIPLES.

(1) Present participle.

Active: *śāntam*, *anupatipajantam*.

Middle: *anuvakkhamāne*, *pāyamānā*

(2) Past passive participle.

(a) In *-ta mata* (Delhi-Göprā) and *muta* (= Skt. *mata*), *kati*, *viyāpata*, *śilata* and *śillita*, *mahiya*, *sukkhaya*,<sup>1</sup> *anapita*, *kālāpita*, *sāvāpita*, *khānāpāpita*, *likhāpita*, *likhāpāpita*, *atikamta*, *āyata* (i e *ayatta*), *nikhita* (= *nikshipta*), *viyata* (= *vyakta*), *yuta* (= *yukta*), *badha* (i e *baddha*), *niludha* (= *niruddha*), *āludha* (= \**ārāddha*), *pata* (= *pāpita*), *apakatha* (= *apakrīṣhta*), *asvatha* (= *āsvasta*), &c.

(b) In *-na anāp[ā]tipāṇna*, *patiyāsamna* and *patiyāsāṇna*, *diṇna* (for \**diḍḍna*, see Pischel's *Grammatik*, p. 386)

(3) Future passive participle.

(a) In *-taviya*: *hamtaviya*, *viketaviya*, *vātaviya*, *kataviya*, *ichhitaviya* (from the present *ichchati*), *pusitaviya* (from *pushyati*), *vināpavitaviya*, *jhāpavitaviya* and *jhāpetaviya* (from the causative of *kshati*), *vū[ṣā]petaviya* In *nilakhitaviya* (= \**niralakshayitaviya*) the causative character *aya* is neglected.

(b) In *-ya dekhiya* (from the present *dekhati*), *l[a]hiya* (from root *labh*), *avadhiya* and *anavadhiya*, *dupativedha*, *dusanāpatipādāya*, *āvāsaviya* (for \**āvāṣaviya*).<sup>2</sup>

VII. INFINITIVE

*bhetave* (from root *bhid*), *palikhatave*, *patichalitate*, *ājāmitave*, *āśādhayitave*, *vusvāṃsayitave*, *samādapayitave*, *nijhapayitave*

VIII. ABSOLUTIVE.

(a) In *-tvā sutu* (= Skt *śrutvā*), *nisiyitu* (from the present *nisiyati*), *sanāindhāpayitu*

(b) In *-ya āgācha* (= *āgatyā*), *[sa]mnāindhāpayiyā*<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In this form the causative character *aya* of the present *sukkhayati* is retained, as in *ānapayite* at Kāśī, *[ānapayite]* at Mānschūr, and *ānāp[ay]i[ta]* at Dhauri.

<sup>2</sup> The correct Sanskrit form would be *āvāṣya*, cf the preceding note.

<sup>3</sup> Cf the two last notes and Pāṇini, VI, 4, 57, who allows both *prāpayya* and *prāpya* to be formed from *prāpayati*.

## CHAPTER XI

### GRAMMAR OF THE MINOR ROCK-INSRIPTIONS

THE language of most of these inscriptions strongly resembles the Māgadha dialect of the pillar-edicts and of the Dhauli and Jaugaḍa rock-edicts. But, for practical reasons, it appears more convenient to treat the grammar of the minor rock-inscriptions in a separate chapter. The three Mysore edicts (Brahmagiri, Siddāpura, and Jatinga-Rāmeśvara) exhibit a number of dialectical peculiarities and are therefore considered in a special sub-division.

#### I THE FIVE ROCK-INSRIPTIONS AT RUPNATH, ETC., AND THE THREE BARABAR HILL CAVE-INSRIPTIONS

##### A.—PHONETICS

##### (1) VOWELS

The vowel *a* becomes *u* after *m* in *munisā*, and *i* after *y* in the future *vadhistsi* (Rūpnāth and Maski) = *vadhisati* (Sahasrām and Barāt), cf. Śaurasēni *bhaviṣṣati*, &c., in Hōmachandīa, IV, 275, and in the southern manuscripts of Indian dramas. For the *e* of *katā* (Sahasrām) and for the *i* of *munisā* see above, p. lxx. The abstract *gālava* (= Prakṛit and Pālī *garava*) presupposes the adjective *galu* (= Skt. *guru*), in which *a* corresponds to Skt. *u*, see above, p. lvi. For *o* = Skt. *u* in *kho*, see *ibid* and n. 2. The diphthong *au* becomes *o* in *moneya*.

*rs* becomes (1) *a* in *katā*, *dakṣitaviye*, *vadhī*, (2) *u* in *musā* (= Skt. *mrishā*), *sun[e]ya*, (3) *i* in *adhigukhya* (= Skt. *adhikṛitya*), *diseyā* (optative of *drisyati*). In *adhātī* *y* *va* (= Pālī *adhattiya* and Skt. *ardhadritya*) the syllable *trī* is lost, as in Ardhamāgadhi *addhūya*, see Geiger's *Pali*, § 65, 2, and cf. Pālī *addhuddha* = Skt. *ardhachaturtha*.

Interconsonantal *a* and *i* are lengthened in *-[a]thāta* (?) and *chīta-thitiki*. Final *a* is lengthened in *evā* and *vā* (= Skt. *eva*), *chā*, *hetā*, *āhā*, [*hikāpa*] *yāthā*, *h[a]mā*, *cteni(na)*, *apaladhiyena*, &c. (below, p. cxxvi). Final *i* and *u* are lengthened before *iti* in *sanghasi ti*, *hosati ti*, *jānamti ti*, and final *u* which stands for *ur* in *upadhū* [*a*] *yeu*.

Initial *ā* is shortened in *ahāle* (Rūpnāth), interconsonantal *i* and *u* in *misibhūtā* (Maski), *Jambudīpasī* (= *\*dīpasī* at Sahasrām), *pa[ka]mam[i]mna* (cf. *palakamamīnū* at Sahasrām), *ekunavāsī* (Barabar), final *ā* and *i* in *lāja* (Barabar) = *lija* (Calcutta-Barāt), *sata* (Rupnāth) = *satā* (Sahasrām), *Pr[i]yadasi* (Calcutta-Barāt) = *Priyadasi* (Barabar).

Initial vowels are dropped in *pr* (= Skt. *aps*), *sumi* (for *\*amsi* = Skt. *asmi*), *hakam* (for *ahakam* = *aham*), *ti* (= *iti*), *kinti* and *kiti*, *dāni* (= *idānim*), *va* and *vi* (= *iva*).

##### (2) SIMPLE CONSONANTS

Intervocalic *k* is softened in *adhigukhya* (Skt. = *adhikṛitya*) and appears to have become *y* in *diyadhiya* (= *\*dvakardhiya*).<sup>1</sup> *gh* is preserved in *Lāghula* (= *Rāghula*) and suggests that this name of Buddha's son is derived from the ancient hero *Raghu*. In *kubhā* (Barabar) = Skt. *guhā*, 'a cave', *k* and *bh* at first sight appear to correspond to Skt. *g* and *h*. But each of the two words may have a distinct origin. While *guhā* is connected with the root *guh*, 'to hide', *kubhā* may be related to *kumbha*, 'a pot' (originally 'a cavity'), and Greek *κόμβη*, 'a (hollow) boat'.<sup>2</sup>

Lingual *ṣ* is replaced by dental *n* throughout, but is improperly used at Calcutta-Barāt in *Alīya-vasāṇi* (= Skt. *Ārya-vaśaṇa*).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *diyadha* and *diadha*, above, pp. lxxi and lxxxv.

<sup>2</sup> The same root has assumed the slightly different meaning of 'a round projection' in Ancient Persian *kaufa*, 'a mountain', Avestan *kaufa*, 'a mountain, the hump of a camel', and Skt. *kakubh*, 'a peak'; cf. *kakud*, 'a peak, a hump'.

Dentals are lingualized in *udāla* (= Pāli *ulāra* and Skt. *udāra*), *duvādasa*, and after *r* in *kaḥā*, *vaḥā*. *i* is palatalized in *adhigichya* (= Skt. *adhikṛīya*) *dh* seems to be preserved in *ha(hi)dha* (= *idha* at Gīrnār?), but has become *h* in [*ugoha*] (= Skt. *nyagrādha*).

Intervocalic *p* becomes *v* in *pāv[a]ṭaṣṭe* (Sahasrām), the infinitive of \**prāpati* (= Skt. *prāpōti*). *bh* becomes *h* in *hotu*, *hosati*, *husu*, *diveti*, [*āpru*] *kehu*.

*y* is dropped at the beginning of *āvatake* (from Skt. *yāvat*), *aiu* and *e* (= *yat*). The syllable *ya* becomes *i* in [*ugoha*] (= *nyagrādha*). *aya* and *ayi* become *e* in *lekhāpeta*, *lāli* *khāpetavaya*, *āvohave* (read *āvādhetave*) and [*ā*] *lādheta* [*v*], *abhivāde* [*tū*] *nam*.

As in the Māgadhā dialect, *r* becomes *l*; but it is preserved at Rūpnāth in *āvodhete* (read *āvādheteve*), *chira-thitike*, *chha(sa)vachhate*, *sāti* [*ra*] *krānu* (read *sātrekrānu*), and at Maski in *pure*, [*sa*] *pre* [*ki*].

*v* becomes *p* in *apaladhīya* (*apaladhīya* (Rūpnāth) = *ava* [*a*] *dhiyēnā* (Sahasrām). It is developed out of *u* in *vivutha* (Sahasrām) = *vy* [*u*] *tha* (Rūpnāth) *ava* and *avi* become *o* in *ovade*, *hotu*, *hosati*.

*ś* and *ṣ* have generally become *s*. But *ś* is preserved at Maski in *śake* (= Skt. *śākyak*) and is improperly used at Banāt in *svage* (= *svage* at Rūpnāth), *śh* is preserved at Maski in *vashā* [*ni*] In [*cha*] *kye* and *chakiye*, *ś* is represented by *ch*; cf. above, pp. ci and cxiii.

*h* is prefixed in *ha(hi)dha* (?), *hetā*, *hevam*.

Final consonants are dropped. *ā* (for *ās*) is shortened in *sānta* and *-deva* (Sahasrām, l 2 f) as becomes *e*, see *pure*<sup>1</sup> (= Skt. *purāṣ*), *bhikhuve* (nom. plur.), *athe*, &c. It is represented by *ā* in *esā* (nom. sing. neut.), and by *a* in [*a*] *thāta* (?), *esa* (nom. sing. neut.), *yāvataka* and *alata* (Rūpnāth).

Final *a* is nasalized in *cham* (Calcutta-Bairāt, l 2), while final Anuvāra is omitted in *ima*, *yu*, *tupaka* (for *tuphāka*), *diyadhīya* (Rūpnāth), *prukāsa*, [*ba*] *dha*, *vadhū* (acc.), *vapula*, *saḥ* [*a*] (acc.) The nom. sing. of neuters in *-a* generally follows the analogy of the masculine and ends in *-i*, see *phale*, &c. The termination *-ai-* is replaced by *-i* in *bādhī* (Rūpnāth, ll 1, 2), cf. *ayi* for *ayam* at Shāhbūgarh.<sup>2</sup> The long nasal vowel *āu* is shortened in the termination (*-am*) of the acc. sing. of feminines in *-ā* (below, p. cxxvi), and *im* becomes *i* in *dām* (= Skt. *idānim*).

#### (3) SANIHI

Final *m* is preserved and doubled in *hevaimevā* (Calcutta-Bairāt, l 8).

*a + ā* becomes *a* in *vasābhūta*, *sātike*, *sādhī* [*ke*], *ap* [*ā*] *bhadhāta*, *jo* [*lagh*] *o* [*sāgama*] (?). The *ā* which results from the contraction is shortened before a group of consonants in [*āgama*] *thāta* (?), *apaladhīyevā* and *ava* [*a*] *dhiyēnā*, *diyadhīyam*, but the length is preserved in *diyādhīyam* (Sahasrām). Final *ā* is elided before *u*, *e*, *o* in *chu* (= *cha + u*), *ekunavīsati*, *ma* [*hu*] *au* *eva*, *Lāghul-ovāde*.

#### (4) GROUPS OF CONSONANTS.

The only groups which occasionally remain unassimilated are *ky*, *ty* (which becomes *chy*), *pr*, *ṛ*, *ṣ*, *ṣṭ*.

A long vowel preceding a group is shortened in *aliya* (= Skt. *ārya*) *po* [*la*] *kamaintu* (= *purākra*<sup>3</sup>), *palukamamīnena*, [*paluka*] *ni* [*t*] *e*, *mahate* (= *mahatman*), *śaki* and [*sa*] *k* [*r*] (= *śākyak*), *abhikhanam* (= *abhikhanam*). But the length remains in *p* [*a*] [*ā*] *kame* (Sahasrām), *p* [*ā*] *potavi* (from *p* *āpōti*), *lāti* (= *sāti*), *sūte* (= *sūtam*). A short vowel preceding a group is lengthened in *ṛ* [*ā*] *lave* (infinitive of *vach*).

The long nasal vowel *āu* is shortened before consonants in [*paluka*] *ni* [*t*] *e*<sup>3</sup> and *Devānāmpiya* (Rūpnāth and Maski), but remains in *Devānāmpiya* (Sahasrām and Bairāt). In *bhānte*, a Buddhist term of address which stands perhaps for *bhaddante*<sup>4</sup> = Skt. *bhadraṇ ti*, 'happiness to you', the syllabic *dda* is elided. The nasal vowel *iū* is replaced by a length in *ekunavīsati*. Anuvāra is sometimes omitted after *a*, see the infinitive *adhigatave* (Maski), *atā* (Rūpnāth) = *anitā* (Sahasrām and

<sup>1</sup> The same form is used in Arabic and Pāli. Cf. also [*phuk*] at Kāsi, I, l 3.

<sup>2</sup> Also Pāli *saddham* = *śānta* *dhama*. See Geiger's *Pāli*, § 2.

<sup>3</sup> The Anuvāra is omitted at the same time in *pakate* (= Skt. *prakāntak*).

<sup>4</sup> See Childers, *Pāli Dictionary*, s.v. *bhadanto*. According to Hémachandra, IV, 287, *bhānte* is the Māgadhī voc. sing. of *bhadanta*.

Bairāt), *th[abh]e* (but *th[ai]bhāsi* and *thai[bb]ā*), *pakamatu* (3. plur.), *[pa]kamatu* (Bairāt) = *pa[la]kamantu* (Sahasrām), *vayaganenū* (= Skt. *vyañjanenū*), *Aliya-vasāni* (= *Ārya-vanśāh*), *saghe* (= *saiṅghah*), *chha(sa)vachhare* and *sa[ā]chhale* (= *saurvatsarali*) The final *a* of the first member of a compound is nasalized at Sahasrām in *[m]isam-deva* and *aiṁmisam-[de]vā* (read *amī*\*)

The auxiliary vowel which is developed within some groups is *u* before labials in *duve*, *dvādasā*, *s[u]ag[e]*, *sumi*, *a* in *alahāmi*, *lāli* *khūpetavaya*, *vayaganenū*, and frequently *i*, as will appear from the subjoined list of Sanskrit groups and of their equivalents in the rock-inscriptions at Rūpnāth, &c

*kt* becomes *t* in *abhīstu*, &c.

*ky* remains in *[cha]kye* (Bairāt), but becomes *kry* in *chakrye*, *sakrye*, and *k* in *sak* (- Skt *śakya*), *Saka* and *[Sa]k[te]* (= *Sālyah*).

*kr* becomes *k* in *pakamati*, *pa[la]kamantu*, &c.

*ksh* becomes *kh* in *khudaka*, *bhikhu*, *bhikhuniye*, *dakṣitavye*<sup>1</sup>

*kshn* becomes *khin* in *abhikhinani*

*khl* becomes *kh* in *kho* = Skt *khala*, see above, p. lvi and n. 2

*g* becomes *g* in *[nigoha]* (= Skt. *nyagādhū*).

*jū* becomes *jin* in *lajina*.

*ich* becomes *in* in *supamud* = Skt *śatpañchāsāt*, cf *paññadasā*, &c, in the pillar-edict V.

*tp* becomes *p* in *sapañnā*.

*tk* becomes *k* in *samukase*

*tm* becomes *t* in *mahatu* (= Skt *mahātman*)

*ty* becomes *chy* in *adhuccha* (= Skt *adhikṛitya*).

*tr* becomes *t* in *tata*, *lāti*, *stāte*, *hetā*

*tv* becomes *t* in *mahatātū* (= Skt. *mahātmatvāt*)

*ts* becomes *ch* in *chha* *(v)achhar* and *va[ā]chhal*.

*tsth* becomes *th* in *[uthānāi]*.<sup>2</sup>

*dr* becomes *d* in *khudaka*, *bha[dal]e*.

*dv* becomes *duv* in *duve*, *dvādasā*, *d* in *Jambudīpasi*, *diyadhiyam*

*pn* becomes *p* in *p[ā]potase* (from Skt *pāpāt*)

*pi* remains in *prakāsa* (Rūpnāth) and in *abhīpīetam*, *pīasāde*, *P[ī]yadas[ī]* (Calcutta-Bairāt) but becomes *p* in *Piyadasi*, &c, and perhaps *ph* in *phāsu* = Vedic *pīśu* (?), see Gutschmidt's *Pal.*, § 62, 1.

*rg* becomes *g* in *vage*

*rth* becomes *th* in *atka*, and perhaps *th* in *[a]thātā* (?)

*rdh* becomes *dh* in *adhata[y]am*, *vadhisati* and *adhisati*

*rdhy* becomes *dhiy* in *apaladhiyenā* and *asa[ā]dhiyenā*, *dhiy* in *diyadhiyam*

*rmi* becomes *mi* in *dhamma* (spelt *dhama* at Maski, l. 5).

*ry* becomes *iy* in *aliya* (= Skt. *ārya*) and *pahyāya*

*rv* remains in *saive* (Calcutta-Bairāt, l. 3), but becomes *v* in *pa.ata* and *parvati* *[u]*

*rc* becomes *c* in *Piyadasi*.

*rsh* becomes *sh* in *vashā[ni]* (Maski, l. 2), *s* in *vasa* and *samukase*

*rh* becomes *lah* in *alāhāmi*.

*lp* becomes *p* in *ap[ā]bādhatam*.

*vy* remains in *vy[ā]khenā*, but becomes *vry* in *dakṣitavrye*, *vataravrya*, *vvasavavrya* *[va]* *[ya]*, and *vry* in *lāli* *khūpetavaya* and *vayaganenā*.

*śu* becomes *sin* in *pasine* (= Skt. *pīśnaka*).

*śy* becomes *s* in the optative passive *disyā*.

*śr* becomes *s* in *misa* and *sāvaṇe*

*th* becomes *th* in *vy[ā]kha* (Rūpnāth), *th* in *vivutha* (Sahasrām)

*shm* becomes *ph* in *tupaka* (read perhaps *tuphākani*, as at Sarnāth)

*shy* becomes *s* in *Upatisa*, *munvā*, *vadhisati* and *vadhisati*, *hosati*

*st* becomes *th* in *atka* and *thai[bb]ā* (Sahasrām), *th* in *thai[m]bha* (Rūpnāth)

*sth* becomes *th* in *chra-thitike* and *chala-thitiki*.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. lxxiv, n. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Cf above, p. ciii

*sm* becomes *shm* in *shmi* (= Skt. *asmi*), *s* in the loc. sing. in *-asi*.

*sy* becomes *sty* in *styā* (= Skt. *syāt*), *s* in the gen. sing. in *-asa*.

*sv* remains in *svage* (spelt *svage* at Bairāt), but becomes *sw* in *[v]ag[ɛ]* (Sahasrām).

## B.—DECLENSION

### (1) Masculines and neutals in *-a*.

#### Singular.

Nom. masc. *athe*, &c.; neut. *phale*, &c.  
Acc. masc. *saṅgham*, &c., neut. *vipulam*, &c.  
Instr. *Budhena*, &c.  
Dat. *kālāya*, *athāya*, *ath[ā]*,  
Abl. *mahatā*  
Gen. *Asok[ā]sa*, *Dro[ā]na[si]*, *piyasa*  
Loc. *Budhasi*, &c.

Masc. *devā*, &c., neut. *bhagāni*, &c.

*devhi*.

*[ā]jīva[kehi]*.

*parvatesu*.

In the nom. sing. masc. *yāvataku* and the nom. sing. neut. *lā(h)khāpetavaya*, *vivasetavā(vi)[ya]* at Rūpnāth, *-a* is perhaps only a clerical error for *-e*.

In the acc. sing. masc. *saṅgh[ā]* (for *saṅgham*) and the acc. sing. neut. *vipulā* at Rūpnāth, the final Anusvāra is omitted.

The final *a* of the instr. sing. is lengthened in *apaladhiyenā*, *ava[ā]dhiyenā*, *-abhisitenā*, *pa[ā]mam[ī]nenā*, *palakamaminenā*, *vayajanenā*, *vy[ū]thenā*.

At Barābai we seem to have a loc. sing. in *-e* *en[p]ā[y]*.

The final *a* of the nom. plur. masc. is shortened in *-deva* (Sahasrām, l. 3).

The Sanskrit masculines *pariyāya*, *vanśa*, *saṁvatsara* form the nom. and acc. plur. *pariyāyāni*, *vanśāni*, *[saṁvatsarāni]*, with the termination of the neuter. The nom. plur. neut. has the ending *-ā* at Sahasrām (l. 6 f.) in *lāti-satā vṛnthā*, at Rūpnāth (l. 5 f.) we have *sata* instead of *satā*.

### (2) Feminines in *-a*

Nom. sing. *lubbā*, *dinā*, acc. sing. *ap[ā]bādkatam*, *phāsu-vihālatam*, nom. plur. *upāsikā*, *gāthā*.

### (3) Feminines in *-i* and *-ī*

Acc. sing. *radhi*, nom. plur. *bhikkhuniye*, loc. plur. *parvat[ū]*<sup>1</sup>

### (4) Masculines in *-at*.

Nom. sing. *kalasitani*, instr. sing. *bhagavatā*, nom. plur. *sanīta* (for either *sanitā* or *sanīte*).

### (5) Masculines in *-an*

Nom. sing. *lājā*, *lāja*, instr. sing. *lājā*, *mo[ka]tan[ā]*

### (6) Masculine in *-in*

Nom. sing. *Piyadasī*, *Pr[ī]yadas[ī]*, instr. sing. *Piyadasinā*.

## C.—PRONOUNS

### (1) Pronoun of the first person.

Nom. sing. *hakam*.

Instr. sing. *mamayā*, *hamyaye*, *[me]*

Gen. sing. *h[a]mā*, *me*

<sup>1</sup> The feminine *parvatī* (= *parvata*) occurs in the *Tastiriyā-Saṁskṛitā*, see Böhtlingk's *Wörterbuch*, s. v.

The genitive *h[a]mā* is a compromise between the usual form *mama* or *mamā* and the nom \**ham* (for Skt. *aham*). With the instr *hamiyāye* cf *mamiyāye* at Jaugada.

(2) Pronoun of the second person

Dat plur. *ve* (= Skt. *vah*), which is used for the nom at Maski (l. 7), gen. plur. *tupakā* (Rūpnāth), which is probably a clerical error for *tuphākān* (Sarnāth)

(3) Base *ta*

Nom. sing. masc and neut *se*, acc sing neut. *ta[m]*, *se*, nom plur masc. *ti*

(4) Base *etā*.

Nom sing. neut *esa*, *esā*, *e[s]*, instr sing [*etena*], *eteni(nā)*, *etunā*, dat sing *etāye*, *etiya*, acc plur neut. *etām*.

With the forms *etunā* and *etiya* at Rūpnāth of the gen. sing *etisa* in the two Khairashthi versions of the rock-edicts, and *etichā* at Kālsī

(5) Demonstrative *idam*

Singular.		Plural
Nom masc <i>iyā[m]</i> , <i>iya</i> , neut <i>iyam</i>		Neut. <i>imām</i>
Acc masc <i>ima</i> , neut. <i>imam</i>		
Dat. [ <i>i</i> ]māya		

Nom. sing fem. *iyam*.

(6) Interrogative pronoun

The base *ki* forms part of the conjunction *kintu* or *kiti*, and the base *ka* of the indefinite *kichi* (nom sing. neut.)

(7) Relative pronoun.

Nom. sing masc and neut *e*, acc sing. neut. *ya*, *am*, nom plur masc. *ya*, which follows the analogy of the nouns in -*u*, and [*ye*].

(8) Base *sarīa*

Nom. sing. neut. *sarīe*

## D. NUMERALS

Two nom. neut *dive*

Twelve *divvādasā*.

Nineteen *eknavīsati*

Fifty-six *sapaññā*. For *paññā* = Skt *pañcāśat*, see Pischel's *Grammatik* § 44;

Hundred *satā* and *sata* (nom. plur.)

## E.—CONJUGATION

(1) PRESENT

(a) Indicative

1 sing. *alakhāmi*, *sumi*, *ikhāmi*, *likhā[pa]rami*

3. sing. *athi*

(b) Subjunctive.

2 plur [*likhāpa*]yāthā.

## (c) Optative.

- 3 sing *adhigacch[ē]yā, siyā, dīcya* (passive).  
 3 plur *sun[ē]yu* (= *shune[ṣ]u* at Kālsī), *upadhāl[a]ryyā*.

## (d) Imperative.

- 3 sing *hotu*  
 2 plur *lekhipeta, [ikhāpayatha]*  
 3 plur *palamatu* (for *\*manu*), *palakamanitu, jānashitu*.

(2) AORIST. 3. plur. *husu*.(3) PERFECT. 3. sing. *āhā*.

## (4) FUTURE

- 3 sing *hosati, vadhisati* and *vadhisu*.

## (5) PARTICIPLES

## (a) Present Participle

- Active *kalantam, sanita* (nom plur)  
 Middle *pa[kā]mam[i]na, palakamanīna*

## (b) Past passive participle

- In *-ta* *kata, pakata* (= Skt. *praktānta*), *vy[u]tha* and *vuntha* (from *vu-was*), &c  
 In *-na* *dina* (i.e. *diuna*), see above, p. CXXII.

## (c) Future passive participle

- In *-taya* *dakṣitaya, vataya, lā[ti]khāpetaya, vvasatavā(vi)[ya]*  
 In *-ya* *sakiya* and *saku*, *[cha]kya* and *chakiya*

## (6) INFINITIVE.

- adhigatare*, *v[ā]tave* (from root *vac*), *p[ā]potave* (from Skt *prāpuṣti*), *pāṭi[a]ṭa[ṣ]ve* (from *\*prāṭi*, see Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 504), *āradhve* (read *ārādhtave*) and *[ā]lādhetā[v]e*

## (7) ABSOLUTIVE

- abhrvāde[tā]nam*, cf. Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 585.

## II THE THREE ROCK-INSRIPTIONS IN THE MYSORE STATE

## A.—PHONETICS

## (1) VOWELS

For *vadhisu* and *munisā*, see above, p. CXXIII. Skt. *u* is represented by *a* in *garu* (= *guru*). For *o* = Skt. *u* in *kho*, see above, p. lvi and n. 2. *ṛ* becomes (1) *ṣ* in *pakṣi* (= *prakṣiṭi*), *pitṣu* (= *pitṣiṣu*), (2) *u* in *pitusu*, (3) *ra* in *drakṣitavyam* (from *drakṣyati*) *au* becomes *o* in *porānā*.

Interconsonantal *a* or *ṣ* are lengthened in *adhūtiya* (= Ardhamāgadhī *addhāya*, see above, p. CXXIII), *upayita* (= Skt. *upēta*), *chra-ṭhūṭe*, *Suvaiṇagiriṭe*, and final *i*, which stands for *is*, in *pakṣi*. Initial *a* and *ṣ* are lost in *pi*, *hakam*, *tu*.

## (2) SIMPLE CONSONANTS.

The three Mysore inscriptions agree with the Gmār, Shāhbāzgarhi, and Mānsehrā rock-edict, in retaining the letter *r*, which has become *l* in the Māgadha dialect.

Skt *ṛ* is preserved in *gūnā, pakā[m]* = *nena* (read *pakamaminena*), *prāṇa, prāṇesu, mahamātāṇam, h[ṛ]karna, Suvannagiri, sāvaṇe*, but is replaced by dental *n* in *adhūtiyām khudakena, vasaṇa*. It is used instead of *u* in *Devānāṇḍriya* (Brahmagiri and Jatinga-Rāmeśvara) = [Dev]ā[na]ṇḍriya (Siddāpura) and corresponds to Skt. *jū* in *ānapayati*<sup>1</sup>. *k* appears to have become *y* in *dyandhiya* (= \**dvikūḍhiya*) *bh* becomes *h* in *hoti, hucam deveti*.

*y* is developed out of *i* in *upayati* and becomes *v* before *u* in *di[gh]āvuse* *ay* becomes *i* in *ārādhetaṛe*. *ava* becomes *o* in *hoti*.

*ś* and *ṣh* have become *r* throughout, but *ṣ* is improperly used for *r* in [ā]khar[i]yasa (Jatinga-Rāmeśvara) and *sa[cha]m* (Siddāpura). *h* is prefixed in *hevam* and *hemva*.

Final *as* becomes *e* in *Suvannagiri, athe, &c.*, but *a* in *esa* (man sing. neut.). Final Anusvāra is omitted in *iya* and *badha*.

## (3) SANDHI.

Final *m* is preserved, and the syllable *va* is dropped, in *hemva* (= Skt. *śam* *eva*). Final *u* is elided before *u* in *chu* (= *cha + u*), and before *i* in *mahātpen* *eva* *i + i* become *i* in *hiyam* (Brahmagiri, l. 4).

## (4) GROUPS OF CONSONANTS.

The only groups which occasionally remain unassimilated are *ky, tm* (which becomes *tp*), *dy, ty, sv, hy*.

A long vowel preceding a group is shortened in *ayaputasa, āchariya, avasadihyā, diyadhīyam* *e[ti]yathāya*, but the length remains in *ānapayati, di[gh]āvuse, paputave* (from Skt. *praputeti*), *mahāmāta, yathāhahi*. A short vowel preceding a group is lengthened in *yuthena*.

The long nasal vowel *ām* is shortened before consonants in [Dev]ā[na]ṇḍriya, *prakamte* and *pakamte*. Anusvāra is omitted after *a* in *ata* and *savachharam*.

*kt* becomes *t* in *valaviya*.

*ky* remains in *sakye* (Brahmagiri), but becomes *l* in *saki* (Siddāpura).

*kr* becomes *k* in *pakama, prakamte* and *pakamte*.

*ksh* becomes *kh* in *khudaka*.

*khl* becomes *kh* in *kho* = Skt. *khalu*, see above, p. lvi and n. 2.

*gy* becomes *gy* in *ūrgiyam*.

*jū* becomes *ū* in *hūtika*, *ṛ* in *ānapayati*.

As in *atpa* (= Skt. *ātman*) at Gmār, *tu* becomes *tp* in *mahūtpa* (= *mahātman*).

*ty* becomes *ch* in *sacham*.

*tr* becomes *t* in *ayaputasa, mahāmāta*.

*ts* becomes *chh* in *savachharai*.

*dr* remains in *drakhyataryam*, but becomes *d* in *khudaka*.

*dv* becomes *d* in *Jambudīpasi* and *diyadhīyam*.

*pu* becomes *p* in *pūpotaṛe* (from Skt. *pūpūṇḍri*).

*pr* remains in *prakamte* (Brahmagiri, l. 2), but becomes *p* in *pakamte*, &c.

*rg* becomes *g* in *vage*.

*rgk* becomes *gh* in *di[gh]āvuse*.

*rv* becomes *un* in *Suvannagiri*.

*rt* becomes *t* in *paratitavya*, *t* in *katavye*.

*rik* becomes *th* in *atha*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Prakrit *āpavedi*, and *anapam, anapita*, &c. at Shāhbāzgarhi and Mānsehrā.



*rdh* becomes *dh* in *adhātīyāni* and *vadhīṣṭi*.

*rdhy* becomes *dhy* in *avaradhīyā*, *dhy* in *diyadhīyam*.

*sm* becomes *mm* in *dhaīmā*

*sy* becomes *ry* in *ācharīya*; *y* in *ayaputasa*

*śh* becomes *s* in *vasāni*.

*śh* becomes *ruh* in *yathābraham*.

*ry* remains in *vyūthēna* and *drakhyatāyam*, but becomes *my* in the remaining gerunds in *-tavya* (= Skt. *-tavya*)

*śr* becomes *s* in *śīsa*, *sāvaṇ*, *sārit*, *sārvīṣṭe*, *śśās[ṣ]**tavya*.

*śht* becomes *th* in *vyūthēni*

*śhy* becomes *s* in *munsā* and *vadhīṣṭi*.

*sth* becomes *th* in *chira-thitke*

*sw* becomes *s* in the loc sing. in *ast*.

*sy* becomes *ṣ* in the gen sing in *-asa*

*sv* remains in *vage*.

*hy* remains in *drakhyatāyam*

## B—DECLENSION

### (1) Masculines and neuters in

Singular.	Plural
Nom masc <i>athe</i> , &c, neut. <i>phale</i> , &c	Masc. <i>ñātkā</i> , &c., neut <i>vasāni</i> , &c
Acc masc <i>ekam</i> , <i>sarvākharam</i> , neut. <i>āgrī-</i> <i>yam</i> , &c	
Inst <i>kālāna</i> , &c	<i>devāhi</i>
Dat <i>athīya</i>	
Abl <i>avaradhīyā</i>	
Gen <i>ayaputasa</i> , <i>palamasa</i>	<i>mahāmātānam</i>
Loc <i>Isulasa</i> , <i>Jambudīpasi</i>	<i>ñātkesu</i> , <i>prānesu</i>

The termination of the nom sing neut is *-āni* in [*likhita*]*m* (Jatinga-Rāmāśvara) = *likhite* (Brahmagiri), *vatarayāni*, *sacham*.

(2) Feminine in *-ā* noun sing. *poṣāṇa*

(3) Feminine in *-ī* noun sing *phakti*

(4) Masculine in *n* loc. plur. *garu[su]*

(5) Masculine in *-ṣi* loc plur *pitṣu* (Brahmagiri) and *pitṣu* (Jatinga-Rāmāśvara)

(6) Masculine in *-an*. The Sanskrit base *mahātman* follows the *a* declension inst sing *mahātman[ā]*, nom. plur. *mahātmanā*.

(7) Masculine in *-in* instr sing. *autrasinā*.

## C.—PRONOUNS

### (1) Pronoun of the first person.

Nom. sing *hakam*, instr *mayā*, me, gen. *mat* (read *me*).

### (2) Base *ta*

Acc sing. neut *se*, nom. plur. masc. *se*

### (3) Base *ēta*

Nom. sing. neut. *esa*; dat sing. *ē[ṣ]āya*, nom sing fem *esā*

(4) Demonstrative *idam*.

Singular.		Plural	
Nom. masc.	<i>iyaiu</i> ; neut <i>iyam, iya</i>	Masc	<i>ima</i>
Acc. masc.	<i>imauu</i> .		
Instr	<i>imauā</i>		

## (5) Relative pronoun

Acc sing neut. *ya, yaiu*.

## D—CONJUGATION

## (1) Present.

(a) Indicative 3 sing *hoti, ānāpyati*

(b) Optative 3 plur *paṭameyu, jameyu* (which follow the *a*-conjugation)

(2) Aorist 1 sing. *hvasau*

(3) Perfect 3 sing *āha*.

(4) Future 3 sing *andhisi*

(5) Participle.

(a) Present middle participle *paṭa[m]i* . *na* (read *paṭanamīna*), *sāma na* (from root *at*)

(b) Past passive participle *upayita* (from *upa-t*), *prākanta* and *śakanta* (= Skt *prākṛanta*),  
*ajāta* (from *vi-vas*), &c

(c) Future passive participle: *vatasiya, katasiya, diḥsiya*, &c (from the present *at, / atī*)  
*apahāyatiya paratitatiya, anuśī[ti]tatiya* (from the desiderative of *ti* &c)

## (6) Infinitive.

*pāpata*, &c (from Skt *pa āpuṣti*), *āśādhutave*



# TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS

## FIRST PART: THE ROCK-EDICTS

### I. THE GIRNAR ROCK

#### FIRST ROCK-EDICT GIRNAR

- 1 (A) इयं धम्मलिपी देवानंप्रियेन
- 2 प्रियदसिना राज्ञा लेखापिता (B) इध न किं-
- 3 चि जीवं आरभित्पा प्रजुहितव्यं
- 4 (C) न च समाजो क्तव्यो (D) बहुकं हि दोसं
- 5 समाजन्हि पसति देवानंप्रियो प्रियदसि राज्ञा
- 6 (E) अस्ति पि तु एकचा समाजा साधुमता देवानं-
- 7 प्रियस प्रियदसिनो राज्ञो (F) पुरा महानसन्धि
- 8 देवानंप्रियस प्रियदसिनो राज्ञो अनुदिबसं व-
- 9 हूनि प्राणसतसहस्रानि आरभिसु सूपाचाय
- 10 (G) से अज यदा अयं धम्मलिपी लिखिता ती एव प्रा-
- 11 या आरभरे सूपाचाय हो मोरा एको मगो सो पि
- 12 मगो न भुवो (H) एते पि ची प्राणा पछा न आरभिसरे

- 1 (A) iy[am] dhamma-lipī Devānaṃpriyena
- 2 Priyadasinā rājñā lekḥ[ā]pita (B) [i]dha na kim-
- 3 chī jīvam ārabhitpā prajūhitavyam
- 4 (C) na cha samājo katavyo (D) bahukam hi doṣam
- 5 samājamhi pasati Devānaṃpriyo Priyadasī rājñā<sup>1</sup>
- 6 (E) asti pi tu ekachā samājā sādhu-matā Devānaṃ-
- 7 priyasa Priyadasino rājño (F) purā mahānas[amhi]<sup>2</sup>
- 8 Devānaṃpriyasa Priy[ā]dasino rājño anudivasam ha-

<sup>1</sup> Before *śāśā* a superfluous *ra* seems to have been struck out by the writer.

<sup>2</sup> The first syllable of *mahānasa* looks almost like *ma*, and *sa* like *se*. Originally *mahānasa* may have been written, to which *mhi* was added subsequently without correcting the *se* into *sa*. As noted by Bühler (EI, 2. 449, n. 10), a second *mhi* was added at the very end of the line

- 0 hūni prāna-sata-sahasrāni ārabhisu sūpāthāya  
 10 (G) se aja yadā aya[m] dha[m]ma-lip[i] likhitā ti eva prā-  
 11 ṇā ārabhare sūpāthāya dvo morā eko mago so pi  
 12 mago na dhruvo<sup>1</sup> (H) ete pi tri prāṇā pachhā na ārabhisare

## TRANSLATION

(A) This rescript on morality<sup>2</sup> has been caused to be written by king **Dēvānāth-priya Priyadarśin**.

(B) Here<sup>3</sup> no living being must be killed and sacrificed

(C) And no festival meeting<sup>4</sup> must be held.

(D) For king **Dēvānāth-priya Priyadarśin** sees much evil in festival meetings.

(E) But there are also some festival meetings which are considered meritorious by king **Dēvānāth-priya Priyadarśin**.<sup>5</sup>

(F) Formerly in the kitchen of king **Dēvānāth-priya Priyadarśin** many hundred thousands of animals were killed daily for the sake of curry.<sup>6</sup>

(G) But now, when this rescript on morality is written, only three animals are being killed (daily) for the sake of curry,<sup>7</sup> (viz.) two peacocks (and) one deer, (but) even this deer not regularly.

(H) Even these three animals shall not be killed in future.

## SECOND ROCK-EDICT · GIRNAR

- 1 (A) सर्वत विजितम्हि देवानंप्रियस प्रियदसिनो राज्ञो  
 2 एवमपि प्रचंतेसु यथा चोडा पाडा सतियपुतो केतलपुतो आ तंव-  
 3 पंशी क्षंतियको योनराजा ये वा पि तस क्षंतियकस सामीपं  
 4 राजानो सर्वत्र देवानंप्रियस प्रियदसिनो राज्ञो वे चिकीकृ कता

<sup>1</sup> *dhruvo* Senait and Buhler. There are two distinct strokes at the bottom of the *dh*, one of which is *n*, while the upper one is probably *r*. Cf. the *r* of [A] *śudhira* in the Guṇār edict XIII, l. 9, and of *aparakaraṇamhi* in edict XII, l. 3.

<sup>2</sup> The literal meaning of *dharma-lipi* (or *dharma-dips* in the two Kharoṣṭhi versions) is 'a writing on morality'. To retain the sense of 'writing', I use the translation 'rescript on morality' instead of 'religious edict' as the term was rendered by Buhler.

<sup>3</sup> viz. 'in my territory'. Cf. the rock-edict XIII Q and R, and the Rūpnāth rock-inscription, K.

<sup>4</sup> Buhler (ZDMG, 37. 93 f.), D. R. Bhandarkar (JBBRAS, 21. 395 ff.; IA, 42. 255 ff.), and Thomas (JRAS, 1914. 392 ff.) have shown by quotations that this is the actual meaning of the word *samāja*, which Pischel (GGA, 1881. 134 f.) had translated by 'battue'.

<sup>5</sup> This remark seems to refer to the representations mentioned in the rock-edict IV, B.

<sup>6</sup> D. R. Bhandarkar (IA, 42. 257) quotes *Mahābhārata*, III, 208, 8-10, where 'we are told that 2,000 animals and 2,000 kine were slain every day in the kitchen (*mahānasa*) of king Rantideva, and that by doing out meat to his people he attained to incomparable fame.' Cf. also XII, 29, 127 f., and VII, 67, 16-18. 'On the nights which guests spent with Rantideva, the son of Saṅkṛiti, 21,000 kine were killed. Then the cooks, who wore ear-rings of bright jewels, were shouting: "Eat ye a lot of curry (*śupa*)! There is not so much meat to-day, as formerly!"'

<sup>7</sup> Evidently on behalf of some members of the royal household who refused to turn strict vegetarians.

- 5 मनुसचिबीह्वा च पसुचिबीह्वा च (B) ओसुहानि च यानि मनुसोपगानि च  
 6 पसोपगानि च यत यत नास्ति सर्वेषा हारापितानि च रोपापितानि च  
 7 (C) मूलानि च फलानि च यत यत नास्ति सर्वत हारापितानि च रोपापितानि च  
 8 (D) पंचेसू कृपा च खानापिता ब्रह्मा च रोपापिता परिभोगाय पसुमनुसानं

- 1 (A) sarvata vijitāhī Devānāmpriyasa Priyadasino<sup>1</sup> rāño  
 2 evamapi pracharitesu yathā Choḍā Pādā Satiyaputo Ketalaputo ā Tamba-  
 3 paññī Antiyako Yona-rājā ye vā pi tsa Antiy[a]ka[sā] sāmij[am]<sup>2</sup>  
 4 rājāno sarvatra Devānāmpriyasa Priyadasino rāño dve chikichha katā  
 5 manusa - chikichhā cha pasu - chikichhā cha (B) osuthani cha jāni  
 m[a]nusopagān[i] cha  
 6 pasop[al]gāni cha yata yata nāsti sarvatrā<sup>3</sup> hārāpitāni cha ropāpitāni cha  
 7 (C) mūlāni cha phalāni cha yata yatra<sup>4</sup> nasti sarvata<sup>5</sup> hārāpitāni cha  
 rop[ā]pitāni cha  
 8 (D) paññesū kṛpā cha khānāpitā vrachha cha ropapi[a] paribhogāya pasu-  
 manusānam

## TRANSLATION

(A) Everywhere in the dominions of king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin, and likewise among (his) borderers, such as the Chōḍas, the Pāṇdyas, the Satiyaputa,<sup>7</sup> the Kētalaputa,<sup>8</sup> even<sup>9</sup> Tāmraparṇī,<sup>10</sup> the Yōna king Antiyaka,<sup>11</sup> and also the

<sup>1</sup> Priya<sup>6</sup> Buhler.

<sup>2</sup> Thus Senart and Buhler, EI, 2. 449, *Antiyokasā* Buhler, ZDMG, 37. 95

<sup>3</sup> Buhler (ZDMG, 37. 95) would read *sāmīnām*, which he considered to be a clerical error for *sāmāntā*, the reading of the other versions of this edict. It is quite possible that *sāmāntā* was the original reading of the rock, and that it was subsequently changed by the writer into *sārūpām* (or *sāmīpa*?).

<sup>4</sup> *sarvatā* Senart, *sa vatra* Buhler

<sup>5</sup> *yata* Buhler.

<sup>6</sup> *sarvatra* Buhler.

<sup>7</sup> Buhler (ZDMG, 37. 98 ff) rejected Kern's identification of this term with the Sātpurā range, and explained it by 'the king of the Satvats', whom he located in Western India. D. R. Bhandarkar (JBHRAS, 21. 398) compares Satiyaputa, for which the Kāśī version reads Sātiyaputa, with Sātpurā, a surname current among the present Marāṭhās. Luders (ZDMG, 58. 693 f.) has shown that the Pāli *putta* (= Skt *putra*) at the end of compounds frequently means 'belonging to a tribe'. He quotes as examples *Andhakareṇuputta*, *Vidhaputta*, *Bhujaputta*, *Milāchaputta*, *devoputta* (cf. the feminine *devadhītā*), and Skt *śājunīputra*.

<sup>8</sup> Kētalaputa is perhaps a mistake for the reading of the Mānsehrā version Kētalaputra, i.e. the king of Kēṭala or Malabar, the *Κηπέδωπος* of Ptolemy, see Lassen's *Ind. Alt.*, vol. I (sec. ed.), p. 188, note, and vol. III, p. 193.

<sup>9</sup> The syllable *ā* cannot be the preposition *ā*, 'as far as', because the latter would require after it the ablative *Tambapāṇīyā*, as at Mānsehrā, XIII, Q. Luders therefore explains it as an Ardhmagādhi form of the Skt. relative *yā*, see SPAW, 1914. 831.

<sup>10</sup> Tāmraparṇī (*Tambapāṇī* in Pāli) is one of the ancient names of the island of Ceylon. It occurs in the *Dipavamsa*, and was known already to Megasthenes in the form *Ταμποβάνη*, see IA, 6. 129 and 348. Besides, Tāmraparṇī is the name of a river in the Innervelly district, which was known to the author of the *Rāmāyaṇa* (Bombay edition, IV, 41, 17)

<sup>11</sup> Kāśī and Mānsehrā read *Antiyoga*, the remaining versions *Antiyaka*. Antiochus II Iluco-

kings who are the neighbours<sup>1</sup> of this *Antiyaka*,—everywhere two (kinds of) medical treatment<sup>2</sup> were established by king *Devānāmpriya Priyadarsin*, (viz.) medical treatment for men and medical treatment for cattle.

(B) And wherever there were no herbs that are beneficial to men and beneficial to cattle, everywhere they were caused to be imported and to be planted.

(C) Wherever there were no roots and fruits, everywhere they were caused to be imported and to be planted.

(D) On the roads wells were caused to be dug, and trees were caused to be planted for the use of cattle and men.

### THIRD ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

- 1 (A) देवानंप्रियो पियदसि राजा एवं आह (B) द्वादसबासाभिसितेन मया इदं आजपितं
- 2 (C) सर्वत विजिते मम युता च राजूके च प्रादेसिके च पंचसु पंचसु वासेसु अमुसं-
- 3 यानं नियातु एतायेच अथाय इमाय धंमानुसस्सिय यथा अजा-
- 4 य पि कंमाय (D) साधु मातरि च पितरि च सुसूसा मिचसंस्तुतजातीनं बाम्हण-
- 5 समणानं साधु दानं प्राणानं साधु अनारब्धो अपययता अपभादता साधु
- 6 (E) परिसा पि युते आजपयिसति गणनायं हेतुतो च व्यंजमती च

- 1 (A) *Devānāmpriyo* <sup>1</sup> *Piyadasi* r[ā]jā evaṃ āha (B) *dbādasava-sāśābhisitena* maya idam āh[a]pitam
- 2 (C) *sarvata vijite mama yutā cha rājūke cha prādesike cha pañchasu pañchasu vāsesu anusarh-*
- 3 *y[ā]na[m n]iyātu etāyeva athāya imāya dharhmānūsastīya yathā añā-*
- 4 *ya pi kammay[a]* (D) *[v]ādhu mātari cha pitari cha susūsā mitra-samstuta-kātinam* <sup>4</sup> *bāmhana-*
- 5 *samañānam sādhu d[ā]nam prāṇanam sādhu anārambho apa-vyayatā apa-bhādātā* <sup>5</sup> *sādhu*
- 6 (E) *parisā pi yute ālapayisati gaṇanāyam hetuto cha vyamjanato cha*

of Syria (261-246 B.C.) is probably meant; see Lassen's *Ind. Alt.*, vol. II (sec. ed.), p. 255, and Senart, IA, 20. 242.

<sup>1</sup> For *sāma-vitā*, 'neighbours', and its equivalent *sāmapāṇ*, literally 'neighbourhood', see JBBRAS, 21. 398, IA, 34. 245, and AJP, 30. 183 ff. The 'neighbours' of Antiochus II were probably the four kings named in the Kāśī edict XIII, Q.

<sup>2</sup> D. R. Bhandarkar (JBBRAS, 21. 398 f.) remarks that *chikitsā* means neither 'hospital' (Bühler) nor 'remedies' (Senart), he translates it by 'provision or provident arrangement'.

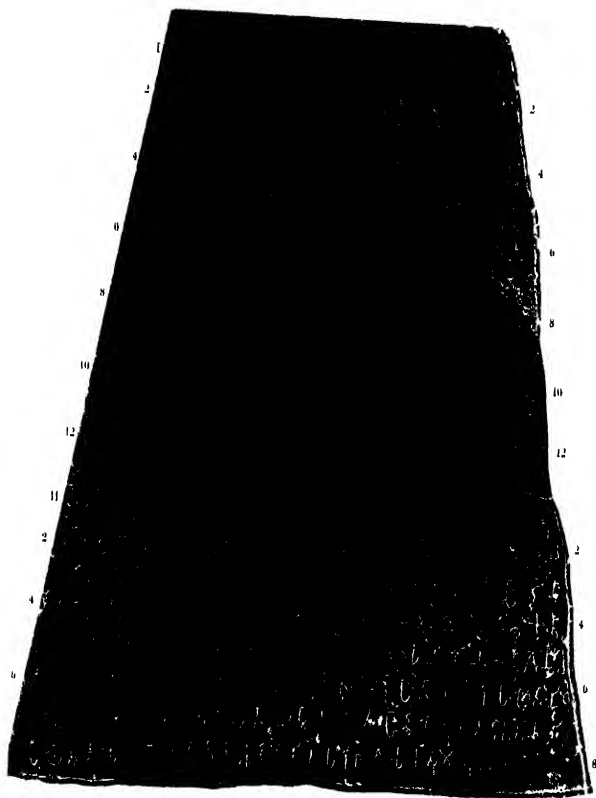
<sup>3</sup> *prīyo* Bühler.

<sup>4</sup> *mitra-* looks almost like *mitā-*; see EI, 2. 450, n. 47.

<sup>5</sup> *apabhiniḍatā* Senart, *apabhāṇḍatā* Bühler.

# FIRST AND SECOND ROCK-EDICTS: GIRNAR

PAG



SLAT ON-SIVH





## TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus

(B) (When I had been) anointed twelve years, the following was ordered by me.

(C) Everywhere in my dominions the *Yuktas*,<sup>1</sup> the *Rājūka*,<sup>2</sup> and the *Prādēśika*<sup>3</sup> shall set out on a complete tour (throughout their charges)<sup>4</sup> every five years for this very purpose, (viz.) for the following instruction in morality as well as for other business.<sup>5</sup>

(D) 'Meritorious is obedience to mother and father. Liberality to friends, acquaintances, and relatives, to Brāhmanas and Śramanas is meritorious. Abstention from killing animals is meritorious. Moderation in expenditure (and) moderation in possessions are meritorious.'<sup>6</sup>

(E) The council (of *Mahāmātras*)<sup>7</sup> also shall order the *Yuktas* to register (these rules) both with (the addition of) reasons and according to the letter.<sup>8</sup>

## FOURTH ROCK-EDICT. GIRNAR

- 1 (A) अतिक्षातं अंतरं बहूनि वाससत्तानि वदितो एव प्राणारंभो विहिंसा च भूतानं ज्ञातीसु
- 2 असंप्रतिपती ब्राह्मणसमर्थानं असंप्रतिपती (B) त अज देवानंप्रियस प्रियदसिनो राजो
- 3 धमचरणेन भेरीघोसो अहो धमघोसो विमानदर्शना च हस्तिदसणा च

<sup>1</sup> For *yukta* = Sanskrit *yukta*, 'an officer', which occurs in the *Kāntiliya*, see Thomas in IA, 37. 21, JRAS, 1909. 467, and 1914. 387 ff., and cf. the terms *āyuktaka* and *viyuyuktaka* in the Valabhi inscriptions (Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 169, notes 4 and 5).

<sup>2</sup> Bühler (ZDMG, 47. 466 ff.) showed that this term means originally 'a field-measurer' (from *rayju*, 'a rope'), and is the designation of a revenue settlement officer. In the *Kāntiliya*, the two terms *chōra-ayjū* (p. 60) and *chōra-rayjuka* (p. 232) seem to mean something like 'police' and 'police officer', respectively. Cf. I. J. Sorabji, *Notes on the Aśthāśāstram*, p. 10 f., and Jolly in ZDMG, 71. 228.

<sup>3</sup> Thomas (JRAS, 1914. 383 ff., and 1915. 112) compares this term with *pradisikri* in the *Kāntiliya*, which is, however, a *nomen agentis* of the verb *pradisati*, 'to direct', while *prādēśika* is derived from the substantive *pradīśa*. Kern (JRAS, 1880. 393) translated *prādēśika* by 'a provincial governor'. In Kalhana's *Rājatarāṅginī* (IV, 126) *prādēśikīśvara* means 'a provincial chief'. A reference to the first separate edict (Dhauḷi, Z-CC; Jaugada, AA-D11) suggests that the *Prādēśika* of the third rock-edict may have belonged to the class of the *Mahāmātras*, and that *Prādēśika-mahāmātra* would mean 'a provincial high officer'.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Fleet in JRAS, 1908. 821.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. the Dhauḷi separate edict I, CC.

<sup>6</sup> This sentence has been successfully explained by Thomas, IA, 37. 20.

<sup>7</sup> Bühler translated *parisā* by 'school', and in edict VI by 'committee'. K. Jayaswal (IA 42. 283) has drawn attention to the occurrence of the term *mantri-parishad*, 'the council of ministers', in the *Kāntiliya*. This meaning fits admirably both here and in the rock-edict VI, F.

<sup>8</sup> I follow Lüders (SPAW, 1914. 839) in the translation of the difficult words *gananañjanan ketuto cha vyanñjanato cha*. For *vyanñjana* cf. my note on the translation of the Śārnāth pillar-edict section I.

- 1 अगिखंधानि च अजानि च दिव्यानि रूपानि दसयित्वा जनं (C) यारिसे बहूहि  
वाससतेहि  
5 न भूतपुत्रे तारिसे अज वदिते देवानं प्रियस प्रियदसिनो राज्ञो धंमानुसस्सिया अनारं-  
6 भो प्राणानं अविहीसा भूतानं ज्ञातीनं संपटिपती ब्रह्मणसमणानं संपटिपती  
मातरि पितरि  
7 सुसुसा चैरसुसुसा (D) एस अजे च बहुविधे धंमचरणे वदिते (E) वदयिसति चेव  
देवानं प्रियो  
8 प्रियदसि राजा धंमचरणं इदं (F) पुत्रा च पोत्रा च प्रपोत्रा च देवानं प्रियस  
प्रियदसिनो राज्ञो  
9 प्रवधंयिसंति इदं धंमचरणं आव सवटक्का धंमहि सीलमहि तिस्संतो धंमं  
अनुसासिसंति  
10 (G) एस हि सेस्से कमे य धंमानुसासनं (H) धंमचरणे पि न भवति असीलस  
(I) त इममिह अयमिह  
11 वधी च अहीनी च साधु (J) एताय अथाय इदं लेखापितं इमस अयस वधि  
मुजंतु हीनि च  
12 नो लोचेतथा (K) द्वादसवासाभिसितेन देवानं प्रियेन प्रियदसिना राज्ञा इदं  
लेखापितं

- 1 (A) atikātam am[ā]ram bahūni vāsa-satāni vadhito eva prānārambho vhihīsā cha  
bhūtānam ātāsu  
2 a[s]jampratiṭipatī brā[m]haṇa-sraṃanānam asaṃpratiṭipatī' (B) ta<sup>a</sup> aja Devānaṃ-  
priyasa Priyadasino<sup>a</sup> rāño  
3 dhamma-charanena [bhe]rī-ghoso aho dhamma-ghoso vimāna-darsanā<sup>a</sup> cha hasti-  
da[sa]nā cha  
4 aṅg-kh[a]m dhāni cha [a]hāni cha divyāni rūpāni dasayitvā janam (C) yārise bahūhi  
v[āsa]-satehi  
5 na bhūta-puve tāise aja vadhite Devānaṃpriyasa Priyadasino rāño  
dhammanusasasiya anāram-  
6 [bh]o prānānaṃ avihīsā<sup>a</sup> bhūtānam ātānaṃ sampatiṭipatī brahmaṇa-samanānam  
sampaṭipatī mātari pitari  
7 [s]usrusā thaira-susrusa (D) esa añe cha bahuvudhe [dha]mma-charane va[dhi]te  
(E) vadhayisati cheva Devānaṃpriyo  
8 [Pri\*]ya[da]si<sup>a</sup> rājā dhamma-[cha]raṇam idaṃ (F) putrā cha [p]otrā cha prapotrā  
cha Devānaṃpriyasa Priyadasino rāño

<sup>1</sup> The syllable *pa* was inverted subsequently.

<sup>2</sup> This syllable was inserted subsequently.

<sup>3</sup> The syllable *da* was inserted subsequently

<sup>4</sup> *-dasanā* Senart and Bühler

<sup>5</sup> The syllable *hi* was inverted subsequently.

<sup>6</sup> The first syllable of lines 8 and 9 (*pri* and *pa*) is invisible on my material, and is taken from the plate facing ASWI, 2. 102

- 9 [pra\*]vadhayaśanti<sup>1</sup> idam [dha]mma-charanaṃ āva savata-kapā<sup>2</sup> dhammamhi  
 silamhi tiṣṭamto [dha]mmam anusāsisaṃti  
 10 (G) [c]sa hi seṣe kamme ya dhammānusaṃsanam (H) dhamma-charane pi na  
 [bha]vati asilasa (I) [ta] imamhi athamhi  
 11 [va]dhi cha ahini cha sādhu (J) c[et]tiya athāya<sup>3</sup> ida[m] lekhaṭipam imasa atha[sa]  
 v[a]dhi yujamtu hini<sup>4</sup> ch[a]  
 12 [no]<sup>5</sup> lochetavyā (K) dbādasa-vāsābhisaṭṭena Devān[a]mupriyena Priyadasinā  
 rāṇ[ā] idam lekhaṭipam

## TRANSLATION

(A) In times past, for many hundreds of years, there had ever been promoted the killing of animals and the hurting of living beings, discourtesy to relatives, (and) discourtesy to Brāhmanas and Śramanas.

(B) But now, in consequence of the practice of morality on the part of king **Devānāmpriya Piyadasi**, the sound of drums has become the sound of morality,<sup>6</sup> showing the people representations of aërial chariots, representations of elephants, masses of fire, and other divine figures.<sup>7</sup>

(C) Such as they had not existed before for many hundreds of years, thus there are now promoted, through the instruction in morality on the part of king **Devānāmpriya**

<sup>1</sup> See note 6 on previous page.

<sup>2</sup> *saivata*—Bühler.

<sup>3</sup> Between *tha* and *ya* the rock shows a vacant space which may be due either to a natural fissure or to an erasure.

<sup>4</sup> There is a vacant space between *hi* and *ni*.

<sup>5</sup> Instead of *no* the plate facing E.I. 2. 452 shows the syllable *ma*, which seems, however, to be due to retouching. Kern (IA, 5. 261 and 262) preferred to read *nūketavyā*.

<sup>6</sup> For former translations of these words see my remarks in JRAS, 1911, 785 ff. I now adopt the explanation of D. R. Bhandarkar (IA, 42. 25), who says, 'The sound of a drum invariably precedes either a battle, a public announcement, or the exhibition of a scene to the people. But since Aśoka entered on his career of righteousness, it has ceased to be a summons to fight, but invites people to come and witness certain spectacles; and as those spectacles are of such a character as to generate and develop righteousness, the drum has thus become the proclaimer of righteousness. Cf. the Girnār edict X, A, and the third note on the translation of it.

<sup>7</sup> D. R. Bhandarkar (p. 26 f.) suggests that the aërial chariots were exhibited in order to induce people to practise morality and thereby to become qualified for such celestial abodes. The elephants (*hathi*) at Dhauhi he explains as representations of Buddha in the shape of a white elephant; but we may also think of the celestial elephants, which are the usual vehicles of the four Mahārājas or Lokapālas. In the 'masses of fire' Bhandarkar finds an allusion to the fire-pit of the *Khadu āgāra-jātaka*. But according to Childers, *Pāli Dictionary*, p. 18, *aggikkhandhā* is 'used figuratively of a person of brilliancy and distinction'. To the three quotations which he gives from the commentary on the *Dhammapadam* may be added *Alahāvagga*, I, 16-18, where the guardians of the four directions, with Indra and Brahmā, are stated to resemble 'great masses of fire' (*mahanā aggikkhandhā*). Consequently, the expression 'masses of fire' (*aggikkhandhā*) in the fourth edict has perhaps to be taken in the sense of 'radiant beings of another world'. Thomsen (JRAS, 1914, 395) would render *aggikkhandhā* by 'bonfires', but this meaning is precluded by the subsequent words 'and other divine figures'. In editing edict IV, Prinsep (JASB, 7. 266) quoted *Mahāvamsa*, XII, 34, where Buddha's sermon on the parable of *aggikkhandhā* (*Anguttara-nikāya*, ed. Hardy, part IV, p. 128 ff.) is referred to. With *divyāni rūpāni* cf. *devā* in the Rupnāth edict, F. See also above, p. 2, n. 5.

**Priyadarśin**, abstention from killing animals, abstention from hurting living beings, courtesy to relatives, courtesy to Brāhmanas and Śramanas, obedience to mother (and) father, (and) obedience to the aged.

(D) In this and many other ways is the practice of morality promoted.

(E) And king **Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin** will ever promote this practice of morality.

(F) And the sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons of king **Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin** will promote this practice of morality until the æon of destruction (of the world),<sup>1</sup> (and) will instruct (people) in morality, abiding by morality (and) by good conduct

(G) For this is the best work, viz. instruction in morality.

(H) And the practice of morality is not (possible) for (a person) devoid of good conduct

(I) Therefore promotion and not neglect of this object is meritorious.

(J) For the following purpose has this been caused to be written, (viz. in order that) they<sup>2</sup> should devote themselves to the promotion of this practice, and that the neglect (of it) should not be approved (by them)<sup>3</sup>

(K) This was caused to be written by king **Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin** (when he had been) anointed twelve years.

#### FIFTH ROCK-EDICT GIRNAR

- 1 (A) देवानंप्रियो पियदसि राजा एवं आह (B) कलाणं दुकरं (C) यो आदिकरो कलाणस सो दुकरं करोति
- 2 (D) त मया बहु कलाणं कृतं (E) त मम पुता च पोता च परं च तेन य मे अपचं आव संवटकपा अनुवतिसरे तथा
- 3 सो सुकृतं कासति (F) यो तु एत देसं पि हापेसति सो दुकृतं कासति (G) सुकृतं हि पापं (H) अतिकृतं अंतरं
- 4 न भूतपुत्रं धम्ममहामाता नाम (I) त मया चेदसवासाभिसितेन धम्ममहामाता कता (J) ते सवपासंडेसु व्यापता धामधिष्ठानाय
- 5 ..... धम्मयुत्तस च योयकंबोजगंधारानं रिस्तिकपेतेयिबानं ये वा पि अंजे आपराता (K) भतमयेसु च

<sup>1</sup> See Fleet's remarks in JRAS, 1911, 485, n. 1. Bohtlingk's Abridged Dictionary (vol VII, addenda) quotes *anivaria-kalpa* from the *Mahāvīyutpatti* (§ 253, No. 62).

<sup>2</sup> Hereby the successors of Aśoka appear to be meant, cf. section F, above.

<sup>3</sup> In the rock-edict XIII, section X, *loketu* at Kālaś corresponds to *roketu* (from Skt. *rōchayati*)

- 6 ..... सुखाय धंमयुतानं अपरिगोधाय व्यापता ते (L) बंधनबधस  
पटिविधानाय
- 7 ..... प्रजा कताभीकारेसु वा धीरेसु वा व्यापता ते (M) पाटलिपुते  
च बाहिरसु च
- 8 ..... ये वा पि मे अजे जातिक्का सर्वत व्यापता ते (N) यो अयं  
धंमनिक्षितो ति व
- 9 ..... ते धंममहामाता (O) एताय अवाय अयं धंमलिपी लिखिता
- 10 .....
- 1 (A) D[e]vānaṃpriyo Piyadasi rājā<sup>1</sup> evaṃ jha (B) kalānam dukaraṃ (C) y[o  
ādikaro] kalān[a]sa<sup>2</sup> so dukaram karoti
- 2 (D) ta mayā bahu kalāṇam kataṃ (E) t[a] mama putā cha potā<sup>3</sup> cha param cha  
tena y[a] me [a]pacham āva saṃvaṭṭa-kapā anuvattisare tathā
- 3 so sukatam kāsatī<sup>4</sup> (F) yo tu eta desam pi hāpesati so [du]karaṃ kāsatī  
(G) sukaram hi pāpa[m] (H) atikātam amṭaram
- 4 na bhūta-pruvam<sup>5</sup> dhamma-mahāmātā nāma (I) ta m[a]yā traidasa-  
vāsābh[is]ṭ[ona] dhamm[a]-mahāmātā katā (J) te sava-pāsamv[es]u vyāpatā  
dhāmadhistānāya<sup>6</sup>
- 5 .. . . . . [dha]mma-yutasa cha Yona-K[s]r̥hboj[a]-Gaṃdhārānam<sup>7</sup> Ristika-  
F[e]tenikānam ye vā pi a[m]i[c ā]paratā<sup>8</sup> (K) bhatamayesu va
- 6 . . . . . [su]khā[ya] dhamma- yutānaṃ apar[i]godhāya vyāpatā te  
(L) ba[m]dhana-badhasa<sup>9</sup> paṭividdhānāya
- 7 . . . . . [p]rajā<sup>10</sup> katābhikāresu vā thairesu vā vyāpatā te (M) Pāṭalipute  
cha bāhīrasu<sup>11</sup> cha
- 8 . . . . . [y]e va pi me añe nātikā sarvata vyāpatā te (N) yo ayam dhamma-  
nisrito ti va
- 9 . . . . . [t]e [dha]rma-mahāmātā (O) etāya<sup>12</sup> athaya ayam dhamma-lipi likhitā
- 10 .. . . . .

<sup>1</sup> There is a vacant space before and after the syllabic *ra*.

<sup>2</sup> *ye a* . . . . *kalānesa* Senart and Buhler

<sup>3</sup> *potā* Buhler

<sup>4</sup> The Kāśī and Dhauī versions read correctly *so sukatam kachhānti*. As Michelson (AJP, 32, 441) suggests, the Gīrnār reading may be a corruption due to the influence of the next sentence.

<sup>5</sup> Read *-pruvam*, which is Senart's reading, *-pruvam* Buhler.

<sup>6</sup> The other versions read *dhānimādhi*.

<sup>7</sup> *Yona*-Buhler.

<sup>8</sup> *aparātā* Buhler.

<sup>9</sup> The *na* of *bāndhana*- was inserted subsequently

<sup>10</sup> [p]rajā looks exactly like [p]ājā Cf. the *r* of *traidasa*- in line 4, and above, p. 4, n. 4

<sup>11</sup> Read *bāhīresu*, which is Senart's and Buhler's reading

<sup>12</sup> The syllable *ya* was inserted subsequently.

## TRANSLATION

- (A) King *Dēvināthapriya Priyadarśin* speaks thus.  
 (B) It is difficult to perform virtuous deeds.  
 (C) He who starts performing virtuous deeds accomplishes something difficult.  
 (D) Now, by me many virtuous deeds have been performed.  
 (E) Therefore (among) my sons and grandsons, and (among) my descendants (who shall come) after them until the æon of destruction (of the world), those who will conform to this (duty) will perform good deeds.  
 (F) But he who will neglect even a portion of this (duty) will perform evil deeds.  
 (G) For sin is easily committed.  
 (H) In times past (officers) called *Mahāmātras* of morality (*Dharma-mahāmātra*) did not exist before.  
 (I) But *Mahāmātras* of morality were appointed by me (when I had been) anointed thirteen years.  
 (J) These are occupied with all sects in establishing morality . . . . . of those who are devoted to morality (even) among the *Yōṣas*, *Kambōjas*, and *Gandhāras*,<sup>1</sup> the *Riṣṭikas* and *Pētēpikas*,<sup>2</sup> and whatever other western borderers<sup>3</sup> (of mine there are).  
 (K) They are occupied with servants and masters<sup>4</sup> . . . . . for the . . . . . happiness of those who are devoted to morality, (and) in freeing (them) from desire (for worldly life).<sup>5</sup>  
 (L) They are occupied in supporting prisoners<sup>6</sup> (with money)<sup>7</sup> . . . . . (if one has) children, or with those who are bewitched (i.e. incurably ill?),<sup>8</sup> or with the aged.

<sup>1</sup> i.e. the Greeks, Kābulis, and north-western Panjābs; see ASI, I, 123, n. 1, and, for the Kambōjas, Weber, *Indische Streifen*, 3, 353 f., and JRAS, 1911, 801 f., 1912, 255 ff., 1915, 171.

<sup>2</sup> Bühler (ZDMG, 37, 261) identified the *Riṣṭikas* with the *Riṣṭikas* of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. But *Riṣṭika* is probably a clerical mistake for *Rāṣṭika*; see my note on the translation of the Shāhbazgarhi edict V, J. According to Michelson (IF, 24, 52 ff.), *Pētēnika* stands for \**Paṭṭrayānika*. Dhauti reads *Pētēnika*, and the two Kharoṣṭhi versions read *Pitēnika*. The same tribe is mentioned in the rock-edict XIII, R, see my note on the translation of the Kālsī version of that passage.

<sup>3</sup> In Senart's and Bühler's translations the word *apara*, 'western', is disregarded; but it is noticed by Senart in IA, 20, 240. For *akha* see the Kālsī edict II, I, 1, and XIII, I, 6; Rüpnāth, Sahasrām, and Harit, H, Brahmagiri and Śiddhāpura, I, and the second separate edict at Dhauti and Jaugadā. Later on *Aparānta* became the designation of a tract of land on the western coast, the capital of which was Sōpārā; cf. EI, II, 220.

<sup>4</sup> The *m* between *bhata* (Sanskrit *bhrta*) and *aya* (Sanskrit *arya*) is euphonic, see Franke in GN, 1895, 533 f., and cf. Kuhn's *Pāli-Grammatik*, p. 63 f., and Windisch, *Berichte der Sachs. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, 1893, 240 f.

<sup>5</sup> Instead of *aparigodha* other versions read *apalibodha*, for which see my note on the translation of the corresponding passage at Kālsī. Thomas has traced the substantive *paligodha*, 'desire', and the participle *paliguddha* (= *pariguddha*), 'desirous', in Buddhist Sanskrit works; see his valuable article in JRAS, 1915, 99 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *baidhāna-badhānān munnānān* in the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict IV, L, which renders Bühler's translation of this passage very improbable.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *kurāṇa-patvuddhāno* in the Girnār edict VIII, E, and Lüders in SPAW, 1914, 840.

<sup>8</sup> With *katābhikāra* Senart compares *abhiṣṭvāṭh*, '(female demons who are) bewitchers', and *abhiniskāra*, 'devising (against others)', in the *Atharvaveda*. Bühler (EI, II, 2, 468) translated 'overwhelmed by misfortune'; cf. his remarks in ZDMG, 48, 55.







(M) They are occupied everywhere, both in Pāṭaliputra and in the outlying . . . . . and whatever other relatives of mine (there are).

(N) These Mahāmātras of morality . . . . . whether one is eager for morality<sup>1</sup> . . . . .

(O) For the following purpose has this rescript on morality been written . . . . .

## SIXTH ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

- 1 (A) देवा . . . . . सि राजा एवं आह (B) जतिक्रान्तं अन्तरं
- 2 न भूतपुत्र सव . . ल अथकमे व पटिवेदना वा (C) त मया एवं कान्तं
- 3 (D) सवे काले भुञ्जमानस मे ओरोधनमि गभागारमि वचमि व
- 4 विनीतमि च उयानेसु च सवच पटिवेदका स्तिता अथे मे जनस
- 5 पटिवेदेच इति (E) सर्वेच च जनस अथे करोमि (F) य च किंचि मुखतो
- 6 आजपयामि स्वयं दापकं वा सावापकं वा य वा पुन महामात्रेसु
- 7 आचायिके ओरोपितं भवति ताथ अथाय विवादो निज्जती व संतो परिसाथं
- 8 आनन्तरं पटिवेदेतथं मे सर्वेच सर्वे काले (G) एवं मया आजपितं (H) नास्ति हि मे तोसो
- 9 उस्तानमि अथसन्तीरणाथ व (I) कतथमते हि मे सर्वलोकहितं
- 10 (J) तस च पुन एस मूले उस्तानं च अथसन्तीरणा च (K) नास्ति हि कंमतं
- 11 सर्वलोकहितात्पा (L) य च किंचि पराक्कामि अहं किंति भूतानं आनन्धं गळेयं
- 12 इध च नानि सुखापयामि परपा च स्वगं आराधयंतु त (M) एताथ अथाय
- 13 अयं धम्मलिपी लेखापिता किंति चिरं तिस्सिय इति तथा च मे पुषा पोता च प्रपोषा च
- 14 अनुवतरं सबलोकहिताय (N) दुकरं तु इदं अजच अगेन पराक्कमेन

- 1 (A) [Devā] . . . . . [s]i rājā evaṃ āha (B) atikrāṇṭ[a]ṇaṃ antara[m]
- 2 na bhūta-pru[v].<sup>2</sup> [s]. [v] . . [l].<sup>3</sup> atha-kamhe va paṭivedanā vā (C) ta mayā evaṃ kantaṃ
- 3 (D) s[a]ve kāle bhujj[a]mānasa me orodhanamhi gabbhāgāramhi vachamhi va
- 4 vinitamhi cha uyānesu cha savatra paṭivedakā<sup>4</sup> sītā athe me [ja]nasa
- 5 paṭivedetha iti (E) sarvatra cha janasa athe karomi (F) ya cha kimchi mukhato
- 6 āññapayāmi svayaṃ dāpakam vā sāvāpakam vā ya vā puna mahāmātresu
- 7 āchāyī[ke]<sup>5</sup> aropitam<sup>6</sup> bhavati tāya athāya vivādo nijhatī v[a s]anto parisāyam

<sup>1</sup> *nissito* = Pāli *nissito* and Skt. \**nistīta* (Senart). For *yo ajani* cf my note on the translation of section I. of the Kāśī version of this edict.

<sup>2</sup> Read *-purva*, *-pura* Senart, *-purva* Buhler.

<sup>3</sup> Restore *save kāle*

<sup>4</sup> An apparent *u*-mark is attached to the bottom of *ti*.

<sup>5</sup> *āchāyika* Senart and Buhler.

<sup>6</sup> *aropitam* Buhler

- 8 ānaṁtaraṁ paṭ[i]vedeta[v]yaṁ me sa[r]vatra sarve kāle (G) evaṁ mayā āṇapitaṁ  
(H) nāsti<sup>1</sup> hi me to[s]o  
9 uṣṭānamhi atha-saṁtīraṇāya va (I) katavya-mate hi me sa[rva]-loka-hitāṁ  
10 (J) tasa cha puna esa mūle uṣṭānam cha atha-saṁtīraṇā cha (K) nāsti hi kaṁmataram  
11 sarva-loka-hitatpā (L) ya cha kimchi parākramāmi ahaṁ kintī bhūtānaṁ ānaṁṇam  
gachheyaṁ  
12 idha cha nāni sukhāpayāmi paratrā cha svagaṁ ārādhayamtu ta<sup>2</sup> (M) etāya athāya  
13 ayam dha[m]ma-lipī lekḥāpitā kintī chiram tiṣṭeya iti tathā cha me putrā potā cha  
prapotrā cha  
14 anuvataṁ<sup>3</sup> sava-loka-hitāya (N) dukaraṁ [t]u idam añatra<sup>4</sup> agena parākramena

## TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāṁpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(B) In times past neither the disposal of affairs nor the submission of reports at any time did exist before.

(C) But I have made the following (arrangement).

(D) Reporters are posted everywhere, (with instructions) to report to me the affairs of the people at any time, while I am eating, in the harem, in the inner apartment,<sup>5</sup> even at the cowpen,<sup>6</sup> in the palanquin,<sup>7</sup> and in the parks.

(E) And everywhere I am disposing of the affairs of the people.

(F) And if in the council (of *Mahāmātra*)<sup>8</sup> a dispute arises,<sup>9</sup> or an amendment is moved,<sup>10</sup> in connexion with any donation or proclamation<sup>11</sup> which I myself am ordering

<sup>1</sup> An ancient fissure of the rock, which extends from l. 8 to l. 11, must have existed already at the time when the inscription was incised. This would account for the spaces which were left vacant by the engraver after *nāsti* in l. 8, *-loka* in l. 9, *kaṁmata*<sup>2</sup> in l. 10, and *ānaṁṇam* in l. 11.

<sup>2</sup> Read *tu*.

<sup>3</sup> Senart and Buhler correct *anuvataṁ*. Pischel (GGA, 1881, 1331) and Buhler read *anuvataṁ*, which the former considered to be an imperative like *duhram* in the *Atharvaveda*. Cf. Johansson's *Skāhāzgarhi*, 2, 89 f. The *ra* certainly resembles *rā*, but the same applies to the *ra* of *pakarane* in the Girnār edict IX, l. 8, and of *samacharāṁ* in XIII, l. 7, where the reading *rā* is impossible.

<sup>4</sup> *ānula* Senart and Buhler.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Molesworth's *Maṇḍhā Dictionary*, s. v. *gūbhār*.

<sup>6</sup> The locative *vachamhi* (= *vachaspi* in the two Kharoṣṭhi versions) is generally rendered by 'in the latrine'. But Skt. *vachas* does not mean 'a latrine', but 'ordure'. As, in the rock-edict XII, M, *vacha* or *vacha* probably corresponds to Skt. *vraja*, 'a cowpen', it may be taken here in the same sense. Establishments for cattle-breeding are kept up by Rajas and their governments even in the present time.

<sup>7</sup> With *vinīta* cf. Skt. *vinīlaka* and *vamīlaka*, see Buhler, ZDMG, 37, 277.

<sup>8</sup> See above, p. 5, n. 7.

<sup>9</sup> *samto* is a nominative singular absolute. Cf. my note on the translation of the Kālsī rock-edict VI, F.

<sup>10</sup> Buhler (ASSI, 1, 123) rendered *nyhāṁ* by 'fraud'. This translation seems to be due to an oversight, it would suit the former misreading *nikāṁ*, but not the actual reading *nyhāṁ*. Luders (SPAW, 1913, 1019 f.) has shown that the Sanskrit equivalent of this word would be *\*nidhyapā*, 'inducing to meditate', i. e. in the present case, 'moving a repeated consideration'.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. the Delhi-Iṣṭā pillar-edict VII, K and M.

verbally, or (in connexion with) an emergent matter which has been delegated to the *Mahāmātras*,<sup>1</sup> it must be reported to me immediately, anywhere, (and) at any time

(G) Thus I have ordered.

(H) For I am never content in exerting myself and in dispatching business.<sup>2</sup>

(I) For I consider it my duty (to promote) the welfare of all men.

(J) But the root of that (is) this, (viz.) exertion and the dispatch of business.

(K) For no duty is more important<sup>3</sup> than (promoting) the welfare of all men.

(L) And whatever effort I am making, (is made) in order that<sup>4</sup> I may discharge the debt (which I owe) to living beings, (that) I may make them<sup>5</sup> happy in this (world), and (that) they may attain heaven in the other (world).

(M) For the following purpose has this rescript on morality been caused to be written, (viz.) that it may last long, and that my sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons may conform to this for the welfare of all men

(N) But it is difficult to accomplish this without great zeal.

## SEVENTH ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

- 1 (A) देवानंपियो पियदसि राजा सर्वत इच्छति सवे पासंडा वसेयु (B) सवे ते सयमं च  
2 भावसुधिं च इच्छति (C) जनो तु उचावचछंदो उचावचरागो (D) ते सर्वे व कांसति  
एकदेसं व कंसति  
3 (E) विषुले तु पि दाने यस नास्ति सयमे भावसुधिता व कांजता व ददभतिता च  
निचा वादं

- 1 (A) Devānampiyo Piyadasi rājā sarvata ichhati save pāsandā vaseyu (B) save te sayamam cha  
2 bhāva-sudhim cha ichhati (C) jano tu uchāvacha-chchando uchavacha-rāgo (D) te sarvam va kāsanti eka-deśam va kasa[m]ti  
3 (E) vip[ul]e tu pi dāne yasa nāsti sayame bhāva-sudhitā va katamhātā va dadha bhau[ti] cha nichā bādham

<sup>1</sup> K. Jayaswal (IA, 42 283) quotes the *Kantilya*, p 29, l 12 जात्यधिके कार्ये मन्त्रिको मन्त्रिपरिषद्ं चाह्वय वृत्तात् 'in the case of an emergent matter the ministers and the council of ministers shall be called and told'.

<sup>2</sup> With *atthā-samātranā* cf. *Alita-danda* in the pillar-edict IV, I.

<sup>3</sup> I adopt Buhler's explanation of *kāsmataram* as a comparative of *karma*

<sup>4</sup> Franke (GN, 1895: 537) has shown that both in the Aśoka inscriptions and in literary Pāli *kims* means 'that, in order that'. Cf. my note on the translation of the Dhauhi separate edict I, B and the rock-edict XIV, D, where *kims* at Gīrnār, Dhauhi, and Jaugada corresponds to *gīna* at Kālsī, Shāhbāgaṛhī, and Mānsehrā.

<sup>5</sup> The form *nāni* occurs again in the pillar-edict V, C, and in the Queen's edict, l 4, *na* in the Kālsī edict XII, C. The pronoun *na* may be derived from Skt *ina*, and *sha*, which corresponds to it in the two Kharoṣṭhī versions, from *isha*

## TRANSLATION

(A) King *Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin* desires (that) all sects may reside everywhere.

(B) (For) all these desire both self-control and purity of mind.

(C) But men possess various desires (and) various passions.

(D) Either they will fulfil the whole, or they will fulfil (only) a portion (of their duties).

(E) But even one who (practises) great liberality, (but) does not possess self-control, purity of mind, gratitude, and firm devotion, is very mean.<sup>1</sup>

## EIGHTH ROCK-EDICT · GIRNAR

1 (A) अतिकृतं अंतरं राजानो विहारयातां जयासु (B) एत मगव्या अजानि च एतारिसनि

2 अभिरमकानि अहुंसु (C) सो देवानंप्रियो प्रियदत्ति राजा दसवर्साभित्तो संतो अयाय संवोधिं

3 (D) तेनेसा धम्मयाता (E) एतयं होति बाम्हणसमखानं दसणे च दाने च बैरानं दसणे च

4 हिरण्यपट्टिविधानो च जानपदस च जनस दस्यनं धमानुसस्ती च धमपरिपुष्ठा च

5 तदोपया (F) एसा भुय रति भवति देवानंप्रियस प्रियदत्तिनो राजो भागे अजे

1 (A) atikātaṃ aṃtaraṃ rājāno vihāra-yātāṃ jayāsu (B) eta magavyā añāni cha etārisani<sup>2</sup>

2 abhiramakāni ahumsu (C) so Devānāmpriyo<sup>3</sup> Priyadasi rājā dasa-varṣābhīto<sup>4</sup> saṃto ayāya Saṃbodhiṃ

3 (D) tenesa dhamma-yātā (E) etayaṃ hoti bāmhana-samañānaṃ dasane cha dāne cha thairānaṃ dasane ch[a]

4 hiraṇṇa-paṭṭivīdhāno cha jānapadasa cha janasa<sup>5</sup> daspanaṃ<sup>6</sup> dharmaṃānuṣ[a]ṭṭi cha dhama-paripucchā cha

5 tadopayā (F) esa bhuya rati bhavati Devānāmpriyasa Priyadasino rājho bhā[ga] aje

## TRANSLATION

(A) In times past kings used to set out on pleasure-tours.<sup>7</sup>

(B) On these (tours) hunting and other such pleasures were (enjoyed).

<sup>1</sup> The translation of this section follows Lüders in SPAW, 1914, 844. He identifies *nichā* with the Vedic adverb *nichā*. The variant *niche* at Dhauḥ and Jaugada may correspond to Skt. *nichāṣ* or *nichak*.

<sup>2</sup> Read °*sāns*.

<sup>3</sup> °*priyo* Bühler.

<sup>4</sup> °*vasā* Senart and Bühler.

<sup>5</sup> *jānasa* Bühler.

<sup>6</sup> Read *dasanaṃ*, which is Senart's reading; *dasanaṃ* Bühler.

<sup>7</sup> Michelson (JAOS, 31. 245) explains *ñayāṃ* = \**nyayāṣuk* in the sense of *nrayāṣuk*. See also Fleet in JRS, 1908, 488, n. 2.

(C) But when king *Dēvañāmpriya Priyadarśin* had been anointed ten years, he went to *Sarabōdhi*.<sup>1</sup>

(D) Therefore these tours of morality (were undertaken).<sup>2</sup>

(E) On these (tours) the following<sup>3</sup> takes place, (viz.) visiting *Brahmanas* and *Śramanas* and making gifts (to them), visiting the aged and supporting (them) with gold,<sup>4</sup> visiting the people of the country, instructing (them) in morality, and questioning (them) about morality, as suitable for this (occasion).<sup>5</sup>

(F) This second period<sup>6</sup> (of the reign) of king *Dēvañāmpriya Priyadarśin* becomes a pleasure in a higher degree.<sup>7</sup>

## NINTH ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

- 1 (A) देवानंप्रियो प्रियदत्ति राजा एव आह (B) अस्ति जनो उच्चावचं मंगलं करोते आवाधेसु वा
- 2 आवाहवीवाहेसु वा पुचलाभेसु वा प्रवासंमिह वा एतम्ही च अजमिह च जनो उच्चावचं मंगलं करोते
- 3 (C) एत तु महिदायो बहुकं च बहुविधं च ह्युदं च निर्णयं च मंगलं करोते (D) त क्तथमेव तु मंगलं (E) अपफलं तु खो
- 4 एतारिं मंगलं (F) अयं तु महाफले मंगले य धम्ममंगले (G) ततोत दासभक्तमिह सम्प्रतिपत्ति गुरुन अपचिति साधु
- 5 पायेसु सयमो साधु बम्हणसमणानं साधु दानं एत च अज च एतारिं धम्ममंगलं नाम (H) त वतथं पिता व

<sup>1</sup> D R. Bhandarkar (IA, 42. 160) suggests that this word may refer to the sacred spot (at Bōdh-Gajā, south of Paṭnā) on which the Buddha attained to perfect knowledge. Aśoka's visit to the *bōdhi*-tree is described in the *Dīpāvadāna* (ed. Cowell and Neil), p. 393. His visit to the Buddha's birth-place is recorded by himself on the Rummīndī pillar.

<sup>2</sup> The singular *esā dhammayāta* seems to be used in the sense of the plural, just as *vrāṇa-yātām* in section A.

<sup>3</sup> Bühler (EI, 2. 457, n. 95) explained *etayasi* by *eta tyasi*. As *ayam* is used for the neuter *idam* in the Girnār edict IX, F, and XII, N, it may as well stand for *eta ayam*, cf. Michelson in JAOS, 31. 238.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. above, p. 10, n. 7.

<sup>5</sup> With *ladopaya* Senart compares the Pāli words *ladhipiya* and *opāyika*. Fianke (VOJ, 9. 345) connects it with *opaga* in the rock-edict II, B, and in the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, R. Previous translators (except Lüders in SPAW, 1914. 845) have construed this word with the next section.

<sup>6</sup> Hitherto the two words *bhāge amhē* and *bhāge amne* at Kālsī and Dhauli have been taken as locatives = Pāli *aparā-bhāge*. As Lüders (SPAW, 1913. 990) remarks, this is impossible, because in the eastern dialect the two locatives would end in *-asi*.

<sup>7</sup> The word *bhuya* (= *bhuye* in the remaining versions) is perhaps an adverb, as *bhuye* in the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, KK and NN. Lüders (SPAW, 1914. 846) takes *bhuya-rati* to be a Karmadhāraya compound, which he connects with *esā*, and *bhāge amhē* to be locatives. But *esā* need not be a nom. sing. fem., but may be a nom. sing. masc., as in the Girnār edict XIII, I, and may as such be connected with *bhāge amhē*, as [*e*]se at Kālsī and *ise* in the two Kharōṣṭhi versions.

- 6 पुणेन वा भाषा वा स्वामिकेन वा इदं साधु इदं कृत्य मंगलं आव तस अणस  
निस्तानाय (I) अस्ति च पि वुतं  
7 साधु दन इति (J) न तु एतारिसं अस्त्वा दानं व अनगहो व यारिसं धनदानं व  
धमनुगहो व (K) त तु खो मिचेन व सुहदयेन वा  
8 अतिकेन व सहायन व ओवादितथं तमिह तमिह पकरणे इदं कचं इदं साध इति  
इमिना सक्  
9 स्वगं आरापेतु इति (L) कि च इमिना कृत्यतरं यथा स्वगारपी
- 1 (A) Devānāmpīyo Priyadasi rājā eva<sup>1</sup> āha (B) asti jano uchāvacham maṅgalaṁ  
karote ābādhesu vā  
2 āvāha-vivāhesu vā putra-lābhesu vā pravāsammhi vā etamhi cha añamhi cha jano  
uchāvacham maṅgalaṁ karote  
3 (C) eta tu mahiḍāyo bahukaṁ cha bahuvidhaṁ cha chhudaṁ cha nirath[am] cha  
maṅgalaṁ karote (D) ta katavyameva tu magalaṁ<sup>2</sup> (E) apa-phalaṁ tu kho  
4 etarisaṁ<sup>3</sup> maṅgalaṁ (F) ayaṁ tu mah[a]-phale maṅgale ya dhamma-maṅgale  
(G) ta[te]ta<sup>4</sup> dāsa-bhatakamhi samya-pratipatī gurūnam apachitī sādhu  
5 pānesu sayamo sādhu bamhana-samañānaṁ sādhu dānaṁ et[a] cha añ[a] cha  
etārisaṁ dhamma-maṅgalaṁ nāna (H) ta vatavyaṁ pitā va  
6 putena vā bhātrā vā svāmikena vā idam sādhu idam katavya<sup>5</sup> maṅgalaṁ āva taṣa  
athasa niṣṭānāya (I) asti cha pi vutam  
7 sādhu dana<sup>6</sup> iti (J) na tu etārisaṁ astā<sup>7</sup> dānaṁ va ana[ya]ho<sup>8</sup> va yārisaṁ dhamma-  
dānaṁ va dhamanugaho<sup>9</sup> va (K) ta tu kho mitrena va suhadayena [vā  
8 ātikena<sup>10</sup> va sahāyana<sup>11</sup> va ovādītavyam tamhi tamhi pakaraṇe<sup>12</sup> [i]dam kacham  
idam sadha<sup>13</sup> iti iminā sak[a]<sup>14</sup>  
9 svagam ārādhetu iti (L) ki cha iminā katavyataraṁ yathā svagāradhi<sup>15</sup>

## TRANSLATION

(A) King Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(B) Men are practising various ceremonies during illness, or at the marriage of a son or a daughter,<sup>16</sup> or at the birth of a son, or when setting out on a journey, on these and other (occasions) men are practising various ceremonies.

(C) But in such (cases) women are practising many and various vulgar and useless ceremonies.

*evam* Bühler.

Read *maṅgalaṁ*, which is the reading of Senart and Bühler

<sup>2</sup> Read *etarisaṁ*

*tata* Senart and Bühler; but the *te* can be clearly distinguished on the back of the stampage, supported by the other versions

*katavyam* Bühler.

<sup>5</sup> Read *dānam*, *danaṁ* Bühler.

Read *asti*, which is the reading of Senart and Bühler.

Read *anugaho*.

<sup>9</sup> *dhammanugaho* Bühler.

<sup>10</sup> Read *āti*.

Read *ym*

<sup>11</sup> The syllable *ra* looks almost like *rā*.

Read *sādhu*.

<sup>14</sup> *sakaṁ* Bühler

<sup>15</sup> *radhi* Bühler

For *āvāha* and *vivāha* cf. *Jātaka*, Translation, vol. V, p. 145, n. 1.

(D) Now, ceremonies should certainly be practised.

(E) But ceremonies like these bear little fruit indeed.

(F) But the following practice bears much fruit, viz. the practice of morality.

(G) Herein the following (are comprised), (viz.) proper courtesy to slaves and servants, reverence to elders,<sup>1</sup> gentleness to animals, (and) liberality to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas; these and other such (virtues) are called the practice of morality.

(H) Therefore a father, or a son, or a brother, or a master ought to say.—'This is meritorious. This practice should be observed until the (desired) object is attained.'

(I) And it has been said also: 'Gifts are meritorious.'

(J) But there is no such gift or benefit as the gift of morality or the benefit of morality.<sup>2</sup>

(K) Therefore a friend, or a well-wisher, or a relative, or a companion should indeed admonish (another) on such and such an occasion:—'This ought to be done, this is meritorious. By this (practice) it is possible to attain heaven'

(L) And what is more desirable than this,<sup>3</sup> viz. the attainment of heaven?

## TENTH ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

- 1 (A) देवानंपियो प्रियदसि राजा यसो व कीति व न महापावहा मज्जे अजत  
तदात्पनो दिषाय च मे जनो
- 2 धम्मसुसुता सुसुसता धम्मवुत्तं च अनुविधिपतां (B) एतक्काय देवानंपियो प्रियदसि  
राजा यसो व किति व इच्छति
- 3 (C) यं तु किञ्च परिकमते देवानं प्रियदसि राजा त सवं पारिक्काय किति सकले  
अपपरिक्खवे अस्स (D) एस तु परिसवे य अपुंजं
- 4 (E) दुक्कं तु खो एतं दुदक्केन व जनेन उससेन व अज्जव अगेन पराक्कमेन सवं  
परिचजिप्पा (F) एत तु खो उससेन दुक्कं

1 (A) *Devānaṃpiyo* <sup>4</sup> *Priyadasi* *rājā* <sup>5</sup> *yaso* *va* *kīti* *va* *na* *mahāthāvahā*[ā] *mañate* <sup>6</sup>  
*añāta* *tadātpano* <sup>7</sup> *diḥhaya* *cha* *me* [ja]no

2 *dhamma-susu[m]sā* <sup>8</sup> *susu[su]sata* <sup>9</sup> *dhamma-vuttam* *cha* *anuvīdhiyatām* (B) *etakkāya*  
*Devānaṃpiyo Priyadasi rājā*, *yaso* *va* *kiti* *va* [chha]ti

<sup>1</sup> The word *sādhū* after *apachitti*, *sayamo*, and *-samanānāni* is missing in the other versions. It seems to have crept into the Gīrṇār text, because the person who drafted the latter had in his mind passages like the rock-edict III, 1).

<sup>2</sup> Bühler (ZDMG, 48 57 f) has traced the two terms *dhamma-dana* and *dhammānuggaha* in the *Itivuttaka*.

<sup>3</sup> A number of instances in which a comparative is construed with the instrumental (instead of the ablative) have been collected by Fischel, GGA, 1881. 1332.

<sup>4</sup> *priyo* Bühler.

<sup>5</sup> An obliterated *de* is visible between the syllables *ss* and *rā*, and an obliterated *va* between *ra* and *jā*.

<sup>6</sup> *mañāte* Bühler.

<sup>7</sup> Read, with Kern (*Jaartelling*, p. 87), *tadātpane*.

<sup>8</sup> *-susu[m]sā* Senart, *-susu[su]sā* Bühler.

<sup>9</sup> *\*satām* Senart and Bühler.



- 3 (C) ya[m] tu kich[i]<sup>1</sup> parik[a]mate<sup>2</sup> Devānāṣṭri<sup>3</sup> Priyadasi rājā ta savaṁ pāratrikāya  
kiṁti sakale a[pa]-parisrave<sup>4</sup> asa (D) csa tu parisave<sup>5</sup> ya apuññaṁ  
4 (E) dukaram tu kho etam chhudakena va janena usaṇena va añātra aḡena  
parāk[r]ameṇa<sup>6</sup> savaṁ parichajitpā (F) et[a] t[u] kho usatena dukaraṁ

## TRANSLATION

(A) King Devānāṣṭriya Priyadarśin does not think that either glory or fame<sup>7</sup> conveys much advantage, except (on account of his aim that) in the present time, and in the distant (future),<sup>8</sup> men may (be induced) by him to practise obedience to morality, and that they may conform to the duties of morality.<sup>9</sup>

(B) On this (account) king Devānāṣṭriya Priyadarśin is desiring glory and fame

(C) But whatever effort king Devānāṣṭriya Priyadarśin is making, all that (is) for the sake of (merit) in the other (world), (and) in order that all (men) may run little danger.

(D) But the danger is this, viz. demerit.

(E) But it is indeed difficult either for a lowly person or for a high one to accomplish this without great zeal (and without) laying aside every (other aim)<sup>10</sup>

(F) But among these (two) it is indeed (more) difficult<sup>11</sup> to accomplish for a high (person).

## ELEVENTH ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

- 1 (A) देविर्नप्रियो पियदसि राजा एवं आह (B) नास्ति एतारिसं दानं यारिसं धंमदानं  
धंमसंस्सवो वा धंमसंविभागो वा धंमसंबधो व  
2 (C) तत्त इदं भवति दासभतकम्हि सम्मप्रतिपत्ती मातरि पितरा साधु सुसुसा मित-  
ससुतजातिकानं बाम्हाससमणानं साधु दानं  
3 प्राणानं अनारंभो साधु (D) एत वतत्थं पिता व पुत्रेण व भाता व मितससुत-  
जातिकेण व आच पदीवेसियेहि इद साधु इद कत्थं  
4 (E) सो तथा कस् इल्लोकवत्स ज्ञारपो होति परत्त च अनंतं पुइजं भवति तेन  
धंमदानेन

<sup>1</sup> *krinchi* Bühler

<sup>2</sup> Add 'priyo.

<sup>3</sup> *parisrave* Bühler.

<sup>4</sup> i. e., as shown by Bühler (ZDMG, 37. 575), glory in this life and fame after death.

<sup>5</sup> Instead of *tadāpana(ne) dūghāya cha* the Jaugaḍa version has the synonymous expression *tadāvatvā āyatiya cha*, which occurs also in the *Kāntilīya*, p. 248, l. 9 (*tadāvatvā cha āyatiyān cha*), and p. 240, l. 2. For numerous examples of abstracts formed with the Prakṛit affix *-tvana* or *-tāna*, see Pischel's *Grammatik*, p. 405.

<sup>6</sup> With this passage of the Gīrnār edict IX, E, F, and XI, B, and the Shāhbāzgarhī edict XIII, P. 'And this conquest is considered the principal one by Devānāṣṭriya, viz. the conquest by morality'

<sup>10</sup> I adopt Fleet's translation of the last words in JRS, 1909. 1014, n. 4. The usual translation, 'renouncing everything', is improbable because Aśoka nowhere advocates absolute poverty, though he recommends 'moderation in possessions' in the rock-edict III, D.

<sup>11</sup> The Jaugaḍa version reads *dukalatāle* for *dukarāṁ*.

- 1 (A) **Devānāmpriyo**<sup>1</sup> **Piyadasi** **rājā** ev[a]ñ āha (B) nāsti etārisaṃ dānaṃ yārisaṃ dhamma-dānaṃ dhamma-saṃstavo vā dhamma-saṃvibhāgo [vā]<sup>2</sup> dhamma-sambadho<sup>3</sup> va  
 2 (C) tata idaṃ bhavati dāsa-bhatakamhi samya-p[r]atipati mātari pitarā<sup>4</sup> sādhu sus[r]usā mita-[sa]stuta-ñātikānaṃ bāmaṇa-s[r]amaṇā[nam]<sup>5</sup> sādhu dā[nam]  
 3 prānānaṃ anāraṃbho sādhu (D) eta vatavyaṃ pitā va putrena va bhāt[ā] va mita-sastut[a]-ñāt[i]k[ā]na va āva paṭivesiyehi<sup>6</sup> ida<sup>7</sup> sādhu ida<sup>7</sup> ka[tav]ya[m]  
 4 (E) so t[a]thā karu<sup>8</sup> ilokachasa āradho hoti parata cha annamtam<sup>9</sup> puniṇaṃ<sup>10</sup> bhavati tena dhamma-dāneṇa

## TRANSLATION

(A) **King Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin** speaks thus.

(B) There is no such gift as the gift of morality, or acquaintance through morality, or the distribution of morality, or kinship through morality.<sup>11</sup>

(C) Herein the following are (comprised), (viz.) proper courtesy to slaves and servants, obedience to mother (and) father, liberality to friends, acquaintances, and relatives, to Brahmanas and Śramanas, (and) abstention from killing animals.<sup>12</sup>

(D) Concerning this<sup>13</sup> a father, or a son, or a brother, or a friend, an acquaintance, or a relative, (or) even (mere) neighbours, ought to say: 'Thus is meritorious. This ought to be done.'<sup>14</sup>

(E) If one is acting thus,<sup>15</sup> the attainment<sup>16</sup> of (happiness) in this world is (secured), and endless merit is produced in the other (world) by that gift of morality.

<sup>1</sup> Read *Devānāsi*<sup>9</sup>, which is the reading of Senart and Bühler.

<sup>2</sup> *va* Bühler.

<sup>3</sup> Read *-sambādho*.

<sup>4</sup> Read *pitari*, which is the reading of Senart and Bühler.

<sup>5</sup> *-samanānaṃ* Senart and Bühler.

<sup>6</sup> *pati*<sup>9</sup> Senart and Bühler.

<sup>7</sup> *sāsi* Bühler.

<sup>8</sup> Read *karuṇ*, as in the Gīrnār edict XII, F.

<sup>9</sup> Read *anantasi*.

<sup>10</sup> *puniṇaṃ* Senart and Bühler.

<sup>11</sup> The two expressions *dhamma-dāna* and *dhamma-saṃvibhāga* occur in a passage of the *Itivuttaka*, see Bühler, ZDMG, 48, 57 f.

<sup>12</sup> The other versions omit the superfluous word *sādhu* after *pitārā*, *-samanānaṃ*, and *anāraṃbho*; cf. above, p. 17, n. 1.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. the Delhi-Iṣṭipā pillar-edict VII, C, I, and RR.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. the Gīrnār edict IX, II and K.

<sup>15</sup> Senart and Bühler take *karuṇ* as a nominative absolute. According to Michelson (JAOS, 31, 244) it is a participle formed of a stem which is a compromise between *karu-* and *karu-*.

<sup>16</sup> In the Gīrnār version *āradho* seems to be used as a substantive, just as *āradhi* in the Gīrnār edict IX, L, and *āladhi* in the Dhauḥī separate edict I, S, and the Jaugada separate edict I, T. In the other versions of the rock-edict XI the wording is slightly different.

## TWELFTH ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि राजा सवपासंडानि च पवजितानि च घरस्तानि च पूजयति दानेन च विवाधाय च पूजाय पूजयति ने
- 2 (B) न तु तथा दानं व पूजा व देवानंपियो मंजते यथा किति सारवढी अस सवपासंडानं (C) सारवढी तु बहुविधा
- 3 (D) तस तु इदं मूलं य वचिगुती किति आप्पासंडपूजा व परपासंडगरहा व नो भवे अप्रकरायहि लहुका व अस
- 4 तम्हि तम्हि प्रकरये (E) पूजेतया तु एव परपासंडा तेन तन प्रकरयेन (F) एवं कहे आप्पासंडं च वडयति परपासंडस च उपकरोति
- 5 (G) तदंजया करोतो आप्पासंडं च ऋणति परपासंडस च पि अपकरोति (H) यो हि कोचि आप्पासंडं पूजयति परपासंडं व गरहति
- 6 सवं आप्पासंडभतिया किति आप्पासंडं दीपयेम इति सो च पुन तप करातो आप्पासंडं वाढतरं उपहनाति (I) त समवायो एव साधु
- 7 किति अजमंजस धंमं सुणारु च सुसुंसेर च (J) एवं हि देवानंपियस इहा किति सवपासंडा बहुसुता च असु कलाणागमा च असु
- 8 (K) ये च तप तत प्रसंना तेहि वतथं (L) देवानंपियो नो तथा दानं व पूजां व मंजते यथा किति सारवढी अस सर्वपासंडानं (M) वहका च एताय
- 9 अथा व्यापता धंममहामाता च इधीस्समहामाता च वचभूमीका च अजे च निकाया (N) अयं च एतस फल य आप्पासंडवढी च होति धंमस च दीपना

- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyaḍ[a]si rājā sava-pāsamaṇāni cha'[pa]vajitāni cha gharastāni cha pūjayati d[ā]ṇena cha vivadhāya<sup>1</sup> [cha] pūjāya pūjayati ne
- 2 (B) na tu tathā dānam va pū[jā] va D[e]vānaṃpiyo mamhate yathā kiti sāra-vadhi asa sa[va-pā]samāṇaṃ (C) sār[a]-vadhī tu bahuvivhā
- 3 (D) tana<sup>2</sup> tu idam mūlaṃ ya vaci-guṭi kimu āpa-pāsamda-pūjā va para-pāsamḍa-garahā<sup>3</sup> va no bhavē aprakaranamhi<sup>4</sup> lahuḥkā va asa
- 4 tamhi tamhi prakaraṇe (E) pūjetayā tu eva para-pāsamḍa tena tana<sup>5</sup> prakaraṇena (F) evaṃ karuṃ āpa-pāsamdaṃ cha vāḥhayati para-pāsamdasa cha upakaroti
- 5 (G) tad-amhāthā karoto āpa-pāsamdaṃ<sup>6</sup> cha chhaṇati para-pāsamdasa cha pi apakaroti (H) yo hi kochi āpa-pāsamdam pūjayati para-pāsamdaṃ v[a]<sup>7</sup> garahati

<sup>1</sup> Read *vivadhāya*, which is the reading of Senart and Bühler.

<sup>2</sup> The writer had originally written *tasa tasa*, but he scored out the first *sa* and the second *ta*.

<sup>3</sup> The syllable *saṃ* of *-pāsamda-* was inserted subsequently.

<sup>4</sup> The syllable *pra* looks almost like *ha*; the horizontal stroke attached to *pa* is probably intended for *r*. Cf. *abhipretam* near the end of the Calcutta-Bairāt rock-inscription.

<sup>5</sup> Read *tana*.

<sup>6</sup> *-pāsamdam* Bühler.

<sup>7</sup> *vā* Bühler

- 6 *savaṃ ātpa-pāsaṃdā-bhatiyā* ' kimti ātpa-pāsaṃdāṃ dipayema iti so cha puna tatha  
karāto ' ātpa-pāsaṃdā[m] bādhataraṃ upahanāti (I) ta samavāyo eva sādhu
- 7 kimti [a]ññamañña<sup>a</sup> dhammaṃ sruṇāru<sup>b</sup> cha susumsera<sup>c</sup> cha (J) evaṃ hi  
D[*o*]vānāṃpiya<sup>a</sup> ichhā kimti<sup>a</sup> sava-pāsaṃdā bahu-srutā cha asu ka[*a*]nāgamā  
cha [a]ṇu
- 8 (K) ye cha tatra tata<sup>a</sup> prasannā tehi vatavyaṃ (L) *Devānāṃpiya* no tathā dānaṃ  
va pūjāṃ<sup>a</sup> va maññate yathā kimti sāra-vaḍḍhi asa sarva-pāsaṃdānaṃ (M)  
bahakā<sup>a</sup> cha etāya
- 9 athā vyāpatā dhamma-mahāmātā cha ithihakha-mahāmātā cha vacha-bhūmika<sup>a</sup> cha  
añe cha nikāyā (N) ayaṃ cha etasa phala ya ātpa-pāsaṃdā-vaḍḍhi cha hoti  
dhammasa cha dip[*a*]nā

## TRANSLATION

(A) King *Dēvānāṃpriya Priyadarśin* is honouring all sects: <sup>10</sup> both ascetics and householders, both with gifts and with honours of various kinds he is honouring them

(B) But *Dēvānāṃpriya* does not value either gifts or honours so (highly) as (this), (viz.) that a promotion of the essentials of all sects should take place.

(C) But a promotion of the essentials (is possible) in many ways.

(D) But its root is this, viz. guarding (one's) speech,<sup>11</sup> (i. e.) that neither praising one's own sect nor blaming other sects should take place on improper occasions, or (that) it should be moderate in every case.

(E) But other sects ought to be duly honoured in every case.

(F) If one is acting thus, he is both promoting his own sect and benefiting other sects.

(G) If one is acting otherwise than thus, he is both hurting his own sect and wronging other sects as well.

(H) For whosoever praises his own sect or blames other sects,—all (this)<sup>12</sup> out of devotion to his own sect, (i. e.) with the view of glorifying his own sect,—if he is acting thus, he rather injures his own sect very severely.

(I) Therefore concord alone is meritorious, (i. e.) that they should both hear and obey each other's morals

(J) For this is the desire of *Dēvānāṃpriya*, (viz.) that all sects should be full of learning, and should be pure in doctrine.

<sup>1</sup> *pāsada*- Bühler.

<sup>2</sup> Read *karoto*.

<sup>3</sup> *mañña*<sup>a</sup> Senart, *amāṇa*<sup>a</sup> Bühler.

<sup>4</sup> Fiechel (GGA, 1881. 1336) proposed to read *sruṇeru*. But the form *sruṇāru* is probably an imperative; see Introduction, chapter VI.

<sup>5</sup> *susūserā* Senart, *sususera* Bühler.

<sup>6</sup> The syllable *ti* was inserted subsequently.

<sup>7</sup> *tate* Bühler.

<sup>8</sup> *pūjā* Senart and Bühler.

<sup>9</sup> Read *bahuka*

<sup>10</sup> The *cha* after *sava-pāsaṃdāṃ* is superfluous, see Bühler, EI, I. 19, n 42. It is missing in the other versions.

<sup>11</sup> Instead of *vachī-gutī* the other versions read *vacha-gutī*. With *vachī* cf. the *Ardhamāgadhi* from *vai* in Fiechel's *Grammatik*, § 413.

<sup>12</sup> The readings *have* at Kāśī and *savre* in the two Kharoshthī versions show that *savaṃ* at Gīrṇār is the nom. sing. neut.; see Franke in KZ, 34. 422.

(K) And those who are attached to their respective (sects) ought to be spoken to<sup>1</sup> (as follows).

(L) *Dēvanāthpriya* does not value either gifts or honours so (highly) as (this), (viz.) that a promotion of the essentials of all sects should take place

(M) And many (officers)<sup>2</sup> are occupied for this purpose,<sup>3</sup> (viz.) the *Mahāmātras* of morality, the *Mahāmātras* controlling women,<sup>4</sup> the inspectors of cowpens,<sup>5</sup> and other classes (of officials).<sup>6</sup>

(N) And this is the fruit of it, (viz.) that both the promotion of one's own sect takes place, and the glorification of morality.

### THIRTEENTH ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

- 1 (A) ..... जो कलिंगा वज ..... वडे सतसहस्रमाचं तथा  
 हतं बहुतावतकं मत (C) तता पक्षा अपुना लभेसु कलिंगेसु तीवो धंमवायो  
 2 ..... सयो देवानंप्रियस वज ..... वधो व मरखं व  
 अपवाहो व जनस त वाढं वेदममत च गुरुमत च देवानंपि .. स  
 3 ..... बाग्धया व समया च अजे ..... सा माचि पितरि  
 सुसुंसा गुरुसुसुंसा मितसंस्तसहायजातिकेसु दासभ .....  
 4 ..... अभिरतानं व विनिस्तमय (E) येसं वा प .....  
 हायजातिका व्यसनं प्रापुणति तत सो पि तेस उपपातो हाति (I) पटीभागो  
 चेसा सव .....  
 5 ..... स्मि इमे निक्काया अजच योनेसु ..... म्हि यच नास्मि  
 मानुसानं एक्कतरम्हि पासंउम्हि न नाम प्रसादो (K) यावतकी जनो तदा  
 6 ..... सभागो व गुरुमतो देवानं ..... न य सक्क क्षमतिवे  
 (K) या च पि अटवियो देवानंपियस पिजितो पाति  
 7 ..... चते तेसं देवानंपियस ..... सकभूतानां अज्जतिं च  
 समयं च समचैरं च मादच च

<sup>1</sup> Bühler (ZDMG, 37, 586) noted other instances of the dative plural in *-chi* at Jaugarla (*-vama-nehi*, III, l. 3, and *mahāmātehi*, VI, l. 3), and at Kālsī (*mahāmātehi*, VI, end of l. 18). See also Mānsehrā, VI, l. 28, and XII, l. 7, and *dyivikehi* in the second and third Barābar Hill cave-inscriptions.

<sup>2</sup> As pointed out by Lüders (SPAW, 1914, 849), the two words *bahukā cha*, which previous translators had connected with section L, are in reality the first words of section M.

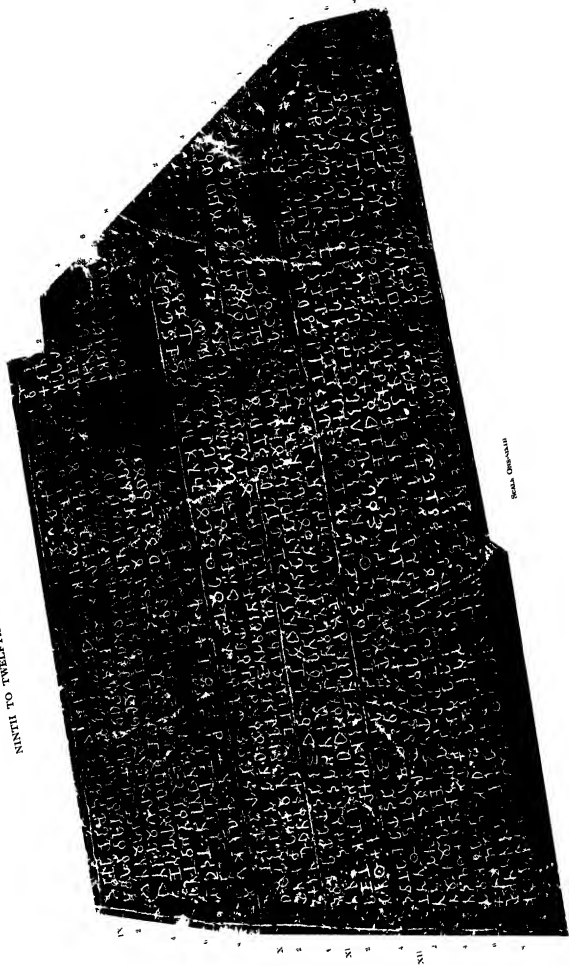
<sup>3</sup> For the dative *athā* (= *athāya*), see the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, W, and E. Müller's *Pāli Grammar*, p. 67.

<sup>4</sup> With *sikijhakkha* cf. *gaṇikādhyaṅksha*, 'the overseer of courtesans', in the *Kāṭṭhiya*, II, 27

<sup>5</sup> Bühler (EI, s. 470, n. 18) suggested that *vacha* (= *vracha* at Mānsehrā) may be a Prakṛit form of *vraja*, 'a cowpen', and compared *gaṇadhyaṅksha*, 'the overseer of cows', in the *Kāmasūtra*, p. 290, l. 1. Cf. also *gādhyaṅksha* in the *Kāṭṭhiya*, II, 29. For the hardening of *j* in *vracha* cf. *vrachantū* and *vṛjacheyam* (from Skt. *vrajati*) at Shāhbāzgarhi, XIII, S, and VI, L.

<sup>6</sup> The Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, Z, mentions officers whose special duty it was to attend to Buddhists, Brāhmaṇas, Ājivikas, Nirgranthas, and other sects.

NINTH TO TWELFTH ROCK-EDICTS: GIRNAK



GIRNAK CHAPT. 111



- 8 ..... लधो ..... नम्रियस इध सबेसु च ..... योनराज  
परं च तेन चम्पारो राजानो तुरमायो च अतिक्किन च मगा च  
9 ..... इध राजविसयम्हि योनबंबो ..... 'प्रपारिदेसु सवत  
देवानंपियस धंमानुसस्तिं अनुवतरे (B) यत्त पि दूति  
10 ..... नं धमानुसस्तिं च धमं अनुविधियरे ..... विजयो  
सवथा पुन विजयो पीतिरसो सा (C) लधा सा पीती होति धंमवीजयम्हि  
11 ..... 'प्रियो (X) एताय अथाय अयं धंमल ..... वं विजयं  
मा विजेतयं मंजा सरसके एव विजये छाति च  
12 ..... किको च पारलोक्किो ..... इलोक्किा च  
पारलोक्किा च

- 1 (A) ..... flo Kalihgā [v . j .] ..... [v dh]e [sa]ta-sahasra-mātram  
tatā hatam bahu-tāvatakam mata<sup>1</sup> (C) tatā pachha adh[u]nā<sup>2</sup> ladhesu  
Kalihgesu ti[v]o dhammavāyo  
2 ..... [sa]o Devānāhpriyasa [v j .] ..... [va]dho va maranam va  
apavāho va janasa ta<sup>3</sup> bādharā vedana-mata<sup>4</sup> cha g[u]r[u]-mata<sup>4</sup> cha  
Devā[nahpi] . . [sa]  
3 . . . . . bamhanā va samanā va añe . . . . . [s]ā māt[r]i pitari susum-s  
guru-susumā<sup>5</sup> mita-samstata-sahāya-ñātike[su]<sup>7</sup> dāsa-[bha] .  
4 . . . . . abhiratānam va vinikhamana (H) yesam vā [p] . . . . . [h]āya-  
ñātikā vyasanam prāpuṇati tata<sup>8</sup> so pi tesa<sup>9</sup> [u]paghāto hati<sup>10</sup> (I) paṭibhā[g]o  
chesā s[ava] . . . . .  
5 . . . . . sti ime nikāyā añatra Yone[su]<sup>11</sup> . . . . . [inh]i yatra nasti  
mānusānarā<sup>12</sup> ekataramhi pāsamlamhi na nāma prasa[ti]o (K) y[ā]vata[k]o  
j[ano ta]d[ā]  
6 . . . . . sra-bhāgo va garu-ma[ti]o Devānarā . . . . . na ya saka<sup>14</sup>  
chhamitave (M) yā cha pi ataviyo D[e]vānāhpriya[sā]<sup>15</sup> piṇte<sup>16</sup> pāti<sup>16</sup>

<sup>1</sup> matain Buhler.<sup>2</sup> adhanā Buhler.<sup>3</sup> tain Senart and Buhler.<sup>4</sup> -matan Buhler.<sup>5</sup> mātā- Senart and Buhler; the horizontal stroke on the right of t seems to be intended for r<sup>6</sup> -susūsa Buhler.<sup>7</sup> Read -samstata-, which is Buhler's reading.<sup>8</sup> tatā Senart, tatā Buhler.<sup>9</sup> tesam Senart and Buhler.<sup>10</sup> Read hoti, which is the reading of Senart and Buhler.<sup>11</sup> yo nesa Senart; Mānschrā reads Yoneshu quite distinctly.<sup>12</sup> manu Buhler.<sup>13</sup> sakain Böhler.<sup>14</sup> Two old fissures of the rock, the first after pi and the second after sa, run on to the next line where they divide the word samachasram into three parts, "priyasa Böhler<sup>15</sup> Read vjite.<sup>16</sup> Read hoti



- 7 . . . . . chate te[sa]n Devānāmpriyasa . . . . . sava-bhūtānān<sup>1</sup>  
 achhatim<sup>2</sup> cha sayamañ cha samachairam<sup>3</sup> ch[a] mādava<sup>4</sup> cha  
 8 . . . . . [la]dh[o] . . . . . nāmpriyasa idha [sa]vesu [ch .] . . . . .  
 [Yo]na-rāja<sup>5</sup> param cha tona chatpāro rājāno Turamāyo cha [A]m[te]k[ina]<sup>6</sup>  
 cha Magā cha  
 9 . . . . . idha rāja-vi[sa]yamhi [Y]o[na]-Kambo . . . . . m[dhra]-  
 Pārīhdesu<sup>7</sup> savata Devānāmpriyasa dhammān[u]s[st]iñ anuv[a]lare (S) yata  
 pi dūtī<sup>8</sup>  
 10 . . . . . [na]m dhamānusastim cha dhamam anuvidhiyare<sup>9</sup> . . . . .  
 [v]ijayo savathā puna vijayq pīti-raso sā<sup>10</sup> (U) ladhā sā pīti hoti dhamma-  
 vijayamhi  
 11 . . . . . m[p]riyo (X) etā[ya] athā[ya] ayañ dhamma-[l] . . . . .  
 [va]ñ vijayañ mā vijetavyam maññā<sup>11</sup> sarasake eva vijaye chhāti<sup>12</sup> cha  
 12 . . . . . kik[o] ch[a] pā[r]alo[k]i[ko] . . . . . ilokikā cha pāralokikā<sup>13</sup> cha

## TRANSLATION

- (A) . . . . . the Kālīngas . . . . .  
 (B) . . . . . one hundred thousand in number were those who were slain  
 there, (and) many times as many those who died.  
 (C) After that, now that (the country of) the Kālīngas has been taken, a zealous  
 study of morality<sup>14</sup> . . . . .  
 (D) . . . . . [the repentance] of Devānāmpriya . . . . .  
 (E) . . . . . slaughter, death, and deportation of people, this is considered  
 very painful and deplorable by Devānāmpriya.  
 (G) . . . . . Brāhmanas or Śramaṇas, [or] other . . . . . obedience to  
 mother (and) to father, obedience to elders . . . . . to friends, acquaintances,  
 companions, and relatives, [to] slaves . . . . . or deportation of (their)  
 beloved ones.  
 (H) . . . . . [companions] and relatives are then incurring misfortune,  
 this (misfortune) as well becomes an injury to those (persons)  
 (I) This is shared [by] all . . . . .

<sup>1</sup> -bhūtānān Buhler.

<sup>2</sup> An old fissure of the rock, between *chha* and *tim*, runs on to the two next lines of the edict.

<sup>3</sup> *samachairam* Senart, *samacherām* Buhler.

<sup>4</sup> *mādavani* Buhler. <sup>5</sup> -rājā Bühler.

<sup>6</sup> *Amitakāna* Senart, *Amitakāna* Buhler.

<sup>7</sup> The apparent *s*-stroke attached to *dha* is probably meant for *r*, *m[dhra] P[ri]vadesu* Buhler.

<sup>8</sup> Read *dūtī*. <sup>9</sup> *dhamma* Senart; *anuv[is]dh[i]yase* Buhler.

<sup>10</sup> so Buhler.

<sup>11</sup> *maññā* Bühler.

<sup>12</sup> *chhāti* [m] Bühler.

<sup>13</sup> Between *pāra* and *lo* a rough portion of the rock was left blank by the writer.

<sup>14</sup> Instead of *dhammavāyo* Shāhāgarhi seems to read *dharmā-silana*, 'the practice, or study, of morality'. Hence Senart is probably correct in explaining *dhammavāyo* by *dharmavāyo*.

(J) . . . . . these classes . . . . . except among the Yōnas<sup>1</sup> . . . .  
where men are not indeed attached to some sect<sup>2</sup>

(K) As many people as at that time . . . . . part is considered deplorable by  
Dēvānāth[priya].

(L) . . . . . what can be forgiven.

(M) And even the forests which are (included) in the dominions of Dēvānāth-  
priya . . . . .

(N) They are [told] . . . . . of Dēvānāthpriya . . . .

(O) . . . . . towards all beings abstention from hurting, self-control, im-  
partiality, and kindness.

(Q) . . . . . has been won by [Dēvā]nāthpriya here and among all  
the Yōna king,<sup>3</sup> and beyond him four kings, (viz) Turamāya, Antekina,  
Magā . . . . .

(R) . . . . . here in the king's territory, [among] the Yōnas and Kambōj[as]  
. . . . . among the [A]ndhras and Pārindas,—everywhere (people) are conforming;  
to Dēvānāthpriya's instruction in morality

(S) Even where the envoys . . . . . and the instruction in morality, are  
conforming to morality . . . . .

(T) . . . . . this conquest,—a conquest (won) in every respect (and)  
repeatedly,<sup>4</sup>—causes the feeling of satisfaction

(U) This satisfaction has been obtained (by me) at the conquest by morality

(W) . . . [Dēvānāth]priya.

(X) For the following purpose this [rescript] on morality . . . . . should not  
think that a [fresh] conquest ought to be made, (that), if a conquest does please  
them,<sup>5</sup> mercy . . . . .

(Y) . . . . . in the other world.

(AA) . . . . . both in this world and in the other world.

## FOURTEENTH ROCK-EDICT. GIRNAR

- 1 (A) अयं धर्मलिपी देवानंघ्रियेन प्रियदसिना राज्ञा लेखापिता अस्ति एव
- 2 संक्षितेन अस्ति मग्नेन अस्ति विस्तृतं (B) न च सर्वं सर्वतः पठितं
- 3 (C) महालंके हि विजितं बहु च लिखितं लिखापयिसं चेव (D) अस्ति च एतं कं
- 4 पुन पुन वुतं तस तस अयस माधूरताय किंति जनो तथा पठिपत्रेय
- 5 (E) तच्च एकदा असमातं लिखितं अस देसं व सहाय कारणं व
- 6 अलीचेत्पा लिपिकरापरधेन व

<sup>1</sup> i. e. the Greeks.

<sup>2</sup> As remarked by Senart, the last negation of this sentence (*na*) is redundant

<sup>3</sup> For the proper names mentioned in this passage see my notes on the translation of the Kāli-  
version

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the Kāli version, Q

<sup>5</sup> Bühler divided *sarasake* into *sara-sake*, which he translated by 'possible by arrows' The  
various readings of Kāli (shayakashi) and Shāhbāzgarhi (spa[kasy]) induce me to consider it as  
a Bahuvrihi of *sua + rasa*.

- 1 (A) ayam dhamma-lipi **Devānāmpriyena Priyadasinā r[ā]jā** [c]khaṇitā asti eva  
 2 samkhit[er]na asti majhamena asti vistatana<sup>1</sup> (B) na cha sarvam [sa]rvata ghatitam  
 3 (C) mahalake hi vijitam bahu cha likhitam likhapaṇisam cheva (D) asti cha eta kam  
 4 puna puna vutam tasa tasa athava<sup>2</sup> madhūrataḥ kuntī jano tatha putipajetha  
 5 (E) tatra ekadā asamā[ra]m likhita[m] asa desam va sachhāya [kā]raṇam va  
 6 [a]lochetpā lipikarāparadhena va

## TRANSLATION

(A) These re-scripts on morality have been caused to be written by king **Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin** either in an abridged (form), or of middle (size), or at full length

(B) And 'the whole was not suitable everywhere.

(C) For (my) dominions are wide, and much has been written, and I shall cause still (more) to be written.

(D) And some of this<sup>4</sup> has been stated again and again because of the charin of certain topics, (and)<sup>5</sup> in order that men should act accordingly.

(E) In some instances (some) of this may have been written incompletely, either on account of the locality,<sup>6</sup> or because (my) motive was not liked,<sup>7</sup> or by the fault of the writer.

## BELOW THE THIRTEENTH GIRNAR ROCK-EDICT, LEFT SIDE

- 1 ..... तेष .....  
 2 ..... पिपा .....  
 1 ..... [eśha]<sup>8</sup> .....  
 2 ..... [p]i[p]a<sup>9</sup> .....  
 2 ..... [p]i[p]a<sup>9</sup> .....  
 2 ..... [p]i[p]a<sup>9</sup> .....

## BELOW THE THIRTEENTH GIRNAR ROCK-EDICT, RIGHT SIDE

..... वैस्वेती हस्ति सर्वलोक्सुखाहरो नाम  
 ... .. rva-sveto<sup>10</sup> hasti sarva-loka-sukhāhara nāma

<sup>1</sup> Read *vistatana*

<sup>2</sup> The syllable *sa* was inserted subsequently.

<sup>3</sup> The other versions read 'for' instead of 'and'. The Girnar reading would suit Senart's translation of *ghatitam* by 'put together'.

<sup>4</sup> The other versions suggest that *eta kām* must not be joined into one word, but corresponds to *ata kāmchit*. Cf. also *ata k[ṛ]khi* in the Kāśī version, E.

<sup>5</sup> The particle *cha* is inserted at Dhauḥ and Jaugarā.

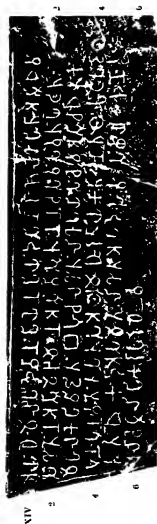
<sup>6</sup> Thus the two separate edicts were substituted at Dhauḥ and Jaugarā for the rock-edicts XI to XIII. Bühler considered *sachhāya* = *samkhyāyam*, and connected it with *karana*, see ZDMG, 40, 142, and 48, 59 f. It seems more natural to take it as a gerund = *saukhyāya* in *samkhyāya*.

<sup>7</sup> Senart translates, 'perhaps that the sense has been misunderstood'. I take *lochi* = Skt *rochayati*, see above, p 8, n. 3.

<sup>8</sup> This word is perhaps a portion of the well-known Buddhist formula *hitum tēshāṃ 7 atthāgātū hyavadi* (Pśhāṃ cha &c).

<sup>9</sup> Bühler (VOJ, 8, 320) suggested that this line may have contained the name of the writer. I feel tempted to conjecture *lipi[kareṇa]*, which is the last word of the three Mysore edicts.

<sup>10</sup> Restore *sarva*.



SCALP ONL-ANTH



## TRANSLATION

... the entirely white<sup>1</sup> elephant<sup>2</sup> bringing indeed happiness to the whole world.

## II. THE KALSI ROCK

## FIRST ROCK-EDICT KALSI

*A.—East Face of Kalsi Rock.*

- 1 (A) इयं धम्मलिपि देवानंपियेना पियदसिना लेखिता (B) हिदा नो किच्छि त्रिवे  
आलभितु पजोहितविये
- 2 (C) नो पि चा समाजे कटविye (D) बहुका हि दोसा समाजसा देवानंपिये  
पियदसी लाजा दखति (E) अषि पि चा एकतिया समाजा साधुमता  
देवानंपियसा पियदसिना लाजिने
- 3 (F) पुले महानससि देवानंपियसा पियदसिना लाजिने अनुदिवसं बहुनि  
पातसहसानि अलंभियितु सुपठाये (G) से इदानि यदा इयं धम्मलिपि  
लेखिता तदा त्तिनि येवा पानानि अलभियंति
- 4 दुवे मज्जूला एके मिगे से पि चू मिगे नो ध्रुवे (H) एतानि पि च त्तिनि पानानि  
नो अलभियंसति

- 1 (A) iyaṃ dhamma-lipi Devānaṃpiyenā Piyadas[i]nā [lekhit]ā (B) [h]idā no  
kicchhi jive alabhitu pajohitaviye
- 2 (C) no pi ch[ā] samāje kaṭaviye (D) bahukā hi dosā samājasā Devān[am]piye  
Pi[ya]dasī lājā dakhati (E) aṭhi pi ch[ā] e]katiyā samājā<sup>4</sup> sādhi[u]-matā<sup>5</sup>  
Devānaṃpiyasā Piyadasis[ā] lājine
- 3 (F) [p]ule mahānasasi Devānaṃpiyasā Piyadasisā lājine[ḥ]<sup>6</sup> anudivasam bahuni  
pata-sahasāni<sup>7</sup> alambhiyissu<sup>8</sup> supathāye[ḥ] (G) se idāni ya[dā] iyaṃ dhamma-lipi  
lekhitā tada timni yevā pānāni alabhi[ya]m[ti]<sup>9</sup>
- 4 duve majjūlā<sup>10</sup> eke miḡe se pi [chu]<sup>11</sup> miḡe no dhruve<sup>12</sup> (H) e[ṭ]āni pi ch[ti]ni<sup>13</sup> pānāni<sup>14</sup>  
no alabhi[ya]m[ti]<sup>15</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *sabbasato* in Childers's *Pāli Dictionary*, s. v. *sabbo*

<sup>2</sup> As stated by Kern (*Taartelling*, p. 44), Senart (*Inscriptions*, vol. I, p. 323 f.), and Buhler (*ZDMG*, 39. 490), the Gīrnār rock must have borne, like the Kālsī and Dhauī rocks, the figure of an elephant representing the Buddha. This figure was probably destroyed during the construction of a causeway for pilgrims from Junāgarh to Gīrnār, and along with it those adjacent portions of the fifth and thirteenth edicts which are now missing.

<sup>3</sup> *nā* Buhler.

<sup>4</sup> *sa[m]āja* Buhler

<sup>5</sup> There is a fissure in the rock here

<sup>6</sup> *ajjasa* Buhler

<sup>7</sup> *sata-* Senart, *pāna-* Buhler, read *pāna-sata-*.

<sup>8</sup> *ālābhi* Buhler.

<sup>9</sup> *ālābhi* Senart, *ālābhi* Buhler.

<sup>10</sup> *majālā* Senart, *majjūlā* Buhler.

<sup>11</sup> *ye* Senart, *cha* Buhler

<sup>12</sup> *dhare* Senart, *dhruve* Buhler

<sup>13</sup> *cha* Buhler.

<sup>14</sup> *ālābhi* Senart, *ālābhi* Buhler

## TRANSLATION

(A) This rescript on morality has been caused to be written by **Dōvānāhpriya Priyadarśin**.

(B) Here no living being must be killed and sacrificed.

(C) And also no festival meeting must be held.

(D) For king **Dōvānāhpriya Priyadarśin** sees much evil in festival meetings.

(E) And there are also some festival meetings which are considered meritorious by king **Dōvānāhpriya Priyadarśin**.

(F) Formerly in the kitchen of king **Dōvānāhpriya Priyadarśin** many hundred thousands of animals were killed daily for the sake of curry.

(G) But now, when this rescript on morality is caused to be written, then only three animals are being killed (daily), (viz) two peacocks (and) one deer, but even this deer not regularly.

(H) But even these three animals shall not be killed (in future).

## SECOND ROCK-EDICT: KALSI

4 (A) सबता विजितसि देवानंपियसा पियदसिसा लाजिने ये च अंता अथा चोडा पंडिया सातियपुतो केललपुतो तंबपनि

5 अंतियोगे नाम योनलाजा ये चा अंने तसा अंतियोगसा सामंता लाजानो सबता देवानंपियसा पियदसिसा लाजिने दुवे चिकिसका कटा मनुसचिकिसा चा पमुचिकिसा चा (B) ओसपीनि मनुसोपगानि चा पसोपगानि चा अतता नथि

6 सबता हालापिता चा लोपापिता चा (C) एवमेवा मुलानि चा फलानि चा अतता नथि सबता हालापिता चा लोपापिता चा (D) मगेसु लुखानि लोपितानि उदुपानानि चा खानापितानि पटिभोगाये पमुमुनिसानं

4 (A) sav[a]tā vijitasi Devānāhpriyasā Piyadasisā lājine ye cha antā [a]thā Chodā Pāṇḍiyā Sātiyaputo Ke[lala]puto Tamba[pa]ṇni

5 Antiyoge [n]āma Yona-lājā ye chā amne tasā A[m]tiyogasā sām[an]tā lājāno [sa]vatā Devānāhpriyasā Piyadasisā lājine duve chikisakā kaṭā manusa-chikisā chā pasu-chikisā cha (B) osadhīni manusopagani chā pasopagāni chā<sup>4</sup> a[ta]tā n[ath]i

6 [sa]vatā [h]alāpitā chā lo[p]āpitā chā (C) [e]vamevā mulāni chā phalāni chā a[ta]tā n[ath]i sabatā hālāpitā chā lopāpitā [ch]ā (D) ma[ge]su lu[khani] lopitāni ud[u]pānā[n]i chā khānāpitāni paṭibhogāye pasu-munisā[n]ni

## TRANSLATION

(A) Everywhere in the dominions of king **Dōvānāhpriya Priyadarśin** and (of those) who (are his) borderers, such as the **Chōḍas**, the **Pāṇḍyas**, the **Sātiyaputa**, the

<sup>1</sup> *osadhāni* Senart and Buhler.

<sup>2</sup> *cha* Senart and Buhler.

<sup>4</sup> There is a fissure in the rock here.

**Kōlalaputa**,<sup>1</sup> **Tāmraparṇī**, the **Yōna** king named **Antiyoga**, and the other kings who are the neighbours of this **Antiyoga**,—everywhere two (kinds of) medical men were established by king **Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin**, (viz.) medical treatment for men and medical treatment for cattle

(B) Wherever there were no herbs beneficial to men and beneficial to cattle, everywhere they were caused to be imported and to be planted.

(C) Likewise, wherever there were no roots and fruits, everywhere they were caused to be imported and to be planted.

(D) On the roads trees were planted, and wells were caused to be dug for the use of cattle and men.

## THIRD ROCK-EDICT KALSI

- 6 (A) देवानंप्रिये पियदसि लाजा हेवं आहा  
7 (B) दुवाडसवसाभिस्सितेन मे इयं आनपयिते (C) सवता विजितसि मम युता  
लजूके पादेसिके पंचसु पंचसु वसेसु अनुसंयानं निखमंतु एताये वा अटाय  
इमाय पंमनुसथिया यथा अंनाये पि कंमाये (D) साधु  
8 मातपितिसु सुसुसा मितसंयुतनात्तिक्क्यानं चा बंभनसमनानं चा साधु दाने  
पानानं अनालंभे साधु अपवियाता अपभंडता साधु (E) पलिसा पि च  
युतानि गननसि अनपयिसंति हेतुवता चा वियंजनते चा

- 6 (A) De[vā]nāmpriye Piyadasī lājā h[ē]vā āhā  
7 (B) du[vā]ḍasa-v[a]sābhisitona me iyam ānapayite (C) savatā vijitasi [mama]  
yutā lu[ḷ]ūh[ē]<sup>1</sup> pādesike pa[m]cha[su] pamchasa vasesu [a]nusa[m]yānam  
nikham[am]tū etāye va a[th]āye imāya<sup>2</sup> dhammanusathiya yathā am[nāy]e<sup>3</sup> pa  
kammāye (D) sadhu  
8 mātā-pitisu sususa mātā-samthutā-nātikya[m] chā kambhana-sama[nā]nam [ch]i  
sādhu d[ā]ne pānānam anālabh[e] sadhu [a]pa-s[ā]yāta<sup>4</sup> [a]pa [bha]m[da]t[ā]  
sādhu (E) palisā pi cha yutam [gā]nanasi anap[a]yisanti hetavata cha  
viyamjanat[e] chā<sup>5</sup>

## TRANSLATION

(A) King **Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin** speaks thus.

(B) (When I had been) anointed twelve years, the following was ordered by me.

(C) Everywhere in my dominions the *Yuktas*, the *Lajūkas*, (and) the *Pradesikas* shall set out on a complete tour (throughout their charges) every five years for this very purpose, (viz.) for the following instruction in morality as well as for other business.

<sup>1</sup> As the Kālsi dialect replaces *r* by *l*, this form is the correct equivalent of *Kōlalaputa*; *Mānschrā*.

<sup>2</sup> *lajaks* Senart, *lajuke* Buhler.

<sup>3</sup> *anustyānam* Senart, *anustyānam* Buhler.

<sup>4</sup> *athāye imāye* Buhler.

<sup>5</sup> The other versions read *\*yātā* or *\*yala*. There is a fissure in the rock here.

<sup>6</sup> *cha* Senart and Buhler.



## FIFTH ROCK-EDICT: KALSI

- 13 (A) देवानं पि ये पियदसि लाजा अहा (B) कयाने दुकाले। (C) ए आदिकाले कयानसा  
से दुकलं कलेति (D) से ममया बहु कयाने कटे (E) ता ममा पुता चा  
नताले चा
- 14 पलं चा तेहि ये अपतिये मे आवकपं तथा अनुवटिसंति से सुकटं कळंति  
(F) ए चु हेता देसं पि हापयिसति से दुकटं कळति (G) पाये हि नामा सुपदालये  
(H) से अतिकंतं अंतलं नो हुतपुलुव धंममहामता नामा (I) तेदस-  
वसाभिस्तिना ममया धंममहामता कटा (J) ते सबपासंसु वियापटा
- 15 धंमाधिषानाये चा धंमवदिया हिदसुखाये वा धंमयुतसा योनकंबोजगंधालानं ए  
वा पि अने अपलंता (K) भटमयेसु वंभनिभेसु अनपेसु दुपेसु हिदसुखाये  
धंमयुताये अपलिबोधाये वियापटा ते (L) वंधनवधसा पटिविधानाये  
अपलिबोधाये मोखाये चा एयं अनुवधा पजाव ति वा
- 16 कटाभिकाले ति वा महालके ति वा वियापटा ते (M) हिदा बाहिलेसु चा  
नगलेसु सवेसु ओलोधनेसु भानिनं च ने भगिनिना ए वा पि अने नातिषे  
सवता वियापटा (N) ए इयं धंमनिसिते ति वा दानसुबुते ति वा सवता  
विजितसि ममा धंमयुतसि वियापटा ते धंममहामता (O) एताये अठाये
- 17 इयं धंमलिपि लेखिता चलिषितिया होतु तथा च मे पजा अनुवतु
- 13 (A) Devānarpiye Piyadasi lājā ahā (B) kayāne dukale<sup>1</sup> (C) e adikale  
kay[ā]nasa se dukalam kaleti (D) se mamaya bahu kayāne kat[e] (E) t[ā]  
ma[m]ā<sup>2</sup> putā<sup>3</sup> ch[ā] nat[ā]le cha
- 14 palam [chā] tehi [ye] apatiye [m]e āva-kapaṃ tathā anuvatisa[m]u s[c] s[u]katam  
kachham[t]i (F) e chu het[ā] desam pi hāpa[y]h[sat]h<sup>4</sup> s[c] dukatam kachhati  
(G) p[ā]ye hi namā<sup>5</sup> supadālaye (H) se atikamtaṃ amtalam no huta-puluva<sup>6</sup>  
dham[m]a mahamatā<sup>7</sup> nāmā<sup>8</sup> (I) t[e]dasa-vasābh[i]sitonā mamayā dhamma-  
mahamatā[i] ka[t]ā (J) [te] sav[ā]pāsam[ā]su viyā[pa]tā
- 15 dham[m]ādhiṭṭhā[nā]ye chā dhamma-vadhiya hi[dā]-sukhāye va<sup>9</sup> dhamm[ā] yutas[ā]  
**Yona-Kamb[ō]ja-Gandhālānān** e vā [pi] amne apalamtā (K) bhatamayesu  
bambhanibhesu anathesu [v]idhesu hida-sukhāye dhamma-yutāye apalibodhāye  
viyapātā<sup>10</sup> te (L) bamdha[nā-badha]va patividhanay[ā] apalibodhāye mokh[ā]e  
chā eyam anubadh[ā]<sup>11</sup> paṇṭva ti v[ā]
- 16 [katābhika]le ti vā m[ā]h[ā]l[ā]ke ti v[ā] viy[ā]m[ā] te (M) hid[ā] hā[h]ilesu chā  
naga[i]esu s[ā]v[ā] olotha[n]esu bhā[tina]m cha ne bh[ā]g[i]n[ā] e vā [pi]  
am[n]ātikye savatā viyā[pa]tā (N) e iyam dhamma-nisite ti vā dāna-snyute<sup>11</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Senart and Buhler omit this sign, which marks the end of the section.<sup>2</sup> mama Buhler<sup>3</sup> samā Buhler.<sup>4</sup> nāma Senart and Buhler.<sup>5</sup> puluvā Senart and Buhler.<sup>6</sup> mahāmātā Senart and Buhler.<sup>7</sup> nāma Buhler<sup>8</sup> va Senart, chā Buhler.<sup>9</sup> viyāpātā Buhler.<sup>10</sup> anubandha Senart, anub[dham] Buhler.<sup>11</sup> -sayute Senart, -samyute Buhler.

ti [v]ā sav[a]tā v[ī]jitas[ī] mamā [dha]nma-yutasi viyāpaṭā te dhamma-  
m[a]hām[a]tā<sup>1</sup> (O) etāye athāye  
17 [i]yam dhamma-lipi lekhitā ch[ī]lā-thitukā hotu [tathā] cha me [pa]jā [a]nuva[ta]tu<sup>2</sup>

## TRANSLATION

- (A) King *Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin* speaks (thus)  
(B) It is difficult to perform virtuous deeds.  
(C) He who starts performing virtuous deeds accomplishes something difficult  
(D) Now, by me many virtuous deeds have been performed  
(E) Therefore (among) my sons and grandsons, and (among) my descendants (who shall come) after them until the æon (of destruction of the world), those who will conform to this (duty) will perform good deeds.  
(F) But he who will neglect even a portion of this (duty) will perform evil deeds.  
(G) For sin indeed steps fast<sup>3</sup>  
(H) Now, in times past (officers) called *Mahāmātras* of morality did not exist before  
(I) *Mahāmāt* as of morality were appointed by me (when I had been) **anointed thirteen years**.

(J) These are occupied with all sects in establishing morality, in promoting morality, and for the welfare and happiness<sup>4</sup> of those who are devoted to morality (even) among the *Yōnas*, *Kambōjas*, and *Gandhāras*,<sup>5</sup> and whatever other western borderers (of mine there are)

(K) They are occupied with servants and masters, with Brahmanas and Ibhyaḥ,<sup>6</sup> with the destitute, (and) with the aged, for the welfare and happiness of those who are devoted to morality,<sup>7</sup> (and) in releasing (them) from the fetters (of worldly life).<sup>8</sup>

(L) They are occupied in supporting prisoners (with money), in causing (their) fetters to be taken off, and in setting (them) free, if one has children, or is bewitched, or aged, respectively.<sup>9</sup>

(M) They are occupied everywhere, here<sup>10</sup> and in all the outlying towns, in the harms<sup>11</sup> of our brothers, of (our) sisters, and (of) whatever other relatives (of ours there are).

<sup>1</sup> *mātā* Smart and Buhler

<sup>2</sup> *anuvatanu* Smart and Buhler

<sup>3</sup> Buhler (ZDMG, 37, 267) explained *supadālaya* (for which Manichrā reads *supadāve*) by *supadāryam*. Günār and Shāhbārgarhī read instead of it *sulāyam*, 'easily committed'. Perhaps *padālaya* is formed from *padā*, 'a step', as *mahāluka* (I 16) = Prākṛit *mahālaya* from *mahat*.

<sup>4</sup> Here and in K the Dhauhi version reads *hita-* instead of *hida-*.

<sup>5</sup> Here the remaining versions insert the names of two other tribes.

<sup>6</sup> i.e. Vaiśyav, see Buhler, ZDMG, 37, 269. The readings of the Dhauhi and Manichrā versions, *ibhya* and *ibhya*, show that *ibha* at Kalsi and Shāhbārgarhī is meant for *ibbhā*. The same follows from the *Jātaka*, No. 544, where, as noted by Buhler (VO, I, 2 76), the compound *brāhman-ibbhā* occurs several times.

<sup>7</sup> The reading *dhamma-yutāye* seems to be a mere corruption of that of the Ginnār version, *dhamma-yutānam*.

<sup>8</sup> According to Chuliker's *Pāli Dictionary*, *palibodha* means 'obstacle, hindrance, drawback, impediment'. Luders (SPAW, 1914 841) has shown that its original meaning was 'fetters, to be fettered'. As its equivalent at Ginnār (*parigodha*), the word seems to be used here in a metaphorical sense, while it has its original meaning in the next section.

<sup>9</sup> Buhler (ZDMG, 37 269) took *eyam anubadhā* = Skt. *etam anubandham* in the sense of *śabd-artham*. But *eyam* may stand for *e ayam* (cf. *e ayam* in section N = 30 *ayam* at Ginnār), and *anubadhā* for the ablative *anubandhāt*, 'in succession, respectively'.

<sup>10</sup> Instead of 'here' the Ginnār version reads 'both in Pāṭaliputra'.

<sup>11</sup> The Dhauhi version inserts 'of myself'.

(N) These *Mahāmātrās* of morality are occupied everywhere in my dominions<sup>1</sup> with those who are devoted to morality, (in order to ascertain) whether one is eager for morality<sup>2</sup> or properly devoted to charity<sup>3</sup>

(O) For the following purpose has this rescript on morality been caused to be written, (viz. that) it may be of long duration, and (that) my descendants<sup>4</sup> may conform to it.

## SIXTH ROCK-EDICT · KALSĪ

- 17 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाजा हेवं आहा (B) अतिकंतं अंतलं नो हुतपुलुवे  
सवं कलं अठकमे वा पटिवेदना वा (C) से ममया हेवं कटे (D) सवं कालं  
अदमानसा मे
- 18 ओलोधनसि गभागालसि वचसि विनितसि उयानसि सवता पटिवेदका अठं  
जनसा . . . वेदेतु मे (E) सवता चा जनसा अठं कछामि हकं (F) यं पि  
चा किछि मुखते आनपयामि हकं दपकं वा सावकं वा ये वा पुना  
महामतेहि
- 19 अतियायिके आलोपिते होति तायेठाये विवादे निरुति वा संतं पलिसाये  
अनंतलियेना पटि . . . . . विये मे सवता मवं कालं (G) हेवं आनपयिते  
ममया (H) नधि हि मे दोसे उठानसा अठसंतिलनाये चा (I) कटवियमुते  
हि मे सबलोकहिते (J) तसा चा पुना एसे मुले उठाने
- 20 अठसंतिलना चा (K) नधि हि कंमतला सबलोकहितेना (L) यं च किछि  
पलकमामि हकं किति भुतानं अननियं येहं हिद च कानि सुखायामि पलत  
चा स्वगं आलापयितु (M) से एतायेठाये इयं धमलिपि लेखिता चिल-  
ठितिका होतु तथा च मे पुतदाले पलकमातु सबलोकहिताये
- 21 (N) दुकले चु इयं अनता अगेना पलकमेना

- 17 (A) Dev[ā]nāmpī[y]e Piyadas[i] lājā hevaṃ āhā (B) atikāntaṃ antalaṃ no  
huta-puluv[ā] sav[ā]m kalāṃ aṭha-k[ā]mme [v]ā [paṭi]v[eda]nā vā (C) s[e]  
ma[may]ā hevaṃ kaṭe (D) v[ā]vam kalam adamāna[s]ā<sup>5</sup> me
- 18 olodhanasī gabhāgalas[i] va[cha]ṣi vin[ita]s u[y]janasī sava[ṭ]ā paṭive[da]kā aṭha[m]  
janasā . . . v[ā]detu<sup>6</sup> [m]e (E) sa[vā]tā [ch]a<sup>7</sup> ja[nas]ā aṭham kachhāmi hakam  
(F) yam pi ch[ā] k[ā] [chhi m]u[kha]ṭe ānapayāmi [ha]kaṃ da[pakam] v[ā]  
sāvaka[m] vā ye vā punā mahāmat[ā]hi<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Dhauli version reads 'on the whole earth'

<sup>2</sup> Other versions insert 'or established in morality'.

<sup>3</sup> In the translation of this sentence I differ from Bühler and follow on the whole Senart. Instead of *dāna-suyute* the Mānschra version reads *dāna-saṃyute*, which might mean 'furnished with gifts'. The distribution of gifts was one of the duties of the *Dharma-Mahāmātrās*; see the Delhi-Toprā pillar-edict VII, CC and DD. <sup>4</sup> See Iuders in SPAW, 1914, 841 f.

<sup>5</sup> *kālam* Senart and Bühler.

<sup>6</sup> *adam[ā]nasā* Bühler.

<sup>7</sup> Restore *paṭivedantu*, which is Bühler's reading.

<sup>8</sup> Senart and Bühler omit *chā*.

<sup>9</sup> *mātehi* Bühler

- 19 a[tiyāyike ālopite<sup>1</sup> h]o[t]i tā[yeth]ā[ye] vivāde n[i]jhati v[ā] saṁtaṁ palis[ā]re  
anam[ta]l[i]yenā pa[t]i . . . . . viye<sup>2</sup> me sav[a]l[ā] savaṁ kālam (G) hevaṁ  
ānapayite m[a]mayā (H) nathi hi me dose<sup>3</sup> uthān[a]hā aṭha-samti[a]nāye chā  
(I) kaṭṭa[viya-mute hi me s[a]va-loka-hi[te] (J) t[asā] chā<sup>4</sup> [p]u[n]ā c[ē] mule  
uṭh[āne]
- 20 [a]ṭha-samtilanā chā (K) [na]thi hi kam[ma]talā sava-lo[ka]-hitenā (L) yam cha  
kichhi<sup>5</sup> palakamāmi hakam kiṭi bhutanam [a]naniyam ye[ham hi]kḍa cha [ka]nī  
sukhāyāmi palata chā svagam ālādhayitu<sup>6</sup> (M) s[e] etā[y]eṭhāye iyaṁ dhama lipi  
lekhitā chula-ṭhitukyā hotu tathā cha me puta-dāle palakamātu sava-loka-hitā[ye]
- 21 (N) dukale ch[u]<sup>7</sup> iyaṁ anat[ā]<sup>8</sup> agenā palakam[e]na

## TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(B) In times past neither the disposal of affairs nor the submission of reports at any time did exist before.

(C) But I have made the following (arrangement)

(D) Reporters have to report to me the affairs of the people at any time (and) anywhere, while I am eating, in the harem, in the inner apartment, at the cowpen, in the palanquin, (and) in the park.

(E) And everywhere I shall dispose of the affairs of the people

(F) And also, if in the council (of *Mahāmātras*) a dispute arises,<sup>9</sup> or an amendment is moved, in connexion with any donation or proclamation which I am ordering verbally, or (in connexion with) an emergent matter which has been delegated to the *Mahāmātras*, it must be reported to me immediately, anywhere, (and) at any time

(G) Thus I have ordered

(H) For I am never content in exerting myself and in dispatching business

(I) For I consider it my duty<sup>10</sup> (to promote) the welfare of all men

(J) But the root of that (is) this, (viz) exertion and the dispatch of business.

(K) For no duty is more important than (promoting) the welfare of all men<sup>11</sup>

(L) And whatever effort I am making, (is made) in order that I may discharge the debt (which I owe) to living beings, (that) I may make them<sup>12</sup> happy in this (world), and (that) they may attain heaven in the other (world).

<sup>1</sup> *pitam* Buhler

<sup>2</sup> *Root-ve pativedaṭṭayye*

<sup>3</sup> Jaugada reads *toṣa*, Buhler adds *va*

<sup>4</sup> Buhler omits *cha*

<sup>5</sup> *kukhi* Buhler.

<sup>6</sup> Read *ālādhayanitu*

<sup>7</sup> *cha* Senart and Buhler

<sup>8</sup> *aninata* Senart, *anata* Buhler

<sup>9</sup> The form *samti* corresponds to *saṁti* at Gūrār, and must be a nominative singular, just as in the Kālsī edict VIII, C, and as *kalamtam* in XII, II, see also *kahi[nta]*, XI, F, and *kalata*, XII, F and G, and cf. my note on the translation of the Dhauḥi separate edict I, X

<sup>10</sup> *muta* for *mata* occurs also in the Kālsī edict XIII, F. (*vedanāyā-mute gulu-mute chā*) The change of *a* to *u* is due to the preceding labial, as in *uchavacha* (Kālsī, VII, C, and IX, B) for *u. hāvacha* (Gūrār)

<sup>11</sup> For the use of the instrumental with the comparative see above, p. 17, n. 3

<sup>12</sup> As *kān* corresponds to *nān* at Gūrār, and to *sha* or *she* in the two Kharoṣṭhi versions, it seems to be used as a demonstrative. The same meaning fits in the pillar-edict IV, II and M, V, C, VI, C, and VII, H. The singular *kān* occurs in the Jaugada separate edict I C, and II, C.

(M) Now, for the following purpose has this rescript on morality been caused to be written, (viz. that) it may be of long duration, and (that) my sons and wives<sup>1</sup> may display the same zeal for the welfare of all men

(N) But it is difficult to accomplish this without great zeal.

#### SEVENTH ROCK-EDICT: KALSI

- 21 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाजा सवता इच्छति सवपासंड वसेवु (B) सवे हि ते सयमं भावमुधि चा इच्छति (C) जने च उचावुचाछेदे उचावुचलागे (D) ते सवं एक्केसें पि वच्छति (E) विपुले पि च दाने असा नधि
- 22 सयमे भावमुधि क्खिनाता दिढभतिता चा निचे वाढं
- 21 (A) *Devānaṃpiya Piyadasi lājā [savat]ā [i]chhati sava-[pāsa]ṃḥa vaśe[vu]* (B) *[va]ve hi te sayama[m] bhāva sudhi chā ichhaṃti* (C) *jane [ch]u uchāvucha-<sup>1</sup>chh[a]ṃde uchāvucha-lā[ḡ]e* (D) *te savam eka-deś[a]m pi k[a]ḥ hham[ti]* (E) *vipule pi chu dān[ā]c<sup>2</sup> asa nathi*
- 22 *sayame bhā[va]-sudh[i] kṛṇāṇ[ā] dīdha-bhatitā chā m[che] bālham*

#### TRANSLATION

- (A) King *Devānaṃpriya Priyadarśin* desires (that) all sects may reside everywhere.  
 (B) For all these desire self-control and purity of mind.  
 (C) But men possess various desires (and) various passions.  
 (D) They will fulfil (either) the whole (or) only a portion (of their duties).  
 (E) But even one who (practises) great liberality, (but) does not possess self control, purity of mind, gratitude, and firm devotion, is very mean.

#### EIGHTH ROCK-EDICT. KALSI

- 22 (A) अतिक्कंतं अंतलं देवानंपिया विहालयातं नाम निखमिसु (B) हिदा मिगविया अन्नानि चा हेडिसाना अभिलामानि हुसु (C) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाजा दसवसाभिसिते संतं निखमिया संबोधि
- 23 (D) तेनता धंमयाता (E) हेता इयं होति समनबंभनानं दसने चा दाने च बुधानं दसने च हिलनपटिविधाने चा जानपदसा जनसा दसने धंमनुससि चा धमपलिपुछा चा ततोपया (F) एसे भुये लाति होति देवानंपियसा पियदसिसा लाजिने भागे अंने
- 22 (A) *atikantam aṃ[ṇ]alam Devanampiya [vihāla-yātaṃ nāma] nikhamisu* (B) *hida migaviya amnāni cha hedisānā<sup>1</sup> abhilāmān[i] husu* (C) *Devānaṃpiya Piyadasi lājā das[a]-vasābhisite saṃtaṃ nikhamithā<sup>2</sup> Saṃbodhi*
- 23 (D) *tenata dhamma-yātā* (E) *[h]etā iyaṃ hoti samana-bambhanānam dasane chā*

<sup>1</sup> The other versions render it probable that *-dāle* is a clerical mistake for *natāle*, 'grandsons'.

<sup>2</sup> *dān[am]* Buhler.

<sup>3</sup> Read *natā*

<sup>4</sup> Read *sān*, which is the reading of Senart and Buhler.

<sup>5</sup> *mithā* Senart and Buhler

dāne cha vudh[ā]nam dasa[n]e ch[a] hilaṃna-pati[v]jdhāne chā [jā]napadasa  
[ja]n[a]sā dasa[n]e dhammanusathī chā dhama-palipuchhā chā<sup>1</sup> tatopa[ya]  
(F) [e]se bh[u]ye lāti<sup>2</sup> hoti Devānāmpriyasā Priyadas[i]sā lājine bh[ā]k[e] amne

## TRANSLATION

- (A) In times past the Devānāmpriyas<sup>3</sup> used to set out on so-called pleasure-tours  
(B) On these (tours) hunting and other such pleasures were (enjoyed)  
(C) When king Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin had been anointed ten years,<sup>4</sup>  
he went out to Saṃbōdhi.  
(D) Therefore tours of morality (were undertaken) here<sup>5</sup>  
(E) On these (tours) the following takes place, (viz.) visiting Śramanas and  
Brāhmanas and making gifts (to them), visiting the aged and supporting (them) with  
gold, visiting the people of the country, instructing (them) in morality, and questioning  
(them) about morality, as suitable for this (occasion).  
(F) This second period (of the reign) of king Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin  
becomes a pleasure in a higher degree.

## NINTII ROCK-EDICT KALSI

- 24 (A) देवानंप्रिये पियदसि लाजा आहा (B) जने उचावुचं मंगलं कलेति आवापसि  
आवाहसि विवाहसि पजोपदाने पवाससि एताये अनाये चा एदिसाये जने  
बहु मंगलं कलेति (C) हेतुं अक्कजिनियो बहु चा बहुविधं चा खुदा चा  
निलयिया चा मंगलं कलंति  
25 (D) से कटवि चेव खो मंगले (E) अपफले चु खो एसे (F) इयं चु खो महाफले  
ये धम्ममंगले (G) हेता इयं दासभटकसि सम्पापटिपति गुलुना अपचिति  
पानानं संयमे समनबंभनानं दाने एसे अने चा हेडिसे । धम्ममंगले नामा  
(H) से वत्तविये पित्तिना पि पुत्तेन पि भातिना पि सुवामिकेन पि मित-  
संयुतेना अक्क पटिवेसियेना पि  
26 इयं साधु इयं कटविये मंगले आव तसा अयसा निवुत्तिया इमं कळामि ति  
(I) ए हि इतले मंगले संसयिक्खे से (J) सिया व तं अठं निवटेया सिया पुना  
नो (K) हिदलोक्किं चेव से (L) इयं पुना धम्ममंगले अकालिक्खे (M) हंचे  
पि तं अठं नो निटेति हिद अठं पल्लत अन्नंतं पुना पवसति (N) हंचे पुन तं  
अठं निवतेति हिदा ततो उभयेसं  
27 लथे होति हिद चा से अठे पल्लत चा अन्नंतं पुना पवसति तेना धम्ममंगलेना

<sup>1</sup> cha Buhler.<sup>2</sup> Read lāti.<sup>3</sup> Instead of this title of Aśoka's predecessors the Gīrnār and Dhauḥi versions have the word 'king'.<sup>4</sup> For the form *saṃtām* see above, p. 35, n. 9.<sup>5</sup> viz. 'in my territory', cf. above, p. 2, n. 1. The Gīrnār version reads *temvā*, but Shuh-  
bāzgarhī and Mānsehrā read *tenada*, which seems to stand for *tenatā*. Therefore Buhler  
(ZDMG, 37. 426) was probably right in explaining *tenatā* at Kalsi and Dhauḥi by *tenatā*.

- 24 (A) Devānāmpriye Piy[a]da[s]i lā[ā] āhā (B) jan[e] uch[āv]ucham maṅgalam ka[l]eti āhādhasi av[āha]si vivāhasi pajopadāne<sup>1</sup> pavāsasi e[tā]ye amnāye chā edisāye jane bahu magala[m] k[a]leti (C) heta [ch]u abaka-janī[yo] bahu chā bahuvīdham chā khudā [ch]ā nilathiyā<sup>2</sup> chā magalam ka[l]a[m]ti
- 25 (D) se kaṭavi<sup>3</sup> cheva kho maṅgale (E) apa-phale [ch]u<sup>4</sup> kho [e]s[e] (F) [i]yam chu kho mah[ā]ph[a]le ye dhamma-maṅgale (G) he[tā] iyam dāsa-bhāṭakasi s[a]myā-patī[a]u<sup>5</sup> gulunā apachitu [p]ā[n]ān[am] samyame<sup>6</sup> s[a]man[a]-bambhanānam dāne ese amne chā hedise<sup>7</sup> dhamma-maṅgale namā (H) se vata[v]iye pitinā pi putena pi bh[ā]unā pi suvāmiken[a]<sup>8</sup> pi mita-samthuten[ā] ava<sup>9</sup> paṭivesiyenā [p]
- 26 iyam sādhu iyam kataviye [ma]g[a]le āva [ta]sā athasā niv[ut]tiyā imam kachhāmi tī<sup>10</sup> (I) e hi i[ta]le<sup>11</sup> magale sa[r]i[sayikye] se<sup>12</sup> (J) siyā va tam atham nivāṭey[ā] siyā punā no (K) hi[dā]lokike chev[a] se<sup>13</sup> (L) iyam punā dhamma-maṅgale akaliky[e] (M) hamche pi tam aṭham<sup>14</sup> no nīṭeti<sup>15</sup> hida aṭham<sup>16</sup> palata anamtam punā pavasati<sup>17</sup> (N) hamche puna<sup>18</sup> tam aṭham nivateti hida<sup>19</sup> tato ubhaye[sā]m
- 27 ladhe hoti hida chā se aṭhe palata<sup>20</sup> chā anamtam punā<sup>21</sup> pasavati tenā dhamma-maṅgalen[ā]

## TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks (thus).

(B) Men are practising various ceremonies during illness, at the marriage of a son or a daughter, at the birth of a child,<sup>22</sup> (and) when setting out on a journey; on these and other such (occasions) men are practising many ceremonies.

(C) But in such (cases) mothers and wives<sup>23</sup> are practising many and various vulgar and useless ceremonies.

(D) Now, ceremonies should certainly be practised.

(E) But these (ceremonies) bear little fruit indeed.

(F) But the following bears much fruit indeed, viz. the practice of morality.

(G) Herein the following (are comprised), (viz.) proper courtesy to slaves and servants, reverence to elders, gentleness to animals, (and) liberality to Śramanas and Brāhmanas, these and other such (virtues) are called the practice of morality.

(H) Therefore a father, or a son, or a brother, or a master, (or) a friend or an acquaintance, or even a (mere) neighbour ought to say — 'This is meritorious. This

<sup>1</sup> This word cannot be correct, because in the Kāśī dialect the locative of *upadāna* would end in -asi. Read therefore (with Dhauḥi and Jaugada) 'dāye, which is the actual reading of Senart and Buhler

<sup>2</sup> *nilathiyam* Senart, *nilathiyām* Buhler

<sup>3</sup> Read *kataviye* <sup>4</sup> *va* Buhler <sup>5</sup> *-patipātī* Buhler. <sup>6</sup> *sāyamane* Senart, *sayame* Buhler

<sup>7</sup> Instead of this mark of punctuation Senart and Buhler read *tam*

<sup>8</sup> *Acn[ā]* Buhler. <sup>9</sup> *āva* Buhler <sup>10</sup> *ka[tha]m* Buhler

<sup>11</sup> *ivale* Buhler <sup>12</sup> Buhler adds [*hota*]

<sup>13</sup> *atham* Buhler <sup>14</sup> Read, as at Mānsehrā, *nivāṭeti* <sup>15</sup> Read (with Shāhbāgarli) *atha*.

<sup>16</sup> Read *punnam pavasati* <sup>17</sup> *sukā* Senart, *punā* Buhler. <sup>18</sup> *hida* Senart and Buhler.

<sup>19</sup> *tā* Senart and Buhler. <sup>20</sup> Read *punnam*, which is Buhler's reading

<sup>21</sup> Buhler (ZDMG, 37. 431 f) derived the locative *upadāye* from a supposed Skt feminine \**utpād*.

Shāhbāgarli reads *upadane*, which either corresponds to Skt. *utpādani*, or is a mistake for the Mānsehrā reading, *upadāye*

<sup>22</sup> Buhler (ZDMG, 37. 433) proposed translating 'nurses and mothers' Cf. *ambika-mādukrīm* in the *Mṛchchhakatika*, act VIII, verse 19

practice should be observed until the (desired) object is attained, (thinking).<sup>1</sup> I shall observe this<sup>2</sup>.

(I) For other<sup>3</sup> ceremonies are of doubtful (effect).

(J) One may attain his object (by them), but he may not (do so)

(K) And they (bear fruit) in this world only.

(L) But that practice of morality is not restricted to time.

(M) Even if one does not attain (by it) his object in this (world), then endless merit is produced in the other (world).<sup>4</sup>

(N) But if one attains (by it) his object in this (world), the gain<sup>5</sup> of both (results) arises from it, (viz.) the (desired) object (is attained) in this (world), and endless merit is produced in the other (world) by that practice of morality

## TENTH ROCK-EDICT KALSĪ

27 (A) देवानंपिये पियदषा लजा यषो वा किति वा नो महथावा मनति अनता  
यं पि यसो वा किति वा इहति तदत्ताये अयत्तिये चा जने धंममुमुवा मुमुवातु  
मे ति धंमवतं वा अनुविधिंयंतु ति (B) धत्ताये देवानंपिये पियदसि

28 लाजा यषो वा किति वा इह (C) अं चा किछि लकमति देवनंपिये पियदधि  
लजा त षव पालंतिष्पाये वा किति सकले अपपलाषवे वियाति ति  
(D) एषे चु पलिसवे ए अपुने (E) दुकले चु खो एषे खुदकेन वा वगेना उवुटेन  
वा अनत अगेना पलकमेना षवं पलितिरिहु (F) हेत चु खो

29 उषटेन वा दुकले

27 (A) Devā[nam]piye Piy[a]dashā<sup>6</sup> lajā<sup>6</sup> y[a]-ho vā kiti vā no [ma]hathāva<sup>7</sup>  
manati an[ti]tā [ya]m pi yaso vā ki[ti] vā ih[ti] tadataye ayat[ti] cha jane  
dhamma-sususha susushatu me ti dhamma-vatam vā anuv[ic]chiyya[m]tu<sup>8</sup> ti  
(B) dhata[k]iye<sup>9</sup> Devāna[rā]piye Piyadasi

28 lājā yasho vā kiti vā ichha<sup>10</sup> (C) am ch[ā] kichhi lakamati<sup>11</sup> Devanāmpīyo<sup>12</sup>  
Piyadashi lajā ta [sha]va<sup>13</sup> pālamut[ti]ye<sup>14</sup> vā kiti sakale apa p[ā]lāshave<sup>15</sup>  
shiyāti ti (D) [c]-he chu palisave e apune<sup>16</sup> (E) dukale chu kho eshe  
khudakena vā vagenā<sup>17</sup> ushutena vā ana[ta] agen[ā] pa[lakamē]nā shava[m]  
palitiditu (F) [h]-e[ta] chu kho

29 [u]shate[na] vā dukale

<sup>1</sup> From this word to the end of the edict the Kālī version differs completely from the Gurnār one. Dhauḥi and Jaugada agree with Gurnār, but the two Kharoṣṭhi versions with Kālī.

<sup>2</sup> *etale* is the regular equivalent of *etave* at Mānsiā. Shāhāzādāhī reads however *etake*.

<sup>3</sup> The words *palata annamam puiṇam pasavati* occur again in N, and in the Kālī edict XI, 1. In these two cases *pasavati* is construed with an instrumental, and in the last case it corresponds to *bhavati* in the Gurnār version. Buhler (ZDMG, 37: 580) was therefore right in explaining it by *pasavati* = Sanskrit *prasaṁyati*.  
<sup>4</sup> Cf. above p. 19, n. 16.  
<sup>5</sup> Read *Piyadashi*.

<sup>6</sup> *lāja* Senart, *lājā* Buhler.

<sup>7</sup> *yata* Senart, *yatu* Buhler.

<sup>8</sup> Read *etake*, which is the reading of Senart and Buhler.

<sup>9</sup> Read *ichhats*.

<sup>10</sup> Read *palakamati*.

<sup>11</sup> *Devānam* Senart and Buhler.

<sup>12</sup> *savati* Senart, *shavam* Buhler.

<sup>13</sup> *palati* Senart, *pāliti* Buhler.

<sup>14</sup> Read *palishave*.

<sup>15</sup> The syllable *ne* was entered subsequently, *apumne* Senart and Buhler.

<sup>16</sup> *vagena* Senart and Buhler.



## TRANSLATION

(A) King *Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin* does not think that either glory or fame conveys much advantage, except whatever glory or fame he desires (on account of his aim) that in the present time, and in the future, men may (be induced) by him to practise obedience to morality, or that they may conform to the duties of morality.

(B) On this (account) king *Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin* is desiring glory and fame

(C) And whatever effort king *Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin* is making, all that (is) only for the sake of (merit) in the other (world), (and) in order that all (men) may run little danger<sup>1</sup>

(D) But the danger is this, viz. demerit.

(E) But it is indeed difficult either for a lowly person<sup>2</sup> or for a high one to accomplish this without great zeal (and without) laying aside every (other aim).

(F) But among these (two) it is indeed (more) difficult to accomplish just for a high (person).

## ELEVENTH ROCK-EDICT KALSI

- 29 (A) देवानंप्रिये प्रियदक्षि लाजा हेवं हा (B) नथि हेद्विषे दाने अदिष धंमदाने । धमवविभगे । धंमववधे । (C) तत एवे दावभटकषि । घम्मापटिपति माता-पितृषु । वुषुषा । मितवंधुतनातिकथानं समनावंभनाना दाने  
30 पानानं अनालंभे (D) एवे वतविये पितिना पि पुतेन पि भातिना पि ववामिक्खेन पि मितवंधुताना अवा पटिवेविषेना इयं वाधु इयं कटविये (E) शे तथा कलंत हिदलोकिये च कं आलये होति पलत चा अनत पुना पशवति तेना धंमदानेना

- 29 (A) *Dēvānāmpriya Priyadashi* [1]ājā hevaṃ hā<sup>3</sup> (B) *nathi h[er]dishe dane adisha*<sup>4</sup> dha[m]ma-dāne । dhamma-shav[i]bhage<sup>5</sup> । dhamma shambadh[er] । (C) ta[ta] eshe dāsha-bhaṭṭakashi । shamyā-paṭipati mātā-pitūshu । shushushā । mita-shamthutana-tikyanam samana-bha[m]mbhanāna<sup>6</sup> [dā]ne  
30 pananam anāl[am]bhe (D) eshe vatav[i]ye pi[t]inā pi putē[na]<sup>7</sup> pi bhā[t]inā pi sh[a]vām[i]kkyena<sup>8</sup> pi mita-shamthutanā<sup>9</sup> avā p[a]tīvī shiyenā<sup>10</sup> iy[a]ñ shādhu<sup>11</sup> iyaṃ kataviye (E) [c]e tathā kalā[mita] hidalokikyē cha kam āladhe hoti palata ch[a]<sup>12</sup> anata<sup>13</sup> punā<sup>14</sup> paśavati tenā dhamma-danēna

<sup>1</sup> The form *shiyati* occurs again in the Kalsi edict XII, B, where it is spelt *siyati*. Cf. also *siyati* in the Shāhbazgarhi edict XII, L, and in the Mānselua edict X, C.

<sup>2</sup> In Sanskrit the word *varga* means 'a class', but here and in the two Kharoṣṭhi versions it corresponds to *jana*, 'a person', at Gurnār. The same is the case in the first separate rock-edict, where Dhruv (K) reads *jane*, and Jaugada (L) [va]ge. See also *hedisanu va vagam*, 'a person of the same description', in section AA of the same edict at Dhauhi.

<sup>3</sup> Read *ahā*

<sup>4</sup> *yādissam* Senart, [ā]dissam Buhler

<sup>5</sup> *dhamma-shamvibhage* Buhler.

<sup>6</sup> *samana-* and *nānam* Buhler

<sup>7</sup> *puti* Senart and Buhler, the syllable *na* seems to be entered below the line.

<sup>8</sup> Read *shavāmī*.

<sup>9</sup> The *ta* of *mita-* stands below the line, read *tenā*.

<sup>10</sup> *pativē* Buhler.

<sup>11</sup> *śādhu* Buhler.

<sup>12</sup> *cha* Senart and Buhler

<sup>13</sup> *anantam* Senart, *ananta* Buhler.

<sup>14</sup> *punnā* Buhler, read *anantam punnam*.

## TRANSLATION

(A) King *Dēvaṇāṣṭripriya Priyadarśin* speaks thus.

(B) There is no such gift as the gift of morality, the distribution of morality, (and) kinship through morality.

(C) Herein the following (are comprised), (viz.) proper courtesy to slaves and servants, obedience to mother and father, liberality to friends, acquaintances, and relatives, to Śramanas and Brāhmanas, (and) abstention from killing animals.

(D) Concerning this a father, or a son, or a brother, or a master, (or) a friend or an acquaintance, (or) even a (mere) neighbour, ought to say — 'This is meritorious. This ought to be done'.

(E) If one is acting thus,<sup>1</sup> (happiness) in this world is attained,<sup>2</sup> and endless merit is produced<sup>3</sup> in the other (world) by that gift of morality.

## TWELFTH ROCK-EDICT KALSI

30 (A) देवानापिये पियदधि

31 लाजा षावापाशंडानि पवजितानि गह्वानि वा पुजेति दानेन विविधये च ।  
पुजाये (B) नो च तथा दाने वा पुजा वा देवानंपिये मनति अथा कित  
शालावदि शियाति शवपाशंडान (C) शालावदि ना बहुविधा (D) तश्च  
इनं मुले अ वचगुति किति ति अतपाशंड वा पुजा वा पलपाशंडगलहा व  
नो शया

32 अपकलनशि लहका वा शिया तगि तशि पकलनशि (E) पुजेतविय च  
पलपाशंडा तेन तेन अकलन (F) हेव कलत अतपाशंडा वदं वडियति  
पलपाशंड पि वा उपकलेति (G) तदा अनथ कलत अतपाशंड च छनति  
पलपाशंड पि वा अपकलेति (H) ये हि केह अतपाशंड पुनाति

33 पलपाशंड वा । गलहति । धवे अतपाशंडभतिया वा किति । अतपाशंड । दिपयेम  
धे च पुना तथा । कलंतं । वाढतले । उपहंति । अतपाशंडधि । (I) धमवाये बु  
षाधु किति । अंममनषा धंमं । धुनेयु चा । धुषुवेयु चा ति । (J) हेवं हि  
देवानंपियषा इहा किति

34 सवपाशंड । बहुपुता चा कयानागा च । हुवेयु ति । (K) ए च तत तत । पयंना ।  
तेहि वतविये । (L) देवानापिये नो तथा । दानं वा । पुजा वा । मनति ।  
अथा किति शालावदि शिया । शवपाशंडतिं । (M) बहुका चा । एतायादाये ।  
वियापटा । धंममहामाता । इधिधियस्समहामाता । वचभुमिक्खा । अने वा  
निकयाया

35 (N) इयं च एतिषा । फले । यं अतपाशंडवदि चा । होति धंमष चा दिपना ।

<sup>1</sup> For the form *kalamtan* see above, p. 35, n. 9

<sup>2</sup> For *cha kani* see above, p. 31, n. 6.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 39, n. 3

## 30 (A) [D]evānāpiye [P]iyadāsh[i]

31 lā[ā] shāvā-pāsham[ā]n[ā]i<sup>1</sup> pav[a]jita[n]i gahathāni vā pujeti dānena vividh[ā]y[ā]<sup>2</sup>  
cha i<sup>3</sup> pu[jā]ye (B) i[n] ch[u] tathā dāne vā puja vā Devāna[m]piye m[a]nati  
athā k[i]ta<sup>4</sup> ś[ā]lā-v[a]khi<sup>5</sup> śiyāti ś[a]va-pāśada<sup>6</sup> (C) śālā-vadhi<sup>7</sup> na<sup>8</sup>  
bahuvadhā<sup>9</sup> (D) tāsa chu inam<sup>10</sup> mule a va[cha]-guti kiti t[i]<sup>11</sup> ata-pāśada-<sup>12</sup>  
[v]a<sup>13</sup> puja vā pala-pāśamda-galahā va<sup>14</sup> no [śa]jyā<sup>15</sup>

32 ap[a]k[a]l[a]nāś[i] lahakā<sup>16</sup> vā śiyā [ta]ri<sup>17</sup> tāsi pakalan[a]ś[i] (E) pujetav[i]ya chu  
p[a]lā-pāśā[śa]lā tena tena akālana<sup>18</sup> (F) heva<sup>19</sup> kalata ata-pāśadā<sup>20</sup> bādham<sup>21</sup>  
vadhīyati pala-pāśada pi<sup>22</sup> vā upakaleti (G) tadā<sup>23</sup> anatha<sup>24</sup> kalata ata-pāśada  
cha chhanati pala-pāśada<sup>25</sup> pi vā apakaleti (H) ye [h]i kechha [a]ta-pāśada  
punāti<sup>26</sup>

33 pala-pāśada vā ga[lā]hati<sup>27</sup> shave ata-pāśam[ā]lā-bhatiyā vā kiti<sup>28</sup> ata-pāśamda<sup>29</sup>  
[d]ipayema she cha punā tathā<sup>30</sup> kalamtam<sup>31</sup> budhatale<sup>32</sup> up[a]hamti<sup>33</sup> ata-  
pāshamdashī<sup>34</sup> (I) shamavīye<sup>35</sup> vu<sup>36</sup> shādhu kiti<sup>37</sup> amnamanashā dhamman  
shune[cyu] chā<sup>38</sup> shushusheyu chā ti<sup>39</sup> (J) hevam hi Devānāpiyashā ichha  
kinti<sup>40</sup>

34 sava-pāshamda baha-shutā<sup>41</sup> chā kayānāgā<sup>42</sup> cha<sup>43</sup> hucvyu ti<sup>44</sup> (K) e [cha]<sup>45</sup> tata  
t[n]l[a]<sup>46</sup> p[a]śh[am]nā<sup>47</sup> t[eh]i va[ś]aviye<sup>48</sup> (L) Devānāpiye no tathā<sup>49</sup> dānam  
vā puja vā mamnat[i]<sup>50</sup> athā kiti sh[ā]a-v[a]khi<sup>51</sup> śiyā<sup>52</sup> śhava-pāshamdaum<sup>53</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Read *shava*; *shavā pāshamdaum* Buhler.

<sup>2</sup> *vividhaya* Senart, *vividhena* Buhler.

<sup>3</sup> Buhler omits this sign. <sup>4</sup> Read *kiti*.

<sup>5</sup> *śāla*- Senart and Buhler.

<sup>6</sup> The syllable *na* (*nanu* Buhler) was inserted subsequently.

<sup>7</sup> *śāla*- Buhler. <sup>8</sup> The other versions read *tu*.

<sup>9</sup> The syllable *va* was inserted subsequently.

<sup>10</sup> Read *iyam*, which is the reading of Senart and Buhler.

<sup>11</sup> *ta* Senart and Buhler.

<sup>12</sup> The syllable *ta* of *ata*- is entered above the line, *-pāśada* Senart, *-pāśade* Buhler.

<sup>13</sup> Cancel *va*.

<sup>14</sup> The words *pala-pāśamda-galahā va* are entered above the line, below them the words *ti* *apalalahā vā* are struck out.

<sup>15</sup> Read *tiyā*.

<sup>16</sup> Read *lahakā*.

<sup>17</sup> Read *tati*, which is the reading of Senart and Buhler.

<sup>18</sup> Read *ākālana*.

<sup>19</sup> *hevam* Senart and Buhler.

<sup>20</sup> *-pāśadā* Buhler.

<sup>21</sup> *bādham* Senart and Buhler.

<sup>22</sup> *pi* is entered above the line.

<sup>23</sup> The syllable *dā* is entered above the line.

<sup>24</sup> *anathā* Buhler, read *tad-anatha*.

<sup>25</sup> The syllable *pā* is entered above the line, *-pāśada* Buhler.

<sup>26</sup> *pujati* Senart, *punati* Buhler, read probably *pujti*.

<sup>27</sup> One feels tempted to read *-pāshamdaum*. But the point after *du* stands much lower than an *Anusvāra*, and a similar point occurs quite below the *da* in three other cases *ata-pāśada* in (G), *sava-pāshamda* in (J), and *śhava-pāshamdaum* in (L).

<sup>28</sup> *samā* Buhler.

<sup>29</sup> Read *chu*, *va* Senart and Buhler.

<sup>30</sup> *kiti* Buhler.

<sup>31</sup> Read *baku*-, which is the reading of Senart and Buhler.

<sup>32</sup> Read *nāgamā*.

<sup>33</sup> *va* Senart and Buhler.

<sup>34</sup> *tatā* Senart and Buhler.

<sup>35</sup> *pashanina* Buhler.

<sup>36</sup> *śhāla*- Buhler.

<sup>37</sup> Read *\*dānam* ti.

- (M) bahukā ch[ā] | etāyāthāye | viyāpaṣā | dha[m]ma-mahāmātā | ithidhiyakha mahāmātā | vacha-bh[u]mikyā | ane vā [n]iky[ā]y[ā]<sup>1</sup>  
 15 (N) iyam cha etishā | phale | yam āta-pāshamda-vaṭṭu chā | hoti dhammasha<sup>2</sup> chā dipanā |

## TRANSLATION

- (A) King **Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin** is honouring all sects ascetics or house holders, with gifts and with honours of various kinds.  
 (B) But **Dēvānāmpriya** does not value either gifts or honours so (highly) as (this), (viz.) that a promotion of the essentials of all sects should take place.<sup>3</sup>  
 (C) This<sup>4</sup> promotion of the essentials (is possible) in many ways  
 (D) But its root is this, viz. guarding (one's) speech, (i e) that neither praising one's own sect nor blaming other sects should take place on improper occasions, or (that) it should be moderate in every case.  
 (E) But other sects ought to be honoured in every way.  
 (F) If one is acting thus,<sup>5</sup> he is promoting his own sect considerably and is benefiting other sects as well  
 (G) If one is acting otherwise than thus, he is both hurting his own sect and wronging other sects as well.  
 (H) For whosoever praises his own sect or blames other sects,—all (this) out of pure devotion to his own sect, (i e) with the view of glorifying his own sect,—if he is acting thus, he rather injures his own sect very severely.  
 (I) But concord is meritorious, (i e) that they should both hear and obey each other's morals.  
 (J) For this is the desire of **Dēvānāmpriya**, (viz.) that all sects should be both full of learning and pure in doctrine  
 (K) And those who are attached to their respective (sects), ought to be spoken to (as follows)  
 (L) **Dēvānāmpriya** does not value either gifts or honours so (highly) as (this), (viz.) that a promotion of the essentials of all sects should take place  
 (M) And many (officers) are occupied for this purpose, (viz.) the *Alakamātras* of morality, the *Alakamātras* controlling women, the inspectors of cowpans, or other classes (of officials).  
 (N) And this is the fruit of it, (viz.) that both the promotion of one's own sect takes place, and the glorification of morality

## THIRTEENTH ROCK-EDICT KALSI

- 15 (A) अठवथा- । भिक्षित- । वा देवानंप्रियस्य प्रियदर्शिने । लाजिने । कलिग्या विजिता । (B) दियदमिते । पानसतथहसे । ये तप्पा अपवुडे । शतसहसमिते । तत हते । बहुतावतके । वा मटे (C) ततो पछा । अधुना लपष । कलिग्येषु । तिचे । धंसवाये

<sup>1</sup> *nikāye* Senart, *nikā[yā]* Buhler.<sup>2</sup> *dhamasha* Buhler<sup>3</sup> For *syāti* see above, p. 40, n. 1.<sup>4</sup> For the pronoun *nā* see above, p. 13, n. 5<sup>5</sup> For the form *kalanitām* see above, p. 35, n. 9

- 36 धंमकामता । धंमानुषधि चा । देवानंपियषा । (D) वे अविजितं हि । विजिनमने । ए तता । वष वा । मल्लने वा । अपवहे वा । जनषा । वे वाढ । वेदनियमुते । गुलुमुते चा । देवानंपियषा । (F) इयं पि च । ततो । गलुमततले । देवानंपियषा
- 37 (G) य तता वषति बाभना व वम वा अने वा पाशंड गिहिषा वा येसु विहिता एष अग्गभुतिषुषुषा मातापितिषुषुषा गलुषुषा मितथंपुतषहायनातिकेषु दाशभटकषि वम्यापटिपति दिढभतिता तेथं तता होति उपघाते वा वषे वा अभिलतानं वा विनिखमने
- 38 (H) येथं वा पि बुविहितानं धिनेहे अविपहिने ए तानं मितथंपुतषहायनातिकष वियषनं पापुनात तता वे पि तानमेवा उपघाते होति (I) पटिभागे चा एष ववमनुषानं गुलुमते चा देवानंपियषा (J) नधि चा वे जनपदे यता नधि इमे निक्काया आनता योनेषु
- 39 वंछने चा वमने चा नधि चा कुवापि जनपदषि यता नधि मनुषान । एततलधि पि । पावडषि । नो नाम पषादे । (K) वे अवातके अने । तदा कलिंगेषु । लधेषु हते चा मटे चा । अपवुडे चा । ततो धते भागे वा । वट्ठभागे वा । अज गुलुमते वा । देवानंपियषा

*B.—South Face of Kālsī Rock.*

- 1 .....  
 2 .....  
 3 ..... नेसु (O) इह .....  
 4 वषभु ..... वम वमचलियं मदव ति (P) इयं वु मु .....  
 5 देवानंपियेषा ये धंमविजये (Q) वे च पुना लधे देवानंपि ..... च  
 6 वषेषु च अतेषु अ वषु पि योजनवतेषु अत अतियोगे नाम योनला .. पलं  
 चा तेना  
 7 अंतियोगेना चतालि ४ लजाने तुलमये नाम अतेकिने नाम मका ना-  
 8 म अलिक्कपुदले नाम निचं चोडपंडिया अवं तंवपंजिया हेवमेवा (R) हेवमेवा  
 9 हिदा लाजविषयवि योनकंबोजेषु नाभक्कनाभपंतिषु भोजपितिमिक्केषु  
 10 अपपालदेसु ववता देवानंपियषा धंमानुषधि अनुवर्तति (S) यत पि दुता  
 11 देवानंपियसा नो वंति ते पि सुतु देवानंपिनंय धंमवुतं विषनं  
 12 धंमानुसधि धंमं अनुविधिचंअ अनुविधियिंसंअ चा (T) ये से लधे  
 13 एतकेना होति सवता विजये पितिल्लसे से (U) गषा सा होति पिति पिति  
 धंमविजय-

- 14 बि (v) लहुका वु खो सा पिति (w) पालंतिक्पमेवे महफला मंनंति देवेनंपिने  
 15 (x) एताये चा खताये इयं धंमलिपि लिखिता किति पुता यपोता मे खमु  
 16 नवं विजय म विजयतविज मनिबु वयक्वि नो विजयवि खंति चा ल । हु-  
 17 दंता चा लोचेतु तमेव चा विजयं मनतु ये धंमविजये (y) वे हिदलोक्किष  
 पललो-  
 18 किये (z) ववा च क निलति होतु उयामलति (AA) वा हि हिदलोक्किष  
 पललोक्किषा

- 35 (A) aṭha-[va]śhā-<sup>1</sup> | bhīṣhita-<sup>2</sup> | śhā [De]vānārṇpiyaśha Piyadashine | lājine |  
 Kaligya vijitā | (B) diyāṭha-mite<sup>3</sup> | pāna-shat[a]-shaha[ṣ]e | ye [ta]ṣhā apavudhe |  
 śa[ta]-[sha]ṣha-mite<sup>4</sup> | tata hate | bahu-tavatake<sup>5</sup> | vā mate (C) tai[o<sup>6</sup> | v]chhā |  
 adhuna ladheshā<sup>7</sup> | Kaligyesahu | tiva | dhamma[vāy]r  
 36 dhamma-k[ā]mratā | dhammānushathī chā | Devānārṇpiyaśhā | (D) sh[e] athi  
 anushaye | Devānārṇpiya[sh]ā | vijin[i]tu<sup>8</sup> | Kaligyāni | (E) avijitam hi |  
 vijinamane | e tatā | vadha<sup>9</sup> vā | malane vā | apavahe [vā] | jan[a]hā | [sh]r  
 hādha | vedaniya-mute | g[u]l[u]-mut[er] chā | Devānārṇpiyaśhā | (F) iyaṃ ju  
 chu | tato | galu-matatale | D[e]vānārṇpiyaśhā<sup>10</sup>  
 37 (G) [ya] tatā<sup>11</sup> vashati b[ā]bhanā<sup>12</sup> vā shama<sup>13</sup> vā ane vā pāsamula gih[i]ṭha vā  
 yeṣu vihitā [er]sh[a]a[ḡabhu]ṭ[i]-shushusha<sup>14</sup> m[ā]tā-piti shushushā<sup>15</sup> galu-shusha<sup>16</sup>  
 mita-shamthuta-shahaya-nātikesu dāka-bha[ta]kash[i]<sup>17</sup> sha[m]yā patipatu didha-  
 bhautā tesham tata hoti [upa]ghāte vā vadhe vā abhīlātānam vā vimukhamane  
 38 (H) yesham vā pi shuvihī[ṭ]janān<sup>18</sup> shinehe avipahine e tñam muta-ḡamh[ū]ṭa  
 sha[h]ya[nā]tikya<sup>19</sup> viyashanam<sup>20</sup> pāpunāta<sup>21</sup> tatā<sup>22</sup> she [p]i [t]a[n]amev[ā]<sup>23</sup>  
 upaghāt[er] hoti (I) paṭibhāge cha eṣh[a] sh[a]va-manu[ṣ]hana[m] gul[u]-m[a]ṭe  
 chā Devānārṇpiyaśhā (J) n[a]ṭhi chā she jan[a]pade yatā nathī ime nikaya  
 ānatā<sup>24</sup> Y[o]nesh[u]<sup>25</sup>  
 39 hañhmane ch[ā] shamane chā nathī chā kuvāpi jan[a]padashi [ya]tā n[ā]ṭhi  
 m[a]nushān[a]<sup>26</sup> | ekatalash[i] p[ā] | pāshadashi | no n[ā]ṭma pāshāde | (K) she  
 ava[ta]ke<sup>27</sup> jane | [t]āḡa Kalī[ṭ]geshu |<sup>28</sup> [ladh]shu ha[te] ch[ā]<sup>29</sup> mat[er] chā |  
 [apavudhe chā i] tato<sup>30</sup> shat[er] bhāge vā | shah[a]sha-bhāge vā | aḡa gulu-mate  
 vā | Devānārṇpiyaśhā

<sup>1</sup> bhīṣita- Buhler      <sup>2</sup> -m[ā]te Buhler.      <sup>3</sup> -māte Buhler.      <sup>4</sup> -tāvavatake Buhler

<sup>5</sup> tatā Senart and Buhler.

<sup>6</sup> Read ladhshu, which is Buhler's reading

<sup>7</sup> This word may be read also vijinī, as both an i and a u are affixed to the last consonant

<sup>8</sup> vadham Buhler.      <sup>9</sup> Buhler adds i.

<sup>10</sup> Read ye tatā in accordance with the Shāhbūzgarī version, which reads ye tatā, savatā  
 Senart and Buhler, who adds i.

<sup>11</sup> bāñbhanā Senart and Buhler.

<sup>12</sup> Read shamānā.

<sup>13</sup> aḡ[er]h[ū]ṭa Buhler.

<sup>14</sup> matā- Buhler

<sup>15</sup> -shusha Buhler, read -shushushā

<sup>16</sup> -bha[ta]kashī Buhler.

<sup>17</sup> [sha]mukhānām Buhler.

<sup>18</sup> The syllable nā seems to be entered above the line

<sup>19</sup> viyashane Buhler.

<sup>20</sup> Read pāpunatī, which is Buhler's reading

<sup>21</sup> tata Buhler.

<sup>22</sup> meva Buhler.

<sup>23</sup> ānaitā Senart and Buhler

<sup>24</sup> yenchā Buhler.

<sup>25</sup> shānām Buhler.

<sup>26</sup> āvatake Buhler

<sup>27</sup> Buhler omits i

<sup>28</sup> cha Buhler.

<sup>29</sup> tatā Senart and Buhler.

*B—South Face of Kālsī Rock.*

- 1 . . . . .  
 2 .  
 3 . . . . . [ney]u (O) ichha<sup>1</sup> . . . . .  
 4 sha[va-bhu]<sup>4</sup> . . . . . [shayama shamacha]ḷiya[m] madava ti (P) iyaṁ vu<sup>5</sup>  
 mu . . . . .  
 5 Devānaṁpiyaśā<sup>6</sup> ye dha[m]ma-vijaye (Q) sh[e] cha punā ladhe Devāna[rh  
 p]i . . . . . cha<sup>7</sup>  
 6 shaveshu cha ateshu a shashu pi [yo]jana-shateshu<sup>8</sup> a[ṭ]a Atiyoge nām[a] Yo[na-  
 lā] . . . . . [pa]lam chā tenā  
 7 A[rh]tiyogēnā chātālī 4 lajāno Tulamaye [nā]m[a] Amteki[ne nā]ma Makā nā-  
 8 ma Alikyaśhudale nāma nichaṁ Choḍa-Paṁḍiyā avam Taṁbaparnniyā  
 hevaṁ v[ā]<sup>9</sup> (R) h vamevā  
 9 [hi]klā la[ṭ]a viśavasi<sup>10</sup> Yona-Kambojeshu Nābhak[a]-Nābhapaṁtishu<sup>11</sup> Bhoja-  
 Pitinikyē[sh]u  
 10 [Adha]-P[ā]lade[sh]u [sha]vatā [D]evā[na]rhp[ī]ya[śhā] dhammanu[sha]thi  
 anuvataṁti (S) y[ā]ta pi dutā  
 11 Devāna[rh]piyaśā no yamti t[ē] pi sutu Dev[āna]rhp[ī]naṁya<sup>12</sup> dh[ā]mma-vut[ā]n  
 v[ī]klh[a]nā[m]  
 12 dhammanusa[ṭh]i dha[rh]ma[rh] anuvidhiyama<sup>13</sup> [a]nuvidhiyama<sup>14</sup> [ch]a (T) ye  
 se [la]lhe  
 13 etakenā hotu savatā vi[ṭ]ja[ye]<sup>15</sup> piti-lase se (U) gadhā sā hoti piti piti dhamm[ā]-  
 vijaya-  
 14 shi (V) lahukā v[ā]<sup>16</sup> kho sā piti (W) pālamtikyameve maha-phala mamnam[ti]  
 Dev[ā]nārhp[ī]ne<sup>17</sup>  
 15 (X) etāye chā athāye iyaṁ dha[m]ma-lipi likhita kiti putā papotā<sup>18</sup> me a[su]  
 16 nava[m] vijay[ā]ṇa vijayataviya<sup>19</sup> manishu shayakashī no<sup>20</sup> vi[ṭ]ja[yas]hi khamti<sup>21</sup>  
 cha la l hu-<sup>22</sup>  
 17 damdatā [chā] lochetu tameva chā vijayam manatu ye dhamma-vijaye (Y) she  
 hidalokikya palalo-  
 18 kiye<sup>23</sup> (Z) shavā cha ka<sup>24</sup> nilatī hot[ū] uyāma-latu (AA) sha hi hi[ṭ]a[ṭ]lokika  
 pa[ṭ]a[ṭ]lokika

<sup>1</sup> Restore *ichhati*<sup>4</sup> Restore *-bhutānam*<sup>7</sup> Read *chu*<sup>4</sup> Read *\*piyasha*<sup>6</sup> Restore *\*piyasa kida cha*<sup>8</sup> There is a fissure in the rock between *yajana* and *shateshu*.<sup>7</sup> Restore *-lājā*<sup>9</sup> *hevaṁva* Buhler.<sup>10</sup> [Hi]da-lājā l'isa-l'aji. Buhler.<sup>11</sup> *Nābhaku*-Senart, *Nābhake* Buhler<sup>12</sup> *\*piya* Senart, *\*piyāya* Buhler, read *\*piyasa*<sup>13</sup> Read *\*yamti*, which is Buhler's reading.<sup>14</sup> Read *sahiti*, which is Buhler's reading.<sup>15</sup> This word is entered above the line.<sup>16</sup> Read *chu*<sup>17</sup> Read *pālamtikyameva mahā-phalam mamnat Devānāpiya*.<sup>18</sup> *pāpotā* Senart and Buhler.<sup>19</sup> *vijayantaviya* Buhler<sup>20</sup> Read perhaps *yo* (= Prākṛit *yeva*), as at Shāhbāgarhi.<sup>21</sup> There is a fissure in the rock here.<sup>22</sup> Cancel the sign of punctuation and join *lahu-*<sup>23</sup> *ki . ye* Buhler<sup>24</sup> Buhler omits *ka*, read *kam* and see above, p. 31, n. 6.

## TRANSLATION

(A) When king **Dēvānāśhpriya** Priyadarśin had been anointed eight years, (the country of) the **Kalīṅgyas** was conquered by (him).

(B) One hundred and fifty thousand in number were the men who were deported thence, one hundred thousand in number were those who were slain there, and many times as many those who died.

(C) After that, now that (the country of) the **Kalīṅgyas** has been taken, **Dēvānāśhpriya** (is devoted) to a zealous study of morality, to the love of morality, and to the instruction (of people) in morality.

(D) This is the repentance of **Dēvānāśhpriya** on account of his conquest of (the country of) the **Kalīṅgyas**.

(E) For, this is considered<sup>1</sup> very painful and deplorable by **Dēvānāśhpriya**, that while one is conquering<sup>2</sup> an unconquered (country), slaughter, death, and deportation of people (are taking place) there.

(F) But the following is considered even more deplorable than this by **Dēvānāśhpriya**.

(G) (To) the Brāhmanas or Śramanas, or other sects or householders, who are living there, (and) among whom the following are practised—obedience to those who receive high pay,<sup>3</sup> obedience to mother and father, obedience to elders, proper courtesy to friends, acquaintances, companions, and relatives, to slaves and servants, (and) firm devotion, —to these then happen injury or slaughter or deportation of (their) beloved ones.

(H) Or if there are then incurring misfortune<sup>4</sup> the friends, acquaintances, companions, and relatives of those whose affection (for the latter) is undiminished although they are (themselves) well provided for,<sup>5</sup> this (misfortune) as well becomes an injury to those (persons) themselves.<sup>6</sup>

(I) This is shared by all men<sup>7</sup> and<sup>8</sup> is considered deplorable by **Dēvānāśhpriya**.

(J) There is no country where these (two) classes, (viz.) the Brāhmanas and the Śramanas, do not exist, except among the **Yōnas**; and there is no (place) in any country where men are not indeed attached to some sect.<sup>9</sup>

(K) Therefore even the hundredth part or the thousandth part of all those people

<sup>1</sup> For *mula* = *māta* see above, p. 35, n. 10.

<sup>2</sup> *vyajnamani* is a nominative singular absolute, see my note on the translation of the Dhauḥi separate edict I, S.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the rock-edict XII, A, and the Delhi-Tōpra pillar-edict VII, V.

<sup>4</sup> Buhler (ZDMG, 37, 592 f.) took *agrabhūti* = *agrayanman*, 'a member of a higher caste' or 'a Brāhmana'; but the various reading in the two Kharoṣṭhi versions, *agrabhūti*, suggests that the second member of the compound is Skt *bhṛti*.

<sup>5</sup> *pāpānāḥ* is used in the same way in the Dhauḥi separate edict I, J, and the Jaugada separate edict I, K.

<sup>6</sup> For this meaning of *sacchita* see Childers, *Pali Dictionary*, s.v. *sacchati*.

<sup>7</sup> The correct construction of this section is due to Lüders, who showed that *etanam* must be divided into *e tānam*, see SPAW, 1914, 850.

<sup>8</sup> I.e. 'a share of this falls upon all men', see Thomas in V. A. Smith's *Asoka*, see ed. p. 173, n. 1.

<sup>9</sup> The *chā* after *gulu-mate* corresponds to the preceding *chā* after *patibhāgi*. In the same way the double *nāthi chā* in the next section co-ordinates the two sentences.

<sup>10</sup> See above, p. 25, n. 2.



who were slain, who died, and who were deported at that time when (the country of) the **Kalīṅgas** was taken, (would) now be considered very deplorable by **Dēvānāmpriya**.

(O) . . . desires towards all beings . . . . . self-control, impartiality, (and) kindness.

(P) But this . . . by **Dēvānāmpriya**, viz. the conquest by morality.

(Q) And this (conquest) has been won repeatedly by **Dēvānāmpriya** both [here]<sup>1</sup> and among all (his) borderers, even as far as at (the distance of) six hundred *yōjanas*, where the **Yōna** king named **Antiyoga**<sup>2</sup> (is ruling), and beyond this **Antiyoga**, (where) four—4—kings (are ruling), (viz. the king) named **Tulamaya**,<sup>3</sup> (the king) named **Antekina**,<sup>4</sup> (the king) named **Makā**,<sup>5</sup> (and the king) named **Alīkyaśudala**,<sup>6</sup> (and) likewise<sup>7</sup> towards the south,<sup>8</sup> (where) the **Chōḍas** and **Pāṇḍyas** (are ruling), as far as **Tāmraparṇī**.

(R) Likewise here in the king's territory, among the **Yōnas** and **Kambōjas**,<sup>9</sup> among the **Nābhakas** and **Nābhapaṅktis**,<sup>10</sup> among the **Bhōjas**<sup>11</sup> and **Pitṇikyas**,<sup>12</sup> among the **Andhras**<sup>13</sup> and **Pāladas**,<sup>14</sup>—everywhere (people) are conforming to **Dēvānāmpriya**'s instruction in morality.

(S) Even those to whom the envoys of **Dēvānāmpriya** do not go, having heard of the duties of morality,<sup>15</sup> the ordinances, (and) the instruction in morality of **Dēvānāmpriya**, are conforming to morality and will conform to (it)

(T) This conquest, which has been won by this everywhere, causes the feeling of satisfaction

(U) Firm<sup>16</sup> becomes this satisfaction, (viz.) the satisfaction at the conquest by morality.

<sup>1</sup> viz. 'in my territory', see section R below, and cf. above, p. 2, n. 2

<sup>2</sup> The Shāhbāgarṇi version reads *Antiyoka*. For Antiochus II of Syria see above, p. 3, n. 11.

<sup>3</sup> The Gīrnār version reads *Tulamāya*, and the Shāhbāgarṇi one *Tulamaya*

<sup>4</sup> The Shāhbāgarṇi version reads *Antikini* <sup>5</sup> The Gīrnār version reads *Magā*.

<sup>6</sup> The two Kharoṣṭhi versions read *Alīkaśudara*. The four kings are Ptolemy II Philadelphos of Egypt (fl. c. 285-247), Antigonos Gonatas of Macedonia (276-239), Magas of Cyrene (c. 300-250), and either Alexander of Epirus (272-c. 255) or, more probably, Alexander of Coanthe (252-c. 244), see Lassen's *Ind. Alt.*, vol. II, p. 255, and Beloch's *Griechische Geschichte*, p. 2, 105.

<sup>7</sup> The two Kharoṣṭhi versions omit this word

<sup>8</sup> This is Schart's rendering of *utthanā* (i.e. *utthanā*). Bühler (ZDMG, 40, 137) added that the *Kṛguda* uses its synonym *nyak* in the same sense. <sup>9</sup> See above, p. 10, n. 1

<sup>10</sup> As remarked by Bühler (ZDMG, 40, 138), Prākṛit *paṅkti*=Skt. *paṅkti*

<sup>11</sup> Bühler (ZDMG, 40, 138) connected the Bhōjas with the city of Bhōjakata in East Berar, which is mentioned in a Vakāṭaka grant (*Gupta Insers.*, p. 241) and in the Iḥaraut inscriptions (IA, 21-240). But as, in the rock edict V, J, the Pitṇikas appear among Aśoka's western borderers, the Bhōjas, who are coupled with them here, will have to be looked for in the west as well.

<sup>12</sup> The Pitṇikyas are identical with the Pēṭṇikas in the Gīrnār edict V, see above, p. 10, n. 2. The Shāhbāgarṇi and Manēchā versions read *Pitṇika*.

<sup>13</sup> Andhra is the old name of the Telugu country and people

<sup>14</sup> The Gīrnār version seems to read *Pārinda*, and the Shāhbāgarṇi one *Palida*. Bühler (ZDMG, 40, 138) identified this word with *Pulinda* and noted that the Andhras and Pulindas are mentioned together already in the *Itarisa Brāhmaṇa*, VII, 18. But the variants at Gīrnār and Kāśī render this identification very improbable. *Pārinda* reminds us of the Sanskrit *pārinda*, a lion.<sup>15</sup> Cf. *dhaṇima-vatāni cha anuvadhiyatām* in the Gīrnār edict X, A

<sup>16</sup> As suggested by Bühler (ZDMG, 40, 138), *gadḥā* (instead of which two other versions read *ladhā* or *ladhu*) may represent \**gaddhā*, from Pāli *gadhātī*, 'to stand fast.'

(V) But this satisfaction is indeed of little (consequence).

(W) *Dēvānāmpriya* thinks that only the fruits in the other (world) are of great (value).<sup>1</sup>

(X) And for the following purpose has this rescript on morality been written, (viz) in order that the sons (and) great-grandsons (who) may be (born) to me, should not think that a fresh conquest ought to be made, (that), if a conquest does please them,<sup>2</sup> they should take pleasure<sup>3</sup> in mercy and light punishments, and (that) they should regard the conquest by morality as the only (true) conquest

(Y) This (conquest bears fruit) in this world (and) in the other world.

(Z) And let all (their) pleasure be the pleasure in exertion.<sup>4</sup>

(AA) For this (bears fruit) in this world (and) in the other world.

## FOURTEENTH ROCK-EDICT · KALSI

19 (A) इयं धम्मलिपि देवानंपियेना पियदस्सिना लज्जिना लिखापिता अथि  
येवा सुखि-

20 तेना अथि मग्गिमेना अथि विषटेना (B) नो हि सवता सवे घटिने (C) महालके  
हि वि-

21 जिते बहु च लिखिते लेखापेशामि चेव निक्खं (D) अथि चा हेता पुन पुना  
लपि-

22 ते तथ तथा अथवा मधुलियाये येन जने तथा पटिपजेया (E) वे चाया अत  
क्खि अ-

23 समति लिखिते दिषा वा षंखेये कालनं वा अलोचयितु लिपिकलपलाधेन वा

19 (A) iyam dhama-lipi Dev[āna]mp[riya]e[n]ā [P]iyyadasinā<sup>5</sup> lajjinā likhāpita athi  
yevā sukhi-

20 tenā<sup>6</sup> [a]thi majhimenā athi vithatenā (B) no hi savatā save [gha]ṭṭe<sup>7</sup> (C) mahalake  
hi vi-

21 jite bahu cha likhite lekhaṭṭhāmi cheva nikkam (D) athi chāhetā puna punā<sup>8</sup> la[p]-

22 [t]e tasha tasha athashā madhuliyāye yena jāne tathā patipajeyā (E) she chāya<sup>9</sup>  
ata k[ī]rchhu a-

23 samati likhite dīshā vā ṣaṃkheyye<sup>10</sup> kālanam va alochayitu li[p]ikalapalādhena va

<sup>1</sup> *mahā-phala* is perhaps a Karmadhāraya, while it may be a Bahuvrīhi in the rock-edict IX, F. Cf. the first separate rock-edict, where *mahā-apāya* (Dhauhi, R) or *mahāpār* [e] (Jaugada, S) must be a Karmadhāraya, as it forms the predicate of the feminine *asaṃpatipatti*, the preceding word *mahā-phala* may be a Bahuvrīhi at Dhauhi, but a Karmadhāraya at Jaugada.

<sup>2</sup> *shayaka* may be an adjective formed of *svayam*, and having the same meaning is *paṭṭaka* (= Skt. *svaka*) at Shāhbaugarhi, and as *sarasaka* at Gīrār, for which see above, p. 25, n. 5.

<sup>3</sup> For *lochetu* see above, p. 8, n. 3.

<sup>4</sup> *vyāma* is synonymous with *nīdhāna* and *parākrāma* in the rock-edict, VI and X.

<sup>5</sup> *dashinā* Buhler.

<sup>6</sup> Gīrār reads *saṃkhetena*.

<sup>7</sup> The syllable *te* was entered subsequently.

<sup>8</sup> *punam puna* Buhler.

<sup>9</sup> Read *shiyā*, which is Buhler's reading. The syllable *sha* is entered above the line.

<sup>10</sup> Read probably *śaṅkhāya* in accordance with the Gīrār version (*saṅkhāya*) and the Shāh-bāzgarhi one (*saṅkheya* [a]).

## TRANSLATION

(A) These rescripts on morality have been caused to be written by **king Dōvānāth-priya Priyadarśin** either in an abridged (form), or of middle (size), or at full length.

(B) For the whole was not suitable everywhere

(C) For (my) dominions are wide, and much has been written, and I shall constantly<sup>1</sup> cause still (more) to be written.

(D) And (some) of this has been stated again and again because of the charm of certain topics, (and) in order that men should act accordingly.

(E) But some of this may have been written incompletely, either on account of the locality,<sup>2</sup> or because (my) motive was not liked, or by the fault of the writer.

### BELOW THE FIGURE OF AN ELEPHANT ON THE NORTH FACE OF THE KALSİ ROCK

गजतमे

gajataṃe

## TRANSLATION

The best elephant.<sup>3</sup>

### III. THE SHAHBAZGARHI ROCK

#### FIRST ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

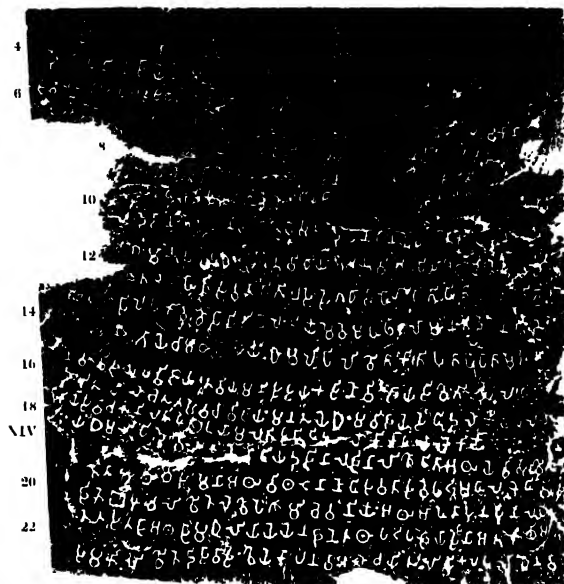
*A.—East Face of Shahbāzgarhī Rock.*

- 1 (A) अयं भ्रमदिपि देवनप्रिअस रजो लिखपितु (B) हिद नो किचि जिवे अरभितु प्रयुहोतवे (C) नो पि च समज कटव (D) बहुक हि दोष समयसि देवणप्रिये प्रिअद्रशि रय दक्षति
- 2 (E) अस्मि पि च एकातिअ समये ससुमते देवनपिअस प्रिअद्रशिस रजो (F) पुर महनससि देवनप्रिअस प्रिअद्रशिस रजो अनुदिवसो बहुनि प्रणयतसहसनि अरभियिसु सुपठये (G) सो इदनि यद अय
- 3 भ्रमदिपि लिखित तद चयो वो प्रय हंजंति मज्जुर दुवि २ सुगो १ सो पि सुगो नो ध्रुवं (H) एत पि प्रय चयो पच न अरभिशंति

<sup>1</sup> Senart and Bühler consider *nikyaṃ* a dialectical variant of *niṣyam*.

<sup>2</sup> *diś* is used in the sense of *dśā*, unless *duhā* is simply a clerical mistake for the Gīrnār reading *deśam*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the similar labels at Gīrnār (below edict XIII) and at Dhauḷi (at the end of edict VI), and see above, p. 27, n. 2.



KALSI ROCK; NORTH FACE





- 1 (A) [aya]<sup>1</sup> dhrama-dipi **Devanapriasa** raño lkhapitu<sup>2</sup> (B) hida no kich[i] jive ara[bhita p]rayuhotave (C) no pi ch[a] sama[ja] kaṭava (D) ba[hū]ka [hi] dosha sa[maya]pi **Devanapriy[e]**<sup>3</sup> **Priadraśi** ray[a da]khati  
 2 (E) [a]sti pi chu ekatia<sup>4</sup> samaye sasū-mate<sup>5</sup> **Devanapriasa**<sup>6</sup> **Priadraśi** raño (F) pura mahana[sas]i [Devana]pr[i]asa<sup>7</sup> **Priadraśi** raño anudivaso bahuni pra[na]-śata-sahasani<sup>8</sup> [arabhi]yis[u] supathay[c] (G) s[o] i[da]ni yada aya  
 3 dhrama-dipi likhita tada trayo vo prana haṁṣam[i] majura duv[i] 2 mrugo 1 so pi mrugo no dhruva[rh] (H) eta pi prana trayo pacha na arabhūsamti

## TRANSLATION

(A) This rescript on morality has been caused to be written by king **Dēvānāṣṭriya**.

(B) Here no living being must be killed and sacrificed.

(C) And also no festival meetings must be held

(D) For king **Dēvānāṣṭriya Priyadarśin** sees much evil in festival meetings.

(E) But there are also some festival meetings which are considered meritorious by king **Dēvānāṣṭriya Priyadarśin**.

(F) Formerly in the kitchen of king **Dēvānāṣṭriya Priyadarśin** many hundred thousands of animals were killed daily for the sake of curry.

(G) But now, when this rescript on morality is written, then only three animals are being killed (daily), (viz) two—2—peacocks (and) 1 deer, (but) even this deer not regularly.

(H) Even these three animals shall not be killed in future.

## SECOND ROCK-EDICT SHAHBAZGARHI

- 1 (A) सव्वच विजिते देवनंप्रियस प्रियद्रक्षिस् ये च अंत यच्च चोड  
 4 पंडिय सतियपुत्रो केरदपुत्रो तंबपणि अंतियोको नम योनरज ये च अजे तस  
 अंतियोक्स समंत रजनो सव्वच देवनंप्रियस प्रियद्रक्षिस् रजो दुवि २  
 चिकिसि क्खिट मनुषचिकिसि ' ' पशुचिकिसि च  
 5 (B) ओषदनि मनुषोपकनि च पशोपकनि च यच्च यच्च नस्ति सव्वच हरपित च  
 वुत्त च (C) कुप च खनपित प्रतिभोगये पशुमनुशनं  
 3 (A) sav[r]atra vijite [De]va[naṁ]priyasa Priyadraśi y[e] cha [a]nta yatha [Choda]  
 4 **Paṇḍiya Satiyaputro Keraḍaputro**<sup>9</sup> **Tambapaṇi**<sup>10</sup> **Aṁtiyo[k]o** nama **Yona-**  
**raja** ye cha aṁte tassa **Aṁtiyokassa** samanta rajano saviatra **Devanā-**  
**priyasa Priyadraśi** raño du[vi] 2 chik[i]sa [kr][ta]<sup>11</sup> manuśa-chikisa .  
 pa[śu-ch]ikisa [cha]  
 5 (B) [o]ṣa[dha]ni<sup>12</sup> manuśopakani cha paśopakani cha yat[r]a yatra nasti savatra  
 harapita<sup>13</sup> cha vutta cha (C) kupa cha khanapita pratibh[o]gaye paśu-manuśanam

<sup>1</sup> [a]ya[m] Buhler.

<sup>2</sup> Read probably *lkhapita*, as at Manshrā

<sup>3</sup> *dekhani sama* . . . sa *Devanapriy[o]* Buhler

<sup>4</sup> *cha ekatte* Buhler.

<sup>5</sup> Read *sadhu* . . . *sresta-mati* Buhler

<sup>6</sup> *priasa* Buhler

<sup>7</sup> *Devanapri* Buhler.

<sup>8</sup> *[-sa]has[r]ani* Buhler

<sup>9</sup> *Satiyaputra Keralaputra* Buhler

<sup>10</sup> *paṇni* Buhler.

<sup>11</sup> *ki[ra]* Buhler.

<sup>12</sup> *oṣudh*ani Buhler.

<sup>13</sup> *har[o]pita* Buhler.

## TRANSLATION

(A) Everywhere in the dominions of *Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin*, and (of those) who (are his) borderers, such as the *Chōḍas*, the *Pāṇḍyas*, the *Satiyaputra*, the *Kōra* aputra, *Tāmraparai*, the *Yōna* king named *Antiyoka*, and the other kings who are the neighbours of this *Antiyoka*,—everywhere two—2—(kinds of) medical treatment were established by king *Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin*, (viz.) medical treatment for men and medical treatment for cattle.

(B) Wherever there were no herbs beneficial to men and beneficial to cattle, everywhere they were caused to be imported and planted.

(C) And wells were caused to be dug for the use of cattle and men.

## THIRD ROCK-EDICT · SHAHBAZGARHI

5 (A) देवनंप्रियो प्रियद्रक्षि राज अहति (B) बदयवषभिस्तिने . . . . . अक्षपितं

(C) सबष मक्ष

6 विजिते युत रज्जुको प्रदेशिक पंचषु पंचषु ५ वषेषु अनुसंयनं निक्रमतु एतिस वो करण इमिस धंमनुशस्तिये च अजये पि क्रमये (D) सधु मतपितुषु सुश्रुष मिषसंस्तुतजतिकनं ब्रमणाअमणनं . . . . . प्रणनं अनरंभो सधु

7 अपवयत अपभंडत सधु (E) परि पि युतनि गणनसि अक्षपेयंति हेतुतो च वंजनतो च

5 (A) *Devanāmpriyo Priyadrakṣi raja ahati* (B) *badaya-vashabh[i]si[tena]*<sup>1</sup> . .

[a]nap[i]tani<sup>2</sup> (C) *savatra ma[a]*<sup>3</sup>

6 *vijite yuta rajuko pradesi[ka] pancha[shu] pamchashu 5 vasheshu anusamyanaṁ nik[r]amatu etisa vo karana imisa dhrammanuśastiyē [tha]<sup>4</sup> aññaye pi kramimaye<sup>5</sup> (D) sadhu mata-pitushu suśrussa mitra-baṁh[sa]ta-ñāṭikanam bramana-[ra]mana[nam] . . . . . [pra]ṇaṇam [anayam]bho sadhu<sup>7</sup>*

7 *apa-vayata apa-bhaṇdata sadhu (E) pari<sup>8</sup> [pi] yutani [ga]ṇanasi<sup>9</sup> anapeśamti hetuto cha vamañanato<sup>10</sup> cha*

## TRANSLATION

(A) King *Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin* speaks<sup>11</sup> (thus).

(B) (When I had been) anointed twelve years, [the following] was ordered [by me].

(C) Everywhere in my dominions the *Nuktas*, the *Rajuka*, (and) the *Pradesika* shall set out on a complete tour (throughout their charges) every five—5—years

<sup>1</sup> With Buhler and Johansson (§ 52) I believe that the writer wanted to write *badaya-*. On the Wardak vase the symbols for *y* and *ś* are often confused, see Pargiter's remarks in EI, II, 203 f., and ZDMG, 73, 227.

<sup>2</sup> Buhler omitted this word.

<sup>3</sup> Buhler omitted *maa*.

<sup>4</sup> *prad-śik[e]* Buhler.

<sup>5</sup> Read *yatha*, *dhramanuśasti yatha* Buhler.

<sup>6</sup> *kramaye* Buhler.

<sup>7</sup> Buhler omitted the end of this hrc.

<sup>8</sup> Read *parisha*.

<sup>9</sup> There is a vacant space between *ga* and *ga*.

<sup>10</sup> *vamañanato* Buhler.

<sup>11</sup> Buhler wrote *aha ti* in two words. But the barbarous form *ahati* or *hahati* is guaranteed by the edicts V, &c., where it is preceded by *evam*, and where consequently *ti* cannot have the meaning 'thus'.

for this very purpose, (viz.) for the following instruction in morality as well as for other business.

(D) 'Meritorious is obedience to mother and father [Liberality] to friends, acquaintances, and relatives, to Brāhmanas and Śramanas [is meritorious] Abstention from killing animals is meritorious. Moderation in expenditure (and) moderation in possessions are meritorious.'

(E) The councils (of *Mahāmātrat*) also shall order the *Yuktas* to register (these rules) both with (the addition of) reasons and according to the letter.

## FOURTH ROCK-EDICT SHAHBAZGARHI

- 7 (A) अतिक्रान्तां अन्तरं बहूनि वषट्पतनि वदितो वो प्रणरम्भो विहिस च भुतनं  
जतिन असंपटिपति अमणममणं असंपटिपति (B) सो अज देवनंप्रियस  
प्रियद्रगिस रजो
- 8 भ्रमचरणेन भेरिघोष अहो भ्रमघोष विमननं द्रशनं अस्तिन जतिकंधनि अजनि  
च दिवनि रुपनि द्रशयितु जनस (C) यदिशं बहुहि वषट्पतेहि न भुतमुवे  
तदिशे अज वदिते देवनंप्रियस प्रियद्रगिस रजो भ्रमनुशस्त्रिय अनरम्भो  
प्रणं अविहिस भुतनं जतिनं संपटिपति भ्रमण-
- 9 अमणन संपटिपति मतपितुषु वुढनं सुश्रुष (D) एत अजं च बहुविधं भ्रमचरणं  
वदितं (E) वदितं च यो देवनंप्रियस प्रियद्रगिस रजो भ्रमचरणं इमं  
(F) पुच पि च कं नतरो च प्रनतिक च देवनंप्रियस प्रियद्रगिस रजो  
प्रवढेशंति यो भ्रमचरणं इमं अवरूप भ्रमे शिले च
- 10 तितिति भ्रमं अनुशशिशंति (G) एत हि खेटं क्रमं यं भ्रमनुशशनं (H) भ्रमचरणं  
पि च न भोति अशिलस (I) सो इमिस अणस वदि अहिनि च सधु  
(J) एतये अठये इमं निपिस्सं इमिस अठस वदि युजंतु हनि च म लोचेषु  
(K) वदयवषभिसितेन देवनंप्रियेन प्रियद्रगिन रज ज्ञनं हिद निपेसितं

- 7 (A) atikratam antaram bahuni vasha-ṣatani vadhito vo pranarambho vihisa cha  
bhuta[nam] ātina<sup>1</sup> asampatipati śramana bramanana[m] a[sam]patipati  
(B) [so aja Devana]m̐priyasa Priyadrāsisa [raño]
- 8 dhrama-charanena bheri-ghosha aho dhrama-ghosha vimanana[m] draśanam  
[a]ṭina<sup>2</sup> joti-kandhani āṇani cha divani rupani draśayitu janasa (C) yadikam  
bahuhu vasha-ṣatehi na bhuta-pruve tadiṣe aja vadhite Devanam̐priyasa  
Priyadrāsisa raño dhrammanuśa[sti]ya anarambho prana[nam] avihisa  
bhutanam ātina[m] sampatipati<sup>3</sup> [bra.]mana-
- 9 śramanana<sup>4</sup> sampatipati mata-pitushu vuilhana[m] suśrusa (D) e[ta] āṇam cha  
bahuvividham dhrama-charanam vadhitam (E) vadhikatu cha yo Devanam̐priyasa  
Priyadrāsisa raño dhrama-charanam<sup>5</sup> ima[m] (F) putia pi cha kam<sup>6</sup> nataro

<sup>1</sup> ātinaṁ Buhler.<sup>2</sup> [araviprati] Buhler.<sup>3</sup> [ha]stava Buhler.<sup>4</sup> sa[niprati] Buhler.<sup>5</sup> śramananaṁ Buhler.<sup>6</sup> -chavano Buhler.<sup>7</sup> ku Buhler.



- cha pranatika cha **Devānāmpriya[sa] Priyadarśina** rañño pra[va]dh[ē]śamti<sup>1</sup>  
 [yo]<sup>2</sup> dhrama-charanam ima[m] ava]-kapa<sup>3</sup> dhrame śile cha  
 10 tiṭṭhi<sup>4</sup> dhramam anuśaśisamti (G) eta h[ī] s[re]ṭham k[r]ama[m] yam  
 dhraman[u]śaśana[m] (H) dhrama-charaṇa[m] pi cha na bhoṭi aśilasa (I) so  
 imisa athrasa vadhi ahini cha sadhu (J) etaye aṭhaye ima[m] nipistam<sup>5</sup> imisa  
 aṭhasa vadhi yujamtu hini cha ma lo[ch]e[sh]u (K) **badaya-vashabhisatena**<sup>6</sup>  
**Devānāmpriyena Priyadarśina** rañña ñanam hi[da] nipeṣitam<sup>7</sup>

## TRANSLATION

(A) In times past, for many hundreds of years, there had ever been promoted the killing of animals and the hurting of living beings, discourtesy to relatives, (and) discourtesy to Śramanas and Brāhmaṇas.

(B) But now, in consequence of the practice of morality on the part of king **Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin**, the sound of drums has become the sound of morality, showing the people representations of aerial chariots, elephants, masses of light, and other divine figures.

(C) Such as they had not existed before for many hundreds of years, thus there are now promoted, through the instruction in morality on the part of king **Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin**, abstention from killing animals, abstention from hurting living beings, courtesy to relatives, courtesy to Brahmanas and Śramanas, obedience to mother and father, (and) to the aged.

(D) In this and many other ways is the practice of morality promoted.

(E) And this practice of morality will be ever promoted by king **Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin**.

(F) And also the sons,<sup>8</sup> grandsons, and great-grandsons of king **Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin** will ever promote this practice of morality until the æon (of destruction of the world), (and) will instruct (people) in morality, abiding by morality and by good conduct.

(G) For this is the best work, viz. instruction in morality.

(H) And the practice of morality also is not (possible) for (a person) devoid of good conduct.

(I) Therefore promotion and not neglect of this object is meritorious.

(J) For the following purpose has this been written,<sup>9</sup> (viz. in order that) they should devote themselves to the promotion of this practice, and that they should not approve<sup>10</sup> the neglect (of it).

(K) (This) conception (*jāna*) was caused to be written here by king **Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin** (when he had been) anointed twelve years.

<sup>1</sup> *va[ñño vadhe]śamti* Buhler.

<sup>2</sup> Buhler omitted *yo*.

<sup>3</sup> *[-kapam]* Buhler.

<sup>4</sup> *tiṭṭhi* Buhler.

<sup>5</sup> *nipista* Buhler.

<sup>6</sup> Read *badaya*, and cf. above, p. 52, n. 1.

<sup>7</sup> *rañña [id]am . nam dipa[m] tam* Buhler. The *da* of *kida* looks like *dam*, as it does frequently at Mānsērā.

<sup>8</sup> For *cha kani* see above, p. 31 n. 6. Mānsērā has once *cha kam* (XI, 14) and twice *cha ka* (IV, 16, XIII, 13).

<sup>9</sup> The participles *nipistam* and *nipeṣitam* in J and K, which correspond to *likhite* and *lekhitā* at Kāśī, must be derived from *ni-piśh*, 'to write', which is used in the inscriptions of the Achæmenidan kings of Persia, and which is preserved in the modern Persian verb نوشت. Cf. the Russian *писать* 'to write'.

<sup>10</sup> See above, p. 8, n. 3.

## FIFTH ROCK-EDICT. SHAHBAZGARHI

- 11 (A) देवनप्रियो प्रियद्राशि रय एवं हहति (B) कलखं दुकरं (C) यो अदिकरो कलखस सो दुकरं करोति (D) सो मय बहु कलं किद्रं (E) तं मय पुष च नतरो च परं च तेन ये मे अपच वक्षन्ति अवकपं तप ये अनुवटिशंति ते सुकिटं कषन्ति (F) यो चु अतो . . कं पि हपेशदि सो दुकरं कषति (G) पपं हि सुकरं (H) स अतिक्रतं अतर नो भुतमुव भ्रममहमच नम (I) सो तोदशवषभिसितेन
- 12 मय भ्रममहमच किट (J) ते सवप्रषडेषु वपट भ्रमपिधनये च भ्रमवडिय हिटसुखये च भ्रमयुतस योनकंबोयगंधरनं रठिकनं पितिनिकनं ये व पि अपरंत (K) भटमयेषु भ्रमणिभेषु अनयेषु बुडेषु हितसुखये भ्रमयुतस अपलिगोध वपट ते
- 13 (L) वपनवपस पटिविधनये अपलिबोधये मोक्षये अयि अनुव . . प्रजव किटभिकरो व महलके व वियपट ते (M) इक्ष वहिरेषु च नगरेषु समेषु ओरोधनेषु भुतन च मे स्पसन च ये व पि अजे जतिक सवष वियपट (N) ये अयं भ्रमनिशिते ति व भ्रमपिधने ति व दनसयुते ति व सवत विजिते मय भ्रमयुतसि वियपट ते भ्रममहमच (O) एतये अठये अयि भ्रमदिपि निपिस्त चिरचितिक भोतु तप च मे प्रज अनुवतु
- 11 (A) Devanapriyo Priyadraśi raya eva[m] hahati<sup>1</sup> (B) ka[la]na[m] dukara[m] (C) [yo] a[dikaro kala]nasa so du[k]i[ra]m karoti (D) so maya bahu kalam<sup>2</sup> ki[ti]ram (E) tam maa<sup>3</sup> putra cha naturo cha para[m] cha [u na y]e<sup>4</sup> me apacha vrakshamti<sup>5</sup> ava-kapam tatha<sup>6</sup> ye an[u]vatiśamti<sup>7</sup> te s[u]ki[ti]am<sup>8</sup> kashamti (F) yo chu ato . kam<sup>9</sup> pi hapeśadi<sup>10</sup> so dukatam kashati (G) papam h[i] sukaram (H) sa atikratam atara no<sup>11</sup> bhuta-pruva dhramma-ma[ha]ma[tra]<sup>12</sup> nama (I) so todaśa-vaśabhisitena<sup>13</sup>
- 12 maya dhrama-mahamatra kita<sup>14</sup> (J) te savra prashamdeśh[u] vapata dhrammadhithanaye<sup>15</sup> cha dhrama-vadhuya<sup>16</sup> hula-sukhaye cha dhramayutasa Yona-Kamboya-Gandharanam<sup>17</sup> Raṭhukanam<sup>18</sup> Pitinikanam<sup>19</sup> ye

<sup>1</sup> aka ts Buhler<sup>2</sup> Read kalamam<sup>3</sup> ma[ha] Buhler<sup>4</sup> [u na] Buhler<sup>5</sup> [a]khamti Buhler In JA (10), 17. 422 ff. Boyer has shown that the Kharosthi uses a special form of *chh* in all these cases where it corresponds to Sanskrit *chh*. In order to distinguish this sign from the real *chh*, I transcribe it by *chh*, but do not want to imply thereby that it was actually pronounced like that.<sup>6</sup> tatham Buhler, but what he took for an Anusvara is probably the horizontal bottom line which is frequent at Manshrā.<sup>7</sup> vatishamti Buhler<sup>8</sup> sukiti[ra]m Buhler<sup>9</sup> Restore perhaps *ekam*; the other versions read *desam* or *deva*.<sup>10</sup> [hapesadi] Buhler<sup>11</sup> so atik[ra]m[tam] aintaram na Buhler<sup>12</sup> dhrama- Buhler.<sup>13</sup> [todaśa]- Buhler<sup>14</sup> kiś[ra] Buhler.<sup>15</sup> dhrama<sup>16</sup> Buhler.<sup>16</sup> -vadhya[e] Buhler.<sup>17</sup> The rock has a hole here.<sup>18</sup> Raṭhukanam Buhler The *th* is expressed by the first of the two different forms noted by Boyer in JA (10), 17. 429, note.

- va pi aparaṃta (K) bhāṣamayeshu bramaṇibheshu anatheshu vudheshu [hita]-  
sukhaye [dham]ma-yutasa<sup>1</sup> apaliṅ[ō]dha<sup>2</sup> vap[ā]ja te  
13 (L) badhana-badhassa<sup>3</sup> paṭivīdhanay[e] apalibodhaye mo[kshaye] ayi anuba . .<sup>4</sup>  
prajava kṛpabhikaro va mahalake<sup>5</sup> va viyapaṭa<sup>6</sup> [t]e<sup>7</sup> (M) ia bahiresu cha  
naṅgareshu savreshu orodhaneshu bhratuna<sup>8</sup> cha me spasana<sup>9</sup> cha ye va pi  
amñe ṇatuka savatra viyaputa (N) y[e] ayam<sup>10</sup> dh[r]ama-nisīte<sup>11</sup> ti va  
dhrama[dhitha]ne ti va dana-s[a]yute ti va savata<sup>12</sup> vijite maa<sup>13</sup> dhrama-  
yu[tā]si<sup>14</sup> viyapaṭa te dhrama-mahamatra (O) etaye athaye [a]yī<sup>15</sup> dhrama-dipi  
nipista<sup>16</sup> ch[i]ra-thitika bho[u] ta[tha]<sup>17</sup> cha [m]e<sup>18</sup> p[r]aja anuvatatū

## TRANSLATION

- (A) King Dōvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.  
(B) It is difficult to perform virtuous deeds.  
(C) He who starts performing virtuous deeds accomplishes something difficult.  
(D) Now, by me many virtuous deeds have been performed.  
(E) Therefore (among) my sons and grandsons, and (among) my descendants who shall come<sup>19</sup> after them until the *agon* (of destruction of the world), those who will conform to this (duty) will perform good deeds.  
(F) But he who will neglect even one (portion) of this (duty) will perform evil deeds.  
(G) For sin is easily committed  
(H) Now, in times past (officers) called *Mahāmātras* of morality did not exist before.  
(I) But *Mahāmātras* of morality were appointed by me (when I had been) anointed thirteen years.

(J) These are occupied with all sects in establishing morality, in promoting morality, and for the welfare and happiness<sup>20</sup> of those who are devoted to morality (even) among the Yōnas, Kambōyas, and Gandhāras, among the Rathikas, among the Pitinikas,<sup>21</sup> and whatever (other) western borderers (of mine there are).

<sup>1</sup> [dha]ma- Buhler.

<sup>2</sup> badhana- Buhler.

<sup>3</sup> mahalaka Buhler.

<sup>4</sup> bhratunāsi Buhler.

<sup>5</sup> yam i]yam Buhler

<sup>6</sup> ma[h]a Buhler

<sup>7</sup> ay[am] Buhler

<sup>8</sup> This and the last four words of the edict were entered above the line.

<sup>9</sup> Buhler omitted me

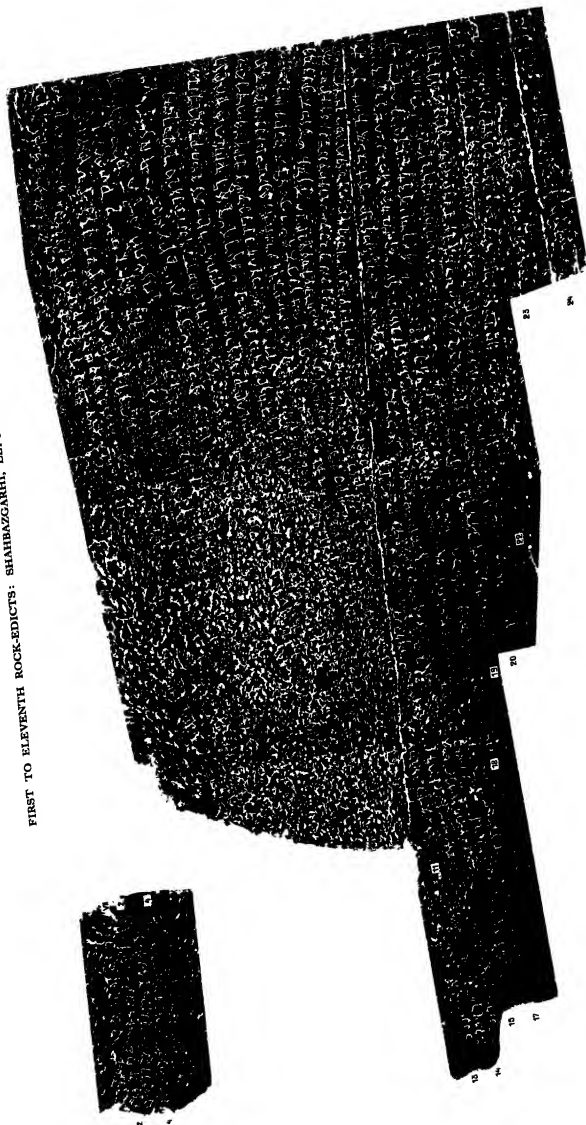
<sup>10</sup> vṛkṣatī is the future of *vṛkṣati* which occurs twice at Shāhbāzgarhi (VI, L, and XIII, S).

For Pitinikā *ma[h]as* = Skt. *vijayati* see Ilāmachandra, IV, 225.

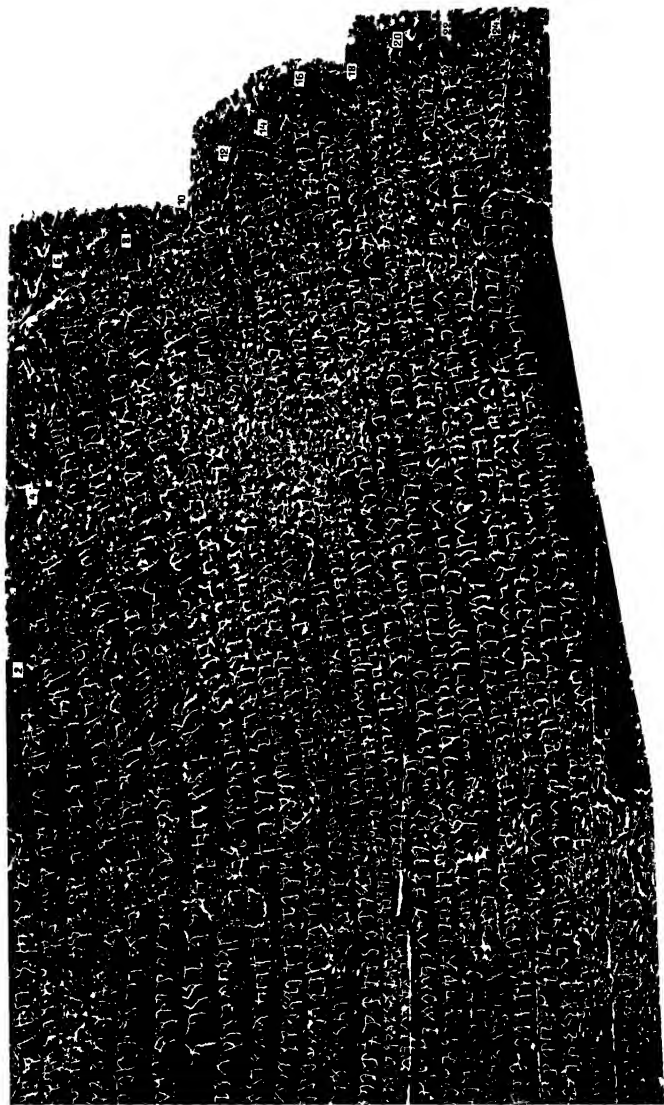
<sup>21</sup> For Rathika and Pitinika Gīrnā reads *Rastika* and *Petētika*. As *Rathika* at Dhauī agrees with *Rastika* at Shāhbāzgarhi and Mānsehrā, *Rastika* at Gūnār may be a clerical mistake for *Rastika*, just as *parikamate* for *parākamate* in X, l 3, *Devanam* for *Divānam* in XI, l 1, and *dutā* for *dūtā* in XII, l 9. Conversely, *astā* is written for *astī* in IX, l 7, *pitāṇā* for *pitāṇā* in XI, l 2, and *vivādāya* for *vivādāya* in XII, l 1. The Sanskrit original of *Rastika* would be *Rāshtrika*. The identifications of this name with *Surāshtra* (Senart, *Inscriptions de Priyadasi*, vol. I, p. 126) or *Luta* (Lassen, *Ind. Alt.*, vol. I (sec. ed.), p. 137, n. 4) are improbable because these two provinces were included in Asoka's empire; cf. Buhler, ZDMG, 37, 261. Sir R. Bhandarkar (*Early History of the Deccan*, sec. ed., p. 11 ff.) connects *Rāshtrika* with *Mahārāshtra*, the Pāli form of which, *Mahāraṭṭha*, occurs in the *Dīpavaṇsa* and *Mahāvamsa*. Could the *Rāshtrikas* be identical with the *Arastās* of the Panjāb (Lassen, *Ind. Alt.*, vol. III, p. 76) and with the *Ἀραστῆες* who are mentioned in the *Periplus* (§ 47) together with the *Ἀπαχάριοι* and *Γαρδάριοι*?



FIRST TO ELEVENTH ROCK-EDICTS: SHAHBAZGARHI, LEFT HALF



Scale Centimeters





(K) They are occupied with servants and masters, with Brāhmanas and Ibhyas, with the destitute, (and) with the aged, for the welfare and happiness of those who are devoted to morality, (and) in freeing (them) from desire (for worldly life).<sup>1</sup>

(L) They are occupied in supporting prisoners (with money), in causing (their) fetters to be taken off, (and) in setting (them) free, (if) one has children, or is bewitched, or aged, respectively.

(M) They are occupied everywhere, here and in all the outlying towns, in the harems of my brothers, of (my) sisters, and (of) whatever other relatives (of mine there are).

(N) These *Mahamātras* of morality are occupied everywhere in my dominions with those who are devoted to morality, (in order to ascertain) whether one is eager for morality, or established in morality, or furnished with gifts.<sup>2</sup>

(O) For the following purpose has this rescript on morality been written, (viz. that) it may be of long duration, and (that) my descendants may conform to it.

## SIXTH ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

14 (A) देवनंप्रियो प्रियद्राशि रय एव अहति (B) अतिप्रतं अंतर न भुतप्रुवं सवं कलं अठकमं व पटिवेदन व (C) तं मय एवं किटं (D) सवं कलं अशमनस मे ओरोधनस्मि यभगरस्मि प्रचस्मि विनिक्तस्मि उयनस्मि सवच पटिवेदक अठं जनस पटिवेदेतु मे (E) सवच च जनस अठु करोमि (F) यं पि च किचि मुखतो अणपयमि अहं दपक व अवक व ये व पन महमचन अचयिक अरोपितं भोति तये अठये विवदे निरुति व सतं परिषये अनंतरियेन पटिवेदेतवो मे

15 (E) सवच च अठं जनस करोमि अहं (F) यं च किचि मुखतो अणपेमि अहं दपकं व अवक व ये व पन महमचनं अचयिकं अरोपितं भोति तये अठये विवदे संतं निजति व परिषये अनंतरियेन पटिवेदेतवो मे सवच सवं कलं (G) एव अणपितं मय (H) नस्ति हि मे तोषो उठनसि अठसंतिरणये च (I) कटवमतं हि मे सबलोकहितं (J) तस च मुलं एच उचनं अठसंतिरण च (K) नस्ति हि क्रमतं

16 सबलोकहितेन (L) यं च किचि परक्रममि किति भुतनं अनणियं प्रचेयं इअ च व मुखयमि परच च स्पयं अरधेतु (M) एतये अठये अयि भम निपिस्त चिरयितिक भोतु तथ च मे पुच नतरो परक्रमंतु सबलोकहितये (N) दुकर तु खो इमं अजच अये परक्रमेन

14 (A) *Devanāṃpriyo Priyadrāśī raya eva*<sup>3</sup> *ahati* (B) *atikratam aṃtara*<sup>4</sup> *na bhuta-pruvarāṃ sava[m]*<sup>5</sup> *kala[m]* *atha-kramam*<sup>6</sup> *va paṭivedana va* (C) *ta[m]* *maya eva[m]* *kiṭa[m]* (D) *savarāṃ kalāṃ aśamanasa me orodhanaspi grabhagaraṃpi vrachaspi vinitaspi uyanaspi savatra paṭivedaka*<sup>7</sup> *aṭhām janasa pativedetu*<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *paligodha* is a Māgadha form of *parigodha*, for which see above, p. 10, n. 5.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 34, n. 3.

<sup>3</sup> *eva[m]* Buhler.

<sup>4</sup> *antarāṣi* Buhler.

<sup>5</sup> *savarāṣi* Buhler.

<sup>6</sup> *atha-* Buhler.

<sup>7</sup> *savratra patrī* Buhler.

<sup>8</sup> *pat[r]* Buhler.



- 17 (A) atikratam ataram<sup>1</sup> Devanāmpriya vihara-yatra nama nikramishu (B) atra mrugaya añani cha edisani<sup>2</sup> abhiramani abhuvasu<sup>3</sup> (C) so Devanāmpriyo Priyadrasī raja dāsa-vasabhisito satam<sup>4</sup> nikrami Sabodhi<sup>5</sup> (D) tenada<sup>6</sup> dhamma-yatra<sup>7</sup> (E) atra iyam hoti śramana-bramaṇanaṁ draśane danam vudhana[m] daśana<sup>8</sup> hiraṇa-p[ra]ṭivīdhane<sup>9</sup> cha [jana]padasa janasa draśana<sup>10</sup> dhramanuśasti dhrama-pa[ni]p[ru]chha<sup>11</sup> cha tatopayam (F) eshe<sup>12</sup> bhuy[e] raji bhoti<sup>13</sup> Devanāmpriyasa Priyadrasīsa raño bhago<sup>14</sup> añni

## TRANSLATION

- (A) In times past the *Devanāmpriyas* used to set out on so-called pleasure-tours.  
 (B) On these (tours) hunting and other such pleasures were (enjoyed).  
 (C) But when king *Dēvanāmpriya Priyadarśin* had been anointed ten years, he went out to *Sambōdhi*.  
 (D) Therefore tours of morality (were undertaken) here.<sup>14</sup>  
 (E) On these (tour-) the following takes place, (viz.) visiting Śramanas and Brahmanas (and) making gifts (to them), visiting the aged and supporting (them) with gold, visiting the people of the country, instructing (them) in morality, and questioning (them) about morality, as suitable for this (occasion).  
 (F) This second period (of the reign) of king *Dēvanāmpriya Priyadarśin* becomes a pleasure in a higher degree.

## NINTH ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

- 18 (A) देवनंप्रियो प्रियद्रशि रय एवं अहति (B) जनो उचवुचं मंगलं करोति अचवे अचहे विचहे पञ्चपदने प्रवसे अतये अजये च एदिशिये जनो व मंगलं करोति (C) अच तु स्त्रियक बहु च बहुविधं च पुतिक च निरटियं च मंगलं करोति (D) सो कटवो च व सो मंगल (E) अपफलं तु सो एत (F) इमं तु सो महफल ये ममंगल
- 19 (G) अच इम दसभटकस सम्पदिपति गरुन अपचिति प्रणनं संयमो शमणब्रमणन दन एतं अजं च भ्रममंगलं नम (H) सो वतवो पितुन पि पुषेन पि भतन पि स्पमिकेन पि मिचसकुतेन अव प्रतिवेशियेन इमं सधु इमं कटवो मंगलं यव तस अद्रस निबुटिय निबुटसि व पुन
- 20 इमं कवं (I) ये हि एतके मंगले सशयिके तं (J) सिय वो तं अठं निवटेयति सिय पुन नो (K) इअलोक च वो तं (L) इद पुन भ्रममंगलं अकलिकं (M) यदि पुन तं अठं न निवटे इअ अच परच अनंतं पुजं प्रसवति (N) हंचे पुन तं ठं निवटेति ततो उभयेस लधं भोति इअ च सो अठो परच च अनंतं पुजं प्रसवति तेन भ्रमंगलेन

<sup>1</sup> atikratam ataram Buhler.<sup>2</sup> [A]drasani Buhler.<sup>3</sup> abhuvasu Buhler.<sup>4</sup> satō Buhler.<sup>5</sup> sabodhi[s] Buhler.<sup>6</sup> tenada[s] Buhler.<sup>7</sup> dhrama- Buhler.<sup>8</sup> draśane Buhler.<sup>9</sup> -pativudha[ne] Buhler.<sup>10</sup> draśanam Buhler.<sup>11</sup> -pa[r]i pucchha Buhler.<sup>12</sup> esh[a] Buhler.<sup>13</sup> hoti Buhler.<sup>14</sup> bhag[s] Buhler.<sup>15</sup> See above, p. 37, n. 5.

- 18 (A) Devanāmpriyo Priyadarśi r[s]ya evaṃ ahati (B) jano uchavucham maṃgalam karoti abadhe avahe vivahe pajupadane pravase ataye<sup>1</sup> añaye cha ediśy[e]<sup>2</sup> jano ba<sup>3</sup> maṃgalam karoti (C) atra tu striyaka bahu cha bahuvidham cha putika<sup>4</sup> cha nirāthiyam<sup>5</sup> cha maṃgalam karo[ti]<sup>6</sup> (D) so kaṭavo cha [va]<sup>7</sup> kho maṃgala (E) apa-phala[m] tu kho eta<sup>8</sup> (F) imam [t]u kho maha-phala ye ma-maṃgala<sup>9</sup>
- 19 (G) [a]tra ima dasa-bhaṭakasa samma-paṭipati<sup>10</sup> garuna apachiti prañanam sa[r̥]yamo<sup>11</sup> śamana-bramaṇa<sup>12</sup> dana etaṃ aṇam cha dhrama-maṃga[lam] nama (H) [s]o vatavo pituna pi putrena pi bhratana<sup>13</sup> pi spamik[e]na pi mitra-sastutena<sup>14</sup> ava prativedhiyena imam sadhu [imaṃ]<sup>15</sup> kaṭa[vo] maṃgala[r̥] yava tasa aṭhara<sup>16</sup> nivūṭiya nivūṭaspi va p[u]na<sup>17</sup>
- 20 imaṃ kasham<sup>18</sup> (I) ye hi etake<sup>19</sup> magale saśayike<sup>20</sup> tam (J) siya vo tam aṭham nivaṭeyati siya puna<sup>21</sup> no<sup>22</sup> (K) ialoka cha<sup>23</sup> vo tam<sup>24</sup> (L) ida<sup>25</sup> puna dhrama-maṃgalam akalikaṃ (M) yadi puna tam aṭham na nivaṭ[e]<sup>26</sup> ia<sup>27</sup> atha paratra anantaṃ puṇaṃ prasavati (N) hañche puna taṃ ṭham<sup>28</sup> nivaṭeti tato u[ḥ]a[lye]ṣa<sup>29</sup> ladham bhoti ia<sup>30</sup> cha so aṭho paratra cha anantam puṇam prasavati tena dhrama-maṃgalena<sup>31</sup>

## TRANSLATION

(A) King Devanāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(B) Men are practising various ceremonies during illness, at the marriage of a son or a daughter, at the birth of a child,<sup>18</sup> (and) when setting out on a journey, on these and other such (occasions) men are practising many ceremonies.

(C) But in such (cases) women are practising many and various offensive<sup>22</sup> and useless ceremonies.

(D) Now, ceremonies should certainly be practised.

(E) But these (ceremonies) bear little fruit indeed.

(F) But the following bears much fruit indeed, viz. the practice of morality

(G) Herein the following (are comprised), (viz.) proper courtesy to slaves and servants, reverence to elders, gentleness to animals, (and) liberality to Śramanas and Brāhmanas, these and other (virtues) are called the practice of morality.

(H) Therefore a father, or a son, or a brother, or a master, (or) a friend or an acquaintance, (or) even a (mere) neighbour ought to say: 'This is meritorious. This practice should be observed until the (desired) object is attained, (thinking): After it is actually attained, I shall observe this again'.

<sup>1</sup> Read *etaye*, which is Buhler's reading.

<sup>2</sup> Read probably *edīsaye*, as at Mānschrā

<sup>3</sup> Read *bahu*.

<sup>4</sup> *putika[r̥]* Buhler

<sup>5</sup> *nirathriyam* Buhler

<sup>6</sup> *kaṭavotne* Buhler

<sup>7</sup> Buhler omitted *va*.

<sup>8</sup> *etaṃ* Buhler.

<sup>9</sup> Read *dhrama-*, *-maṃgala[m]* Buhler

<sup>10</sup> *-paṭipati* Buhler

<sup>11</sup> *saṃyama* Buhler.

<sup>12</sup> *śamana-* Buhler.

<sup>13</sup> Read *bhratana*, which is Buhler's reading.

<sup>14</sup> *-samstutena* Buhler.

<sup>15</sup> There is a vacant space here.

<sup>16</sup> *athara* Buhler.

<sup>17</sup> *puna* Buhler.

<sup>18</sup> *kaṭa[r̥]* Buhler.

<sup>19</sup> *et[ā]ke* Buhler

<sup>20</sup> *sa[r̥]yayike* Buhler.

<sup>21</sup> *puna* Buhler.

<sup>22</sup> Buhler omitted *no*.

<sup>23</sup> *ialokach[e]* Buhler

<sup>24</sup> *ida* Buhler.

<sup>25</sup> *ya* Buhler.

<sup>26</sup> Read *nivaṭeti*, as at Mānschrā

<sup>27</sup> *[h]ia* Buhler

<sup>28</sup> Read *tam aṭham*, Buhler read *[a]ṭham* for *tam aṭham*.

<sup>29</sup> *ubhayasa* Buhler.

<sup>30</sup> *ia* Buhler.

<sup>31</sup> Read *dhrama-maṃgalena*.

<sup>32</sup> For *pajupadane* see above, p. 38, n. 22.

<sup>33</sup> Instead of *putika*, 'foul', all other versions read *kshudra*, 'vulgar'.

(I) For such ceremonies are of doubtful (effect).

(J) One may attain his object (by them), but he may not (do so)

(K) And they (bear fruit) in this world only.

(L) But that practice of morality is not restricted to time.

(M) But if<sup>1</sup> one does not attain (by it) his object in this (world), then endless merit is produced in the other (world).

(N) But if one attains (by it) his object (in this world), the gain of both (results) arises from it; (viz.) the (desired) object (is attained) in this (world), and endless merit is produced in the other (world) by that practice of morality.

#### TENTH ROCK-EDICT SHAHBAZGARHI

- 21 (A) देवनप्रिये प्रियद्रशि रय यशो व किट्टि व नो महठवह मज्जति अज्जच यो पि यशो किट्टि व इहति तदत्तये अयति य च जने धम्मसुखसु सुखुषु मे ति धम्मवुत्तं च अनुविधिषु (B) एतकये देवनप्रिये प्रियद्रशि रय यशो किट्टि व इहति (C) यं तु किचि परक्रमति देवनप्रियो प्रियद्रशि रय तं सधं परचिकये व किति सकले अपरिस्सवे सियति (D) एवे तु परिस्सवे यं अपुजं (E) दुकरे तु खो एवे खुद्रकेन वयेन उसटेन व अज्जच अयेन परक्रमेन सवं परित्तित्तु (F) अज्ज च उ सटे . . . . .

- 21 (A) *Devanapriye Priyadrasī raya* yaśo va kiṭṭi va no mahatthavaha mañati aññatra yo pi yaśo kiṭṭi va ichhati tadattvaye<sup>2</sup> ayatiya cha jane dhama-sukha<sup>3</sup> sukhassu me ti dhammavutta<sup>4</sup> vuttam cha anuvī[dhi]yatu (B) etakaye *Devanapriye<sup>5</sup> Priyadrasī raya* yaśo<sup>6</sup> kiṭṭi va
- 22 ichhati (C) ya[m] tu kicchi parakramati *Devanapriyo Priyadrasī raya* taṃ sav[r]am paratrikaye va kiti sakale aparissave siyati (D) esse tu parissave yaṃ apujam<sup>7</sup> (E) dukare tu kho esse khudrakena vagrena usatena va aññatra agrena parakramena sava[m] parittittu (F) at[r]a<sup>8</sup> chu usate . . . . .

#### TRANSLATION

(A) King *Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin* does not think that either glory or fame conveys much advantage, except whatever glory or fame he desires (on account of his aim) that in the present time, and in the future, men may (be induced) by him to practise obedience to morality, and that they may conform to the duties of morality.

(B) On this (account) king *Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin* is desiring glory and fame.

(C) But whatever effort king *Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin* is making, all that (is) only for the sake of (merit) in the other (world), (and) in order that all (men) may be free of danger

(D) But the danger is this, viz. demerit.

<sup>1</sup> Instead of 'but if', two other versions read 'even if', which is preferable.

<sup>2</sup> *tadattaye* Buhler, but see his *Ind. Pal.*, § 11, C.

<sup>3</sup> Read *-sukhassu*.

<sup>4</sup> *Devanapriye* Buhler.

<sup>5</sup> Buhler added :

<sup>6</sup> *dukaram* Buhler.

<sup>7</sup> *etam* (which is also possible) Buhler.

(E) But it is indeed difficult for a lowly person or for a high one to accomplish this without great zeal (and without) laying aside every (other aim).

(F) But among these (two) . . . . . a high (person).

## ELEVENTH ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

- 23 (A) देवनंप्रियो प्रियद्रशि रय एवं हहति (B) नस्ति एदिशं दनं यदिशं भ्रमदन  
भ्रमसंस्त्रवे भ्रमसंस्त्रिभगो भ्रमसंबंध (C) तथ एतं दसभटकनं संम्मपटिपति  
मतपितुषु सुसुषु मिचसंस्तुतजतिकनं भ्रमणभ्रमण  
21 दन प्रणन अनरंभो (D) एतं वतवो पितुन पि पुवेन पि भृतुन पि स्पमिकेन पि  
मिचसंस्तुतन स्रव प्रतिवेशियेन इमं सधु इमं कटवो (E) सो तथ करतं  
इसलोक च करयेति परच च अनतं पुज प्रसवति  
25 तेन भ्रमदनेन  
23 (A) Devana[m]priyo Priyadrāśi raya evaṃ hahati<sup>1</sup> (B) nāsti ed[i]śam danam  
yadiśam dhrama-dana<sup>2</sup> dhrama-saṃstava[c] dh[r]ama-samvibhago dh[r]ama  
samba[m]jha<sup>3</sup> (C) tatra etam dasa-bhaṭakanam sammma-paṭipati<sup>4</sup> mata-pitushu  
suśruṣha mi[t]ra-saṃstuta-jātikanaṃ śramaṇa-bramaṇana<sup>5</sup>  
24 dana pranana<sup>6</sup> anara[m]bho (D) etam vatavo pituna pi putrena pi bhratuna pi  
[spa]mikenā<sup>7</sup> pi mitra-samstutana<sup>8</sup> ava prativēśiyena [i]ma[m]h<sup>9</sup> sadhu imam  
kaṭavo (E) so tatha karata[m] saloka<sup>10</sup> cha a[ra]dhetī paratra cha anataṃ puṇa<sup>11</sup>  
prasavati  
25 [te]na dhrama-danena

## TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvaṇāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(B) There is no such gift as the gift of morality, acquaintance through morality, the distribution of morality, (and) kinship through morality.

(C) Herein the following (are comprised), (viz.) proper courtesy to slaves and servants, obedience to mother and father, liberality to friends, acquaintances, and relatives, to Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas, (and) abstention from killing animals.

(D) Concerning this a father, or a son, or a brother, or a master, (or) a friend or an acquaintance, (or) even a (mere) neighbour, ought to say 'This is meritorious. This ought to be done'.

(E) If one is acting thus, he attains (happiness in) this world, and endless merit is produced in the other (world) by that gift of morality.

<sup>1</sup> aha ti Buhler

<sup>2</sup> -danam Buhler.

<sup>3</sup> -sambandho Buhler.

<sup>4</sup> samma-pratipati Buhler.

<sup>5</sup> -bramaṇanaṃ Buhler.

<sup>6</sup> danaṃ prananaṃ Buhler.

<sup>7</sup> [sa]mikenā Buhler.

<sup>8</sup> Read -saṃstutana, which is Buhler's reading.

<sup>9</sup> There is a fissure in the rock here.

<sup>10</sup> karantam saloka[m] Buhler.

<sup>11</sup> puṇam Buhler

## TWELFTH ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

*B.—On a separate boulder.*

- 1 (A) देवनंप्रियो प्रियद्रशि रय सवप्रषंडनि प्रवजितनि यहचनि च पुजेति दनेन विविधये च पुजये (B) नो चु तथ दन व पुज व
- 2 देवनंप्रियो मज्जति यथ किति सलवढि सिय सवप्रषंडनं (C) सलवढि तु बहुविध (D) तस तु इयो मुल यं वचगुति
- 3 किति अतप्रषंडपुज व परप्रषंडगरन व नो सिय अपकरणसि लहुक व सिय तसि तसि प्रकारे (E) पुजेतविय व चु परप्रषंड-
- 4 इ तेन तेन अकरोन (F) एवं करतं अतप्रषंडं वढेति परप्रषंडंस पि च उपकरोति (G) तद अजय करमिनो अतप्रषंड
- 5 क्षयति परप्रषंडस च अपकरोति (H) यो हि कषि अतप्रषंडं पुजेति परप्रषंडं गरहति सधे अतप्रषंडभतिय व किति
- 6 अतप्रषंडं दिपयमि ति सो च पुन तथ करतं सो च पुन तथ करतं वढतरं उपहंति अतप्रषंडं (I) सो समयो वो सधु किति अजमजस भनो
- 7 शुषेयु च मुषुषेयु च ति (J) एवं हि देवनंप्रियस इह किति सवप्रषंडं बहुश्रुत च कलणगम च सियसु (K) ये च तथ तथ
- 8 प्रसन तेथं वतवो (L) देवनंप्रियो न तथ दनं व पुज व मज्जति यथ किति सलवढि सियति सवप्रषंडनं (M) बहुक च एतये अठ . .
- 9 वपट भममहमच इक्षिपियक्षमहमच वचभुमिक अजे च निकये (N) इमं च एतिस फलं यं अतप्रषंडवढि भोति
- 10 भमस च दिपन

- 1 (A) *Devanāṃpriyo Priyadraśi raya savra-prashamdani pravrajita[ni]*<sup>1</sup> grahathani<sup>2</sup> cha pujati dancna vividhaye cha pujaye (B) no chu tatha [da]na<sup>3</sup> va puja va
- 2 *Devanāṃpriyo mañati yatha kiti sa[la]-vadhī siya savra-prashamdanam* (C) sala-vadhī tu bahuvidha (D) tasi tu iyo mula yañ vacha-guti
- 3 kiti ata-prashamda-puja va pa[ra]-pashamda-garana va no siya [a]pakaranasi<sup>4</sup> lahuka va siya tasi tasi prakara[n]e (E) pujetaviya va chu para-prasha[m]-
- 4 [da] tena tena akarena (F) e[v]aṃ karataṃ<sup>5</sup> ata-p[ra]shamdanam vaḍheta para-prashamdanasa<sup>6</sup> pi cha upakaroti (G) tada añatha<sup>7</sup> ka[ra]min[o]<sup>8</sup> ata-p[rashamda]<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This word was entered above the line, *pravrajita* Buhler.

<sup>2</sup> *graha[tha]m* Buhler.

<sup>3</sup> *apakaranasi* Buhler.

<sup>4</sup> Read *dasa*, which is Buhler's reading.

<sup>5</sup> *ka[rata cha]* Buhler.

<sup>6</sup> *dana[ni]* Buhler.

<sup>7</sup> *karat[an]am* Buhler.

<sup>8</sup> Read *tad-añatha*.

<sup>9</sup> *-prashamdanam* Buhler.

- 5 kṣhaṇāti para-[pra]śhadasa<sup>1</sup> cha apakaroti (H) yo hi kachi<sup>2</sup> ata-prashaḍaṁ pūjeti  
[para]-p[ra]śhadā[m]<sup>3</sup> garahati savre ata-prashaḍa-bhatiya va kiti  
6 ata-prashamdaṁ dipayami ti so cha puna tatha karaṁtaṁ so cha puna tatha  
karatam<sup>4</sup> ba[ḍhata]raṁ upahanti ata-prashaḍaṁ (I) so sayamo vo sadhu kiti  
aṇamaṇasa dhramo  
7 śruṇeyu cha suśrusheyu cha ti (J) evaṁ hi Devanāṁpriyasa ichha kiti savra-  
prashamda bahu-śruta ch[a] kal[āṇa]gama cha siyasu (K) ye cha tatra tatra  
8 prasana tesha[m] vatavo (L) Devanāṁpriy[o] na [tatha da]na[m] va p[ū]ja va  
maṇāti ya[tha] kiti sala-vadhi siyati savra-prashaḍanaṁ (M) bahuka cha etaye  
a[tha] ...<sup>5</sup>  
9 vap[a]ṭa dh[ra]ma-ma[ha]matra i[st]ridhi[ya]ksha-ma[ha]matra [vra]cha-bhumika<sup>6</sup> aṇe  
cha nikaye (N) imaṁ cha etisa [pha]laṁ yaṁ ata-pashaḍa-vadhi<sup>7</sup> [bh]o[ti]  
10 dhramasa cha di[pana]

## TRANSLATION

(A) King Lāvāṇāṁpriya Priyadarśin is honouring all sects: (both) ascetics and householders, with gifts and with honours of various kinds.

(B) But Dēvānāṁpriya does not value either gifts or honours so (highly) as (this), (viz.) that a promotion of the essentials of all sects should take place.

(C) But the promotion of the essentials (is possible) in many ways.

(D) But its root is this, viz. guarding (one's) speech, (i.e.) that neither praising one's own sect nor blaming other sects should take place on improper occasions, or (that) it should be moderate in every case.

(E) But other sects ought to be duly honoured in every way.

(F) If one is acting thus, he is promoting his own sect and is benefiting other sects as well.

(G) If one is acting otherwise than thus, he is hurting his own sect and wronging other sects.

(H) For whosoever praises his own sect (or) blames other sects,—all (this) out of pure devotion to his own sect, (i.e.) with the view of glorifying his own sect,—if he is acting thus, he rather injures his own sect very severely.

(I) Therefore self-control<sup>8</sup> alone is meritorious, (i.e.) that they should both hear and obey each other's morals.

(J) For this is the desire of Dēvānāṁpriya, (viz.) that all sects should be both full of learning and pure in doctrine.

(K) And those who are attached to their respective (sects), ought to be spoken to (as follows).

(L) Dēvānāṁpriya does not value either gifts or honours so (highly) as (this), (viz.) that a promotion of the essentials of all sects should take place.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup>-prashamdas Buhler.

<sup>2</sup>k[o]chi Buhler.

<sup>3</sup>-prash[ā]da Buhler.

Cancel the five preceding words, which were repeated by mistake.

Restore athaye.

vacha- Buhler.

<sup>7</sup>-prashada- Buhler.

Instead of 'self-control' the other versions read 'concord'.

For siyati see above, p. 40, n. 1.

(M) And many (officers) are occupied for this purpose, (viz.) the *Mahāmātis* as of morality, the *Mahāmātras* controlling women, the inspectors of cowpens, and other classes (of officials).

(N) And this is the fruit of it, (viz.) that the promotion of one's own sect takes place, and the glorification of morality.

### THIRTEENTH ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

*C—West face of Shāhbāzgarhi rock*

- 1 (A) अटवषअभिसितस देवनप्रियस प्रिअद्रशिस रजो कलिंग विजित (B) दिअटमचे प्रणशतसहसे ये ततो अपबुढे शतसहस्रमचे तच हते बहुतवतके व मुटे
- 2 (C) ततो पच अपुन लपेषु कलिंगेषु तिचे भ्रमशिलन भ्रमकमत भ्रमनुशस्ति च देवनप्रियस (D) सो अस्ति अनुसोचन देवनप्रियस विजिनिति कलिंगनि
- 3 (E) अविजितं हि विजिनमनो यो तच वध व मरणं व अपवहो व जनस तं बढं वेदनियमतं गुरुमतं च देवनप्रियस (F) इदं पि चु ततो गुरुमततरं देवनप्रियस (G) ये तच
- 4 वसति ब्रमण व अमण व अंजे व प्रषंड यह्य व येसु विहित एष अयभुटिसुश्रुष मतपितुषु सुश्रुष गुरुन सुश्रुष भिषसंस्तुतसहय-
- 5 अतिकेषु दसभटकनं सम्मप्रतिपत्ति द्रिढभतिता तेष तच भोति अपयषो व वधो व अभिरतन व निक्रमणं (H) येष व पि सुविहितनं सिहो अविप्रहिनो ए तेष भिषसंस्तुतसहयजतिक वसन
- 6 प्रपुणति तच तं पि तेष वो अपयषो भोति (I) प्रतिभगं च एतं सव्रमनुशनं गुरुमतं च देवनप्रियस (J) नस्ति च एकतरे पि प्रषडस्यि न नम प्रसदो (K) सो यमचो जनो तद कलिंगे हतो च मुटो च अपबुढ च ततो
- 7 शतभगे व सहस्रभगं व अज गुरुमतं वो देवनप्रियस (L) यो पि च अपकरोयति क्षमितवियमते व देवनप्रियस यं शको क्षमनये (M) य पि च अटवि देवनप्रियस विजिते भोति त पि अनुनेति अनुनिजपेति (N) अनुतपे पि च प्रभवे
- 8 देवनप्रियस वुचति तेष किति अवचपेयु न च हंजेयसु (O) इक्षति हि देवनप्रियो सव्रभुतन अक्षति संयमं समचरियं रभसिये (P) अयि च मुखमुत विजये देवनप्रियस यो भ्रमविजयो (Q) सो च पुन लपो देवनप्रियस इह च सवेषु च अंतेषु
- 9 अ षपु पि योजनशतेषु यच अंतियोको नम योनरज परं च तेन अंतियोकेन चतुरे ४ रजनि तुरमये नम अंतिकिनि नम मक नम अलिक्सुदरो नम निच चोडपंड अव तंवपणिय (R) एवमेव हिंद रजविषवस्सि योनकंबोयेषु नभकनभितिन

- 10 भोजपित्तिनिक्षेपु अन्नपल्लिदेसु सबब देवनंप्रियस भ्रमनुशस्ति अनुवदंति (S) यच्च  
पि देवनंप्रियस दुत न वचंति ते पि श्रुतु देवनंप्रियस भ्रमवुदं विपनं  
भ्रमनुशस्ति भ्रमं अनुविधियंति अनुविधियंति च (T) यो स लपे एतकेन  
भोति सबब विजयो सबब पुन
- 11 विजयो प्रितिरसो सो (U) लप भोति प्रिति भ्रमविजयस्सि (V) लहुक तु खो स  
प्रिति (W) परचिकमेव महफल मेज्जति देवनंप्रियो (X) एतये च अटये अयि  
भ्रमदिपि निपिस्स किंति पुच पपोच ने असु नवं विजयं म विजेतविअ  
मज्जिषु स्सकस्सि यो विजये सति च लहुदंडत च रोचेतु तं च यो विज मज्जतु
- 12 यो भ्रमविजयो (Y) सो हिदलोकिक्को परलोकिक्को (Z) सबचतिरति भोतु य  
भ्रमरति (AA) स हि हिदलोकिक्क परलोकिक्क

- 1 (A) [aṭṭha]-vaṣa-a[bhis]ṭṭa[sa<sup>1</sup> Devana]pri[a]sa Pri[a]drasīsa ra[ñño] Ka[liga]  
vi[ḷ]ḷita (B) diadha-mat[r]e<sup>2</sup> prana-śata-[saha]sre y[r]e tato apavudhe śata-  
sahasra<sup>3</sup> matre tatra hate bahu-tavata[ke va]<sup>4</sup> m[ute]
- 2 (C) tato [pa]rha<sup>5</sup> a[dhu]na ladh[e]shu [Kaligeshu<sup>6</sup> tvre dhrama-śilana]<sup>7</sup>  
dhra[ma-ka]mata dhramanuśasti cha Devanapriyasa (D) so [a]ṭṭi anusochana<sup>8</sup>  
Devanap[ri]sa vijinīti Kaliga[ni]<sup>9</sup>
- 3 (E) avijitani [hi vi]jīnamano yo<sup>10</sup> tat[r]a vadha<sup>11</sup> va maranam va apavaho va  
janasa tam hadham v[e]ddani[ya]-ma[ṭam] guru-mata[m] cha Devanāmpriyasa  
(F) idam<sup>12</sup> pi chu [tato] guru-matātaram [Devanāmp]riyasa (G) ye tatā<sup>13</sup>
- 4 vasatī<sup>14</sup> brahmana va śrama[ṇa] va a[m]hā<sup>15</sup> va prashanda gra[ha]ṭha va jesu vihitā  
esha agrabhūti-sūśrusa mata-pitushu sūśrusa guruna<sup>16</sup> sūśrusa mitra  
samstuta sahaya-
- 5 ātikesu dāsa-bhūtakanam samma-pratipā[ti] dṛḍha-bhātita<sup>17</sup> tesha<sup>18</sup> tatra lhoti  
[a]pag[r]atho va vadho va abhīratana va nikramanam (H) yesha va pi  
suvhitānam<sup>19</sup> [s]ṭhā<sup>20</sup> aviprahīno [e te]ṣha mitra-samstuta-sahaya-ātika vasana
- 6 prapīnati [ta]tra tath pi tesha vo apagratho<sup>21</sup> bhoti (I) pratibhagam cha  
[e]tāni savra-manuśanam<sup>22</sup> guru-matam cha Devanāmpriya[sa] (J) nāsti  
cha ekatare<sup>23</sup> pi prashadaṣṭi<sup>24</sup> na nama pra-ado (K) so yamatto [ja]ṇo tada  
Kalige [ha]to cha mut[o] cha apav[udha]<sup>25</sup> cha tato
- 7 śata-bhage va sahasra-bhagam va [a]ṇa guru-matam v[o] Devanāmpriyasa (L) yo  
pi cha apakareyati kshamitaviya-mate va<sup>26</sup> Devanāmp[r]iyasa jām śako  
kshamanaye (M) ya pi cha atavī Devanāmpriyasa vijite bhoti ta pi anūneti  
anunijapeti<sup>27</sup> (N) anūtapē pi cha prabhavē

<sup>1</sup> a[ṭṭha]- Buhler.<sup>2</sup> [dradhā]- Buhler<sup>3</sup> Buhler omitted va<sup>4</sup> [pa]rha Buhler<sup>5</sup> [Kaligeshu] Buhler<sup>6</sup> [-[pālonam] Buhler<sup>7</sup> n[am] Buhler.<sup>8</sup> priyasa vijnāni Ka[liga]ni Buhler<sup>9</sup> man[ri] pi Buhler.<sup>10</sup> vadha Buhler<sup>11</sup> mam Buhler<sup>12</sup> tatra h[et] for ye tatra Buhler<sup>13</sup> vasanti Buhler<sup>14</sup> guruna Buhler.<sup>15</sup> dḍha- Buhler<sup>16</sup> tesham Buhler<sup>17</sup> samu Buhler<sup>18</sup> Read smāho, [m]ho Buhler.<sup>19</sup> Read apagratho, which is Buhler's reading<sup>20</sup> savram man Buhler<sup>21</sup> katarasṭi Buhler<sup>22</sup> prashandaṣṭi Buhler<sup>23</sup> apavudh[e] Buhler<sup>24</sup> so Buhler.<sup>25</sup> Read nījapeti, which is Buhler's reading



- 8 **Devanāmpriyasa** vuchati tesha kiti avatrapeyu na cha [ha]mñeyasu (O) ichhati hi **D[e]vanāmpriyo** savra-bhutana akshati sa[m]yamañ sama[cha]riyam rabhasiye (F) ayi<sup>1</sup> cha mukha-mu[ā]<sup>2</sup> vijaye **Devanāmpriya[sa]** yo dhrama-vijayo (Q) so cha puna ladho **Devanāmpriyasa** iha cha savaśhu<sup>3</sup> cha aṃteshu
- 9 [a] shashu pi yojana-sa[t]eshu yatra **Aṃtiyoko** nama **Y[o]na-raja** parañ cha tena **Atiyok[e]na**<sup>4</sup> chature 4 rajani Turamaye nama **Aṃtikini** nama **Maka** nama **Alikasudaro** nama nicha **Choḍa-Paṇḍa** ava **Ta[m]bapari[ni]ya**<sup>5</sup> (R) [e]vameva [hi]da raja-vi-havaspi<sup>6</sup> **Yona-Ka[m]boyesu** **Nabhaka-Nabhitina**<sup>7</sup>
- 10 **Bhoja-Pitiniakesu** **Aṃdhra-Palidesu**<sup>8</sup> savatra **Devanāmpriyasa** dhramanuśasti anuvaṃtanti (S) yatra pi **Devanāmpriyasa** duta na vrachanti te pi śrutu **Devanāmpriyasa** dhrama-vuṭaṃ vidh[a]nañ<sup>9</sup> dhramanuśasti dhramañ [a]nuvidhiyaṃti anuvihiyiṣaṃ[t]i cha (T) yo [sa]<sup>10</sup> ladhe etakena bho[t]i savatra vijayo sava[tra] pu[na]
- 11 vijayo priti-raso so (U) ladha bh[otu] pñti dhrama-vijayaspi (V) lahuṇa tu kho sa priti (W) paratri[ka]meva maha-phala meñati **Devana[m]priyo** (X) etaye cha athaye ayi<sup>11</sup> dhrama-dipi nipi[sta]<sup>12</sup> kiti putra papotra me asu navañ vijayañ ma vijetav[i]a<sup>13</sup> mañishu spa[kaspi] yo vijay[c] kshañ[t]i cha lahu-da[m]data<sup>14</sup> cha rochetu tañ cha yo<sup>15</sup> vija<sup>16</sup> mañā[tu]
- 12 yo dhrama-vijayo (Y) so hidalokiko paralokiko (Z) sava-chati-rati<sup>17</sup> bhotu ya [dh]rañma-rati<sup>18</sup> (AA) sa hi hidalokika paralokika

## TRANSLATION

(A) When king **Dēvanāmpriya Priyadarśin** had been anointed eight years, (the country of) the **Kāliṅgas** was conquered by (him).

(B) One hundred and fifty thousand in number were the men who were deported thence, one hundred thousand in number were those who were slain there, and many times as many those who died.

(C) After that, now that (the country of) the **Kāliṅgas** has been taken, **Dēvanāmpriya** (is devoted) to a zealous study of morality,<sup>18</sup> to the love of morality, and to the instruction (of people) in morality

(D) This is the repentance of **Dēvanāmpriya** on account of his conquest of (the country of) the **Kāliṅgas**.

(E) For, this is considered very painful and deplorable by **Dēvanāmpriya**, that, while one is conquering an unconquered (country), slaughter, death, and deportation of people (are taking place) there.

(F) But the following is considered even more deplorable than this by **Dēvanāmpriya**.

<sup>1</sup> eshu Buhler. <sup>2</sup> -mutē Buhler. <sup>3</sup> sa[vre]śhu Buhler. <sup>4</sup> Aṃtiyokena Buhler.

<sup>5</sup> pañiṇya Buhler. <sup>6</sup> Viśva-Vajra Buhler. <sup>7</sup> Nabhake Na[bh]itina Buhler.

<sup>8</sup> Puṭi[di]śhu Buhler. <sup>9</sup> vidhenañ Buhler. <sup>10</sup> [cha] Buhler.

<sup>11</sup> ayo Buhler. <sup>12</sup> [di]psta Buhler. <sup>13</sup> tav[i]yañ Buhler.

<sup>14</sup> dam[da]ñ Buhler. <sup>15</sup> tañ e[va] Buhler. <sup>16</sup> Read vijayañ, as at Kāśi.

<sup>17</sup> sava cha mrañti Buhler. <sup>18</sup> [ś]rama Buhler.

<sup>19</sup> dhrama-śilana (= Skt. dharma-śilana) is the equivalent of dharmavādyo at Gīrṇār, see above,



THIRTEENTH AND FOURTEENTH ROCK-EDICTS: SHAHBAZGARHI

LEFT HALF

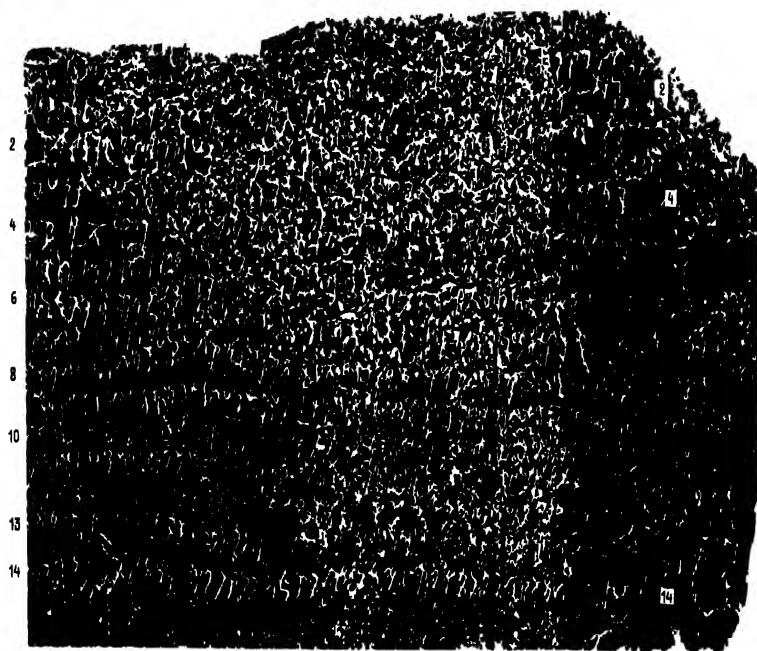


SCALE ONE-NINTH

THIRTEENTH AND FOURTEENTH ROCK-EDICTS: SHAHBAZGARHI

BIRWILL'S

RIGHT HALF





(G) (To) the Brāhmanas or Śramanas, or other sects or householders, who are living there, (and) among whom the following are practised: obedience to those who receive high pay, obedience to mother and father, obedience to elders, proper courtesy to friends, acquaintances, companions, and relatives, to slaves and servants, (and) firm devotion,—to these then happen injury<sup>1</sup> or slaughter or deportation of (their) beloved ones.

(H) Or, if there are then incurring misfortune the friends, acquaintances, companions, and relatives of those whose affection (for the latter) is undiminished, although they are (themselves) well provided for, this (misfortune) as well becomes an injury to those (persons) themselves.

(I) This is shared by all men and is considered deplorable by *Dēvānāmpriya*.

(J) And there is no (place where men) are not indeed attached to some sect<sup>2</sup>

(K) Therefore even the hundredth part or the thousandth part of all those people who were slain, who died, and who were deported at that time in *Kaliṅga*, (would) now be considered very deplorable by *Dēvānāmpriya*.

(L) And *Dēvānāmpriya* thinks that even (to one) who should wrong (him), what can be for given is to be forgiven.

(M) And even (the inhabitants of) the forests<sup>3</sup> which are (included) in the dominions of *Dēvānāmpriya*, even those he pacifies (and) convert.<sup>4</sup>

(N) And they are told of the power (to punish them) which *Dēvānāmpriya* (possesses) in spite of (his) repentance,<sup>5</sup> in order that they may be ashamed (of their crimes) and may not be killed.

(O) For *Dēvānāmpriya* desires towards all beings abstention from hurting, self-control, (and) impartiality in (case of) violence.<sup>6</sup>

(P) And this conquest is considered the principal one<sup>7</sup> by *Dēvānāmpriya*, viz the conquest by morality.

<sup>1</sup> The meaning of *apagatho* is fixed by the various readings *upagāte* (Kāl-i) and *upagāte* (Girnār). It has to be noted (to which Hirsch draws my attention) that some Kōśas give for *grathita* the meaning *hata*, *himsita*, see Böhtlingk and Roth's Dictionary, s. v. *granthi*.—Bühler ZDMG, 43, 174.

<sup>2</sup> 'By the fault of the writer' (as the rock-edict XIV, E, expresses it), most of this section is omitted in the Shāhbāzgarhi version.

<sup>3</sup> As remarked by Bühler (ZDMG, 43, 174 f.), the nom. plur. *atava* is used in the sense of *ātavakāḥ*. Indian rhetoricians call such a figurative expression *lakṣaṇā*. One of the examples given in the *Tarkasamgrahadīpikā*, § 59, is शत्रुः शत्रुभिः, 'the tribunes (i. e. the occupants of the tribunes) are shouting.'

<sup>4</sup> Literally, 'induces to meditate'. Cf. *nyāpayaṇīti* and *nyāpayaṇī* (or *nyāpayaṇī*) in the pillar-edict IV, M, *nyāp[er]at[er]ya* in the Jaugada separate edict I, R, and *nyāti* in the rock-edict VI, F, and in the Delhi-Toprā pillar-edict VII, JJ to NN; also the second separate edict at Dhauli and Jaugada, where Aśoka declares that he wishes to induce his borderers to practise morality.

<sup>5</sup> Bühler (EI, 2, 471) rendered *anutaḥ prabhavē* (i. e. *anutaḥ prabhavē*) by 'power to torment (them)'. But the meaning which he assigned to *anutaḥ* is unusual, and this word is a synonym of *anulaya* or *anulāhana* in section D of this edict. Thomas takes *prabhavē* = Skt. *prabhavī*; see V. A. Smith's *Asoka*, sec. ed., p. 173, n. 4. But at Shāhbāzgarhi the 3. sing. opt. ends in *-yati*, cf. my note on the translation of edict XIV, D.

<sup>6</sup> I adopt Luders' rendering of the last two words of this section, see SPAW, 1914, 851. The Girnār and Kālsi versions replace the locative *rabhasye* (= Skt. *rābhasye*) by the accusative *mādava* or *madava* (= Skt. *mārdavam*, 'kindness').

<sup>7</sup> *mukha-muta* (also at Mānsehra, XIII, l. 9) is the same as *mukhya-muta* in the Lauriyā-Arārāḥ and Allahabad-Kōsā pillar-edicts, VI, F.

(Q) And this (conquest) has been won repeatedly by **Dēvānāmpriya** both here and among all (his) borderers, even as far as at (the distance of) six hundred *yōjanas*, where the **Yōna** king named **Antiyoka** (is ruling), and beyond this **Antiyoka**, (where) four—4—kings (are ruling), (viz. the king) named **Turamaya**, (the king) named **Antikini**, (the king) named **Maka**, (and the king) named **Alikasudara**, (and) towards the south, (where) the **Chōḍas** and **Pāṇḍyas** (are ruling), as far as **Tāmraparṇi**.

(R) Likewise here in the king's territory, among the **Yōnas** and **Kambōyas**, among the **Nabhakas** and **Nabhitis**,<sup>1</sup> among the **Bhōjas** and **Pitinikas**, among the **Andhras** and **Palidas**,<sup>2</sup>—everywhere (people) are conforming to **Dēvānāmpriya's** instruction in morality.

(S) Even those to whom the envoys of **Dēvānāmpriya** do not go, having heard of the duties of morality, the ordinances, (and) the instruction in morality of **Dēvānāmpriya**, are conforming to morality and will conform to (it)

(T) This conquest, which has been won by this everywhere,—a conquest (won) everywhere (and) repeatedly,—causes the feeling of satisfaction.

(U) Satisfaction has been obtained (by me) at the conquest by morality.

(V) But this satisfaction is indeed of little (consequence).

(W) **Dēvānāmpriya** thinks that only the fruits in the other (world) are of great (value).

(X) And for the following purpose has this rescript on morality been written, (viz.) in order that the sons (and) great-grandsons (who) may be (born) to me, should not think that a fresh conquest ought to be made, (that), if a conquest does please them,<sup>3</sup> they should take pleasure in mercy and light punishments, and (that) they should regard the conquest by morality as the only (true) conquest.

(Y) This (conquest bears fruit) in this world (and) in the other world.

(Z) And let there be (to them) pleasure in the abandonment of all (other aims),<sup>4</sup> which is pleasure in morality

(AA) For this (bears fruit) in this world (and) in the other world

#### FOURTEENTH ROCK-EDICT SHAHBĀZGARHI

13 (A) अयि भ्रमदिपि देवनंप्रियेन प्रिश्नि रज निपेसपित अस्ति वो संक्षितेन अस्ति वो विस्त्रितेन (B) न हि सवच ससवे गटिने (C) महलके हि विजिते बहु च लिखिते लिखपेशमि चेव (D) अस्ति चु अच पुन पुन लपितं तस तस अठस मधुरियये येन जन तथ

14 पटिपजेयति (E) सो सिय व अच किचे असमतं लिखितं देशं व संखय करण व अलोचेति दिपिकरम व अपरधेन

<sup>1</sup> The Kāśī version reads *Nābhapaṇṇis* for *Nabhitis*.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 48, n. 14.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. above, p. 49, n. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. above, p. 18, n. 10. The wording of Kāśī and Mānchūā differs here. Unless the Shāhbāzgarhi reading is merely due to a clerical mistake, it would contain a Prakrit substantive *hatts* = Skt. *tyakti* in the sense of *tyāga*.

- 13 (A) *ayi*<sup>1</sup> *dhrama-dipi*<sup>2</sup> *Devanāṃpriyena Priā[na]*<sup>3</sup> *raṭṭa* *nipesapita*<sup>4</sup> *astī vo* *samkshiteṇa*<sup>5</sup> *astī yo vistrīṇa* (B) *na hi savatra*<sup>6</sup> *sasavre*<sup>7</sup> *gatite*<sup>8</sup> (C) *mahāḷake* *hi vijite bahu cha likhite likha[p]eśāmi cheva* (D) *astī chu*<sup>9</sup> *atra puna puna* *[la]pitaṃ tasa tasa [a]ṭhasa madhuriyaye ye[na] jana tatha*
- 14 *patipajeyati*<sup>10</sup> (E) *so siya va atra kiche*<sup>11</sup> *asamatam* *likhitam deśam va samkhay[a]*<sup>12</sup> *karana va alocheti dipikarasa va aparadhena*

## TRANSLATION

(A) These rescripts on morality have been caused to be written<sup>11</sup> by king *Dēvanāṃpriya Priyadarśin* either in an abridged (form) or at full length

(B) For the whole was not suitable everywhere.

(C) For (my) dominions are wide, and much has been written, and I shall cause still (more) to be written.

(D) But (some) of this has been stated again and again because of the charm of certain topics, (and) in order that men should act accordingly<sup>14</sup>

(E) But some of this may have been written incompletely, either on account of the locality, or because (my) motive was not liked,<sup>15</sup> or by the fault of the writer

## IV. THE MANSEHRA ROCK

## FIRST ROCK-EDICT. MANSEHRA

*A First Inscribed Rock.*

- 1 (A) अयि ध्रमदिपि देवनंप्रियेन प्रियद्रशिण रजिन लिखपित (B) हिद नो किच्छि  
जिवे अरभितु प्रजोहि-
- 2 तविये (C) नो पि च समजे कटविये (D) बहुक हि दोष समजस देवनंप्रिये  
प्रियद्रशि रज दखति (E) अस्सि पि चु
- 3 एकतिय समज मधुमत देवनप्रियस प्रियद्रशिस रजिने (F) पुर महनससि  
देवनप्रियस प्रियद्रशिस र-
- 4 जिने अनुदिवस वहुनि प्रणशतसहस्रनि अरभिसु सुपण्ये (G) से ..... द  
अयि ध्रमदिपि लिखित तद तिनि येव प्रणनि अरभियंति दुवे २ मज्जु-
- 5 र एके छिगे से पि चु छिगे नो ध्रुवं (H) एतनि पि चु तिनि प्रणनि पच नो  
अरभि .....

<sup>1</sup> *ayo* Buhler.<sup>2</sup> There is a vacant space between *ma* and *di*<sup>3</sup> Read *Priyadarśina*<sup>4</sup> *dipito* Buhler<sup>5</sup> *samkshiteṇa* Buhler<sup>6</sup> *savatra* Buhler<sup>7</sup> Read *savre*, [so] *savre* Buhler<sup>8</sup> Read *ghatite*, *ghatite* Buhler<sup>9</sup> *cha* Buhler<sup>10</sup> *puta* Buhler<sup>11</sup> Read *kuchite*, which is Buhler's reading<sup>12</sup> *samkhaya* Buhler<sup>13</sup> With *nipesapita* cf. *nipesitam* in the Shahbāzgarhi edict IV, K<sup>14</sup> With the optative *patipajeyati* (= *yati* at Dhauhi and Jaupala) cf. *aparakajati* (VIII, 1); *uvatevati* (IX, 1. 20), and *vyati* (= *tyati* or *shiyati* at Kalsi), see above, p. 40, n. 1<sup>15</sup> See above, p. 8, n. 3



- 1 (A) ayi dhra[ma]-dip[i] Devana[m]priye[na] Priya[draśina rajina li]khapita (B) hi[da] no kichhi<sup>1</sup> ji[ve] ara[bhita] pra[johi]-  
 2 taviye<sup>2</sup> (C) no pi [cha] samaj[e] kaṭaviye<sup>3</sup> (D) bahu[ka] hi [dosha samajasa Devana[m]priye] Priyadraśi<sup>4</sup> raja [da]kha[ti] (E) asti [pi chu]  
 3 [eka]tiya samaja sa[dhu]-mata Devanapriyasa Priyadraśi[sa]<sup>5</sup> rajine (F) pura maha[nasa]sī [Devana]pri[ya]sa Pri[yadra]śisa ra-  
 4 jine anudiva[sa ba]huni prana-śa[ta]-sahas[r]ani [arabh]isu supa[thra]ye (G) s[e].....[da] ayi dhrama-dipi likhi[ta] ta[da] ti[ni] y[eva] pra[ra]ni [ara]bh[iya]nti du[v]e [2] maju-  
 5 ra [e]k[e]<sup>6</sup> m[r]ig[e] s[e] p[i chu] mrig[e] no dhruva[m] (H) [e]tani pi chu [tini] praṇani pacha no ara[bhi]... ..

## SECOND ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

- 5 (A) सबष विजितसि देवनप्रियस प्रियद्रक्षि रजिने ये च क्षत क्षष  
 6 चोड पंडिय सतियपुष केरलपुष तंबपणि क्षतियोगे नम योनरज ये च क्ष.....स  
 ..... गस समत रजने सबष ..... प्रियस प्रियद्रक्षि रजिने  
 7 दुवे २ चिकिस कठ मनुश्चिकिस च पशुचिकिस च (B) ओषढनि मनु..... कनि  
 च प..... कनि च क्षष क्षष नक्षि सबष हरपित च रोपपित च  
 8 (C) एवमेव मुलनि च फलनि च क्षष क्षष नक्षि सबष हरपित च रोपपित च  
 (D) मनेषु रुहनि रोपपितनि ..... पितनि पटिभोगये पशु-  
 मुनिशनं  
 5 (A) sa[vatra vi]jitasī Devanapriyasa Priyadraśisa rajine ye cha ata<sup>7</sup> atha  
 6 [Choḍa] Pa[mḍi]ya Sa[ti]ya[p]u[tra] Keralaputra<sup>8</sup> [Taṁ]bapani [A]tiyoge<sup>9</sup>  
 nama Yona-[raja] ye cha [a].... sa ..... [gaśa] samata<sup>10</sup> ra[jane sa]vratra  
 ..... priyasa Priyadraśisa rajine  
 7 [duve 2] chikisa [ka]ta manuśa-chik[isa cha] paśu-[chi]kisa cha (B) osha[dha]ni<sup>11</sup>  
 manu ... ka[ni cha] pa ... [kani cha atra atra<sup>12</sup> nasti savra]tra [ha]rapit[ta  
 cha] ropapita cha  
 8 (C) [va]meva mulani [cha] phalani [cha] a[tra a]tra [na]sti [savra]tra harapita cha  
 ropapita cha (D) ma[geshu] ruchhani<sup>13</sup> [ropa]p[ita]ni<sup>14</sup> ..... [pi]tani  
 paṭibhogaye paśu-m[uni]śanam<sup>15</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [Dr]vana[pri]yena Buhler.<sup>2</sup> kichi Buhler.<sup>3</sup> pra[yuho]taviye Buhler.<sup>4</sup> sama[ja] kṭaviya Buhler.<sup>5</sup> [Pri]yadraśi[ne] Buhler.<sup>6</sup> Buhler inverted the figure '1'.<sup>7</sup> anta Buhler.<sup>8</sup> putr[e] Buhler.<sup>9</sup> tyo[ke] Böhler.<sup>10</sup> samanta Böhler.<sup>11</sup> osha[dhu]ni Böhler.<sup>12</sup> ya[tra yatra] Böhler.<sup>13</sup> ru[ckha] Böhler.<sup>14</sup> The next symbol (read [ku] by Böhler) may be the first letter (u) of udupanani.<sup>15</sup> -m[a]nūtana Buhler.

## THIRD ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

- 9 (A) देवनप्रिये प्रियद्रशि रज एव अह (B) दुवदशवषभिसेतेन मे इयं अणपयिते  
(C) सव्रच बिजितसि ..... त रजु .. प्रदेशिके पंचसु पंचसु ५ वषेषु  
10 अनुसंयनं निक्रमतु एतये व अणये इमये धमनुशस्त्रिये यष अजये पि क्रमणे  
(D) सधु मतपितुषु सुश्रुष भिवसंस्तुत-  
11 जतिकनं च व्रमणधमणनं सधु दने प्रणन अनरभे सधु अपवयत अपभडत सधु  
(E) परिष पि च युतनि गणनसि अणपयिशति हेतुते च वियंज-  
12 नते च

- 9 (A) Devanapriye Priyadraśi raja eva a[ha] (B) duva[.a]śa-vashabhisetena<sup>1</sup>  
me iyam<sup>2</sup> [anapayit]e (C) savrat[r]a vijitasi . ta<sup>3</sup> [ra]ju . pradeśika  
[par]chashu pam[chashu] 5 vashesh[u]  
10 anusa[r]hlyana[r]i nikramatu<sup>4</sup> etaye va<sup>5</sup> athraye imaye dhramanuśastiye ya[tha]<sup>6</sup>  
añaye<sup>7</sup> pi krama[n]e<sup>8</sup> (D) [sadhu mata]-pi[tu]shu [s]u[ś]rūsha mitra]-sa[m]tuta-  
11 ñatikanam cha bra[ma]na-śramanana[m]<sup>9</sup> sadhu dane pranana [anara]bhe sadhu  
apa-[va]yata apa-bha[da]ta [sadhu] (E) parisha pi cha yutani ga[n]nasa  
[anapa]yīśa[ti] he[tu]te cha vi[yam]ja-  
12 nate cha

## FOURTH ROCK-EDICT MANSEHRA

- 12 (A) अतिक्रंतं अतरं बहुनि वषशतनि वधिते वो प्रणरंभे विहिस च भुतनं जतिन  
असपटिपति अमणधमणन असंपटिपति  
13 (B) से अज देवनप्रियस प्रियद्रशिने रजिने धमचरणे भेरिषोषे अहो धमघोषे  
विमनद्रशन अस्त्रिने अगिकंधनि अजनि च दिवनि रुपनि द्रशेति जनस  
14 (C) अदिशे बहुहि वषशतेहि न हुतप्रुवे तदिशे अज वडिते देवनप्रियस प्रियद्रशिने  
रजिने धमनुशस्त्रिय अनरभे प्रणन अविहिस भुतन जतिन  
15 संपटिपति वमणधमणन संपटिपति मतपितुषु सुश्रुष वुधन सुश्रुष (D) एषे अजे  
च बहुविधे धमचरणे वधिते (E) वधयिशति येव देवनप्रिये  
16 प्रियद्रशि रज धमचरण इमं (F) पुच पि च क नतरे च पणतिक देवनप्रियस  
प्रियद्रशिने रजिने पववयिशति यो धमचरण इमं अवकपं धमे शिले च

<sup>1</sup> Read \*bhisstena. <sup>2</sup> ayam Bühler. <sup>3</sup> [me]. ta Bühler <sup>4</sup> nikrama[m]tu Bühler

<sup>5</sup> vani Bühler. What he took for an Anuvāra, is the optional horizontal (sometimes curved) bottom-line which he has noted in ja (ZDMG, 43. 275), and which the Mānsehrā version uses also in da (XIII, 10), dha (VII, 33; XII, 6; XIII, 1), ta of mata (I, 3, IV, 15, XIII, 4), tha (II, 5. V, 20, 26, XII, 4, cf. above, p. 55, n. 6), and pa (XII, 5).

<sup>6</sup> ya . am Bühler. <sup>7</sup> añaye Bühler. <sup>8</sup> kramane Bühler <sup>9</sup> -śramanana[m] Bühler

- 17 चिदितु भ्रमं अनुवृत्तिं (G) एवे हि खेठे खं भ्रमनुवृत्तन (H) भ्रमचरवे पि च  
न होति अशिलस (I) से इमस अणुस वध्रि अहिनि च सधु (J) एतये  
18 अणुये इयं लिखिते एतस अणुस वध्र युजंतु हिन च म अलोचयिसु (K)  
दुवदशवध्रभिसितेन देवनप्रियेन प्रियद्रशिण रजिन इयं लिखयिते
- 12 (A) atikratam ata[raṁ]<sup>1</sup> bahuni vasha-śa[ta]ni vadhite vo<sup>2</sup> prañaram[ḥ]c vihi[sa]  
cha bhutanani śatāna asapa[t]ipati śrama[na]-bramanana<sup>3</sup> asa[ra]paṭipati  
13 (B) se aja [De]vanapriyasa Priyadrasīne rajīne dhrama-[cha]ra[ne]na bheri-  
ghoshe aho dhama-ghoshe<sup>4</sup> vimana-draśana asti[ne]<sup>5</sup> agi-kamdhana[i] añña[na]  
cha] di[va]ni rupani draśeti janasa  
14 (C) [a]dise bahuhi vasha-śa[tehi] na [hu]ta-pr[u]ve tadiśe [a]jia vadhite [De]vana-  
priyasa Priyadrasīne rajīne dhramanuśastiya anarabhe pranana<sup>6</sup> avihisa  
bhutana śatāna  
15 sampatipati bamana-śramaṇana<sup>7</sup> sa[ra]paṭipati mata-pitushu<sup>8</sup> suśru[cha] vudhrana  
[su]śruśa (D) eshe añ[e] cha bahuvudhe dhrama-charaṇe vadhrīte (E)  
vadhrayīśati yeva Devanapriye  
16 Priyadrasī raja dhama-[cha]raṇa<sup>9</sup> ima[ra]ṁ<sup>10</sup> (F) [putra] pi cha ka<sup>11</sup> natara cha  
panatika De[va]napriyasa Priyadrasīne<sup>12</sup> rajīne pavadhayaśanti yo<sup>13</sup> dhrama-  
charaṇa imam [a]va-kapam dhrame śīle cha  
17 [chi]thitu<sup>14</sup> dhra[ma]ni<sup>15</sup> anu[śa]śīśanti (G) eshe hi sreṭhe a[m] dhramanuśaśana  
(H) dhrama [cha]ra[ne] pi [cha] na hoti aśī[la]śa (I) se imasa athrasa vadhrī  
ahi[na] cha sadhu (J) etaye  
18 athraye [ya]m<sup>16</sup> li[kh]ite c[ta]śa [athra]śa vadhra<sup>17</sup> yu[jam]tu hini cha ma  
[alo]chay[i]su<sup>18</sup> (K) duva[da]śa-vashabhisitena Devanapriyena Priya-  
drasīna rajīna iya[m] likhapite

## FIFTH ROCK-EDICT: MANSEIIRA

- 19 (A) देवनप्रियेन प्रियद्रशि रज एवं अह (B) कलशं दुकरं (C) ये अदिकरे कयस  
से दुकरं करोति (D) तं मय बहु कयणे कटे (E) तं मय पुच च  
20 नतरे च पर च तेन ये अपतिये मे अवकपं तथ अनुवदितं से सुकट कवति  
(F) ये च अच देश पि हपेशति से दुकट कवति  
21 (G) पपे हि नम सुपदरवे (H) से अतिकृतं अंतरं न भुतपुच भ्रममहमच नम (I)  
से वेदशवधभिसितेन मय भ्रममहमच कट (J) ते सप्रपदेव  
22 वपुट भ्रमधियनये च भ्रमवध्रिय ह्रिदमुखये च भ्रमयुतस योनकवोजगधरन  
रदिकपित्तिनिकन ये च पि अजे अपरत (K) भटमये-

<sup>1</sup> a[ni]ta[raṁ] Bühler<sup>2</sup> dhrama-goshe Bühler.<sup>3</sup> -bramaṇana[m] Bühler<sup>4</sup> ima Bühler<sup>5</sup> Bühler omitted yo<sup>6</sup> anu[lo]chayisu Bühler.<sup>7</sup> vadhite van Bühler.<sup>8</sup> hastine Bühler.<sup>9</sup> mata- Bühler.<sup>10</sup> ku Bühler<sup>11</sup> [ti]stītu Bühler<sup>12</sup> -bramanana Bühler.<sup>13</sup> prañana Bühler.<sup>14</sup> dhrama- Bühler<sup>15</sup> Devanapriyasa Priyadrasīne Bühler<sup>16</sup> [i]man] Bühler.<sup>17</sup> Read vadhrī.

- 23 बु ब्रमण्यभ्येषु अनयेषु बुधेषु हिदसुखये भ्रमयुतअपलिबोधये वियपुट ते (L)  
बधनबधस पटिविधनये अपलिबोधये मोक्षये च इयं
- 24 अनुवध प्रज ति व कट्टभिकर ति व महलके ति व वियप्रट ते (M) हिद बहिरेषु  
च नगरेषु सवेषु ओरोधनेषु भतन च स्पसुन च
- 25 ये व पि अजे जतिके सवच वियपट (N) ए इयं भ्रमनिशितो तो व भ्रमधिचने  
ति व दनसंयुते ति व सवच विजितसि मञ्ज भ्रमयुतसि वपुट ते
- 26 भ्रममहमच (O) एतये अणूये अयि भ्रमदिपि लिखित चिरदितिक होतु तच च ने  
प्रज अनुवटतु

- 19 (A) De[vanam]priyona<sup>1</sup> Priyadrasī raja eva[m] aha (B) kalana[m] dukara[m]  
(C) ye adikare kayanasa se dukaram karoti (D) tam maya bahu [ka]yana-  
[ka]re (E) [u]h ma[ra] putra [cha]  
20 natar[e] cha<sup>2</sup> para<sup>3</sup> cha t[e]na ye apatiye me [a]va-[ka]pam tatha anuvatisati<sup>4</sup> se  
sukaṭa ka[sha]ti (F) ye [chu] atra deśa pi hapaṭati se dukata kashati  
21 (G) pape hi nama supadarave<sup>5</sup> (H) s[e] atikrata[m] a[m]kara[m] na bhuta-pruva  
dhrama [ma]hamatra nama (I) se tṛeśaśa-va[sha]bbisittena maya dhrama-  
mahamatra (J) te savra-pa[sha]desha<sup>6</sup>  
22 vapuṭa dhramadhitha[na]ye cha dhrama-vadhriya hida-sukhaye cha dh[r]ama-yuta-  
Yona-Kamboja-Gadharana<sup>7</sup> Raṭhika-Pitinikana<sup>8</sup> ye va pi añe aparata (K)  
bha[ṭa]na-ye-  
23 shu bramanibhreshu anatheshu vudhreshu hida-su[khaye]<sup>9</sup> dhrama-yuta-  
apalibodhaye viya[p]uṭa te (L) badhana-badha[sa] paṭiv[ā]dhanaye<sup>10</sup> apalibodhaye  
mokshay[e] cha iyam  
24 anubadha p[r]aja<sup>11</sup> t[i] va kaṭṭabhikara ti va mahalake ti va viyaprata te (M)  
hida<sup>12</sup> bahiresu cha nagaresh[u] savreshu [o]rodhaneshu bhatana<sup>13</sup> cha  
spa[su]na [cha]  
25 ye va pi añe ñaṭike savratra viyapaṭa (N) [e] iyam dhrama-niśito to<sup>14</sup> va  
dhramadhithane ti va dana-samyute ti va savratra vijitasī maa dhrama-yutasi  
vapuṭa [te]  
26 dhrama-mahamatra (O) etaye athraye ayi dhrama-dipi likhita chira-ṭhitika hotu  
tatha<sup>15</sup> cha me praja anuvaṭatu

<sup>1</sup> Read \*priye, which is Bühler's reading.

<sup>2</sup> Bühler omitted cha.

<sup>3</sup> param Bühler.

<sup>4</sup> tatham anuvatiṭiati Bühler

<sup>5</sup> supadare v[e] Bühler.

<sup>6</sup> Read \*deshu, which is Bühler's reading

<sup>7</sup> -Ga[m]dharanam Bühler.

<sup>8</sup> Ratrakra- Bühler. The second symbol (this) resembles the corresponding one at Shāhbāz-garhi, but the vertical line connecting the right ends of the two horizontal bars is omitted here. The third symbol looks like *kash*, but the apparent Anuvvara is the optional bottom-line of the letter Cf the ka of *chira-ṭhitika*, VI, 31, and above, p. 73, n. 5.

<sup>9</sup> hida- Bühler.

<sup>10</sup> paṭa Bühler, ya looks like ju

<sup>11</sup> hida- Bühler

<sup>12</sup> Read bhatana.

<sup>13</sup> -mātsu is Bühler, read ts for to

<sup>14</sup> tathani Bühler

## SIXTH ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

- 26 (A) देवनप्रिये प्रियद्राशि रज एवं अज (B) अतिक्रान्तं अतारं  
 27 न हुतापुत्रे सवं कल अश्रुक्रम व पटिवेदन व (C) त मय एवं किं (D) सव  
 कलं अणतस मे औरोधने यभगरसि वचस्मि विनितस्मि उयनस्मि सवष  
 पटिवेदक अश्रु जनस  
 28 पटिवेदेतु मे (E) सवष च जनस अश्रु करोमि अहं (F) यं पि च किञ्चि सुखतो  
 अणपेमि अहं दपकं व अवकं व ये व पुन महमपेहि अचयिके अरोपिते  
 होति  
 29 तये अश्रुये विवदे निजति व संत परिषये अनतलिनेन पटिवेदेतविये मे  
 सवष सव कल (G) एवं अणपित मय (H) नस्ति हि मे तोषे उठनसि  
 अणसंतिरणये च  
 30 (I) कटवियमते हि मे सवलोकाहिते (J) तस च पुन एवे मुले उठने अश्रुसतिरण  
 च (K) नस्ति हि क्रमतर सवलोकाहितेन (L) यं च किञ्चि परक्रममि अणं  
 किति भुतनं  
 31 अणयियं येहं इअ च वे सुखयमि परच च स्पय अरपेत्तु ति (M) से एतये अश्रुये  
 इयं भ्रमदिपि लिखित चिरठितिक होतु तथ च मे पुच नतरे परक्रमते सव-  
 32 लोकाहितये (N) दुकरे च खो अजच अयेन परक्रमेन

- 26 (A) *Devanapriye<sup>1</sup> Priyadrasī raja [e]va[m] aa<sup>2</sup>* (B) *atikratam ataram<sup>3</sup>*  
 27 *na<sup>4</sup> huta-pruve [sa]vra[m] kala athra-[krama] va [pa]tivedana va (C) ta maya evam*  
*kiṭam (D) savra kalam aśatasa me orodhane grabhagarasi vrachaspi vinitaspi*  
*uyanaspi savratra pa[t]i[ve]da[ka] athra janasa*  
 28 *pativedetu me (E) savratra cha janasa aihra kar[o]mi aham (F) ya[m] pi cha<sup>5</sup>*  
*kichhi<sup>6</sup> mukhato<sup>7</sup> anapemi aham dapaka[m] va śravakam va ye<sup>8</sup> va puna*  
*mahamatrehi achayike aropite<sup>9</sup> hoti*  
 29 *taye athraye vivade nijati<sup>10</sup> va samta par[i]sha[lye] a[na]taliyena pativedetaviye<sup>11</sup>*  
*me savratra savra kala (G) evam anapita maya (H) nasti hi me toshe*  
*[uthanasī] ath[r]a-sa[m]h[ir]anaye cha*  
 30 (I) *kaṭaviya-mate hi me savra-loka-h[i]te (J) [ta]sa chu puna e[ś]he mule uṭhan<sup>12</sup>*  
*athra-satirana cha (K) nasti hi kramatara savra-loka-hitena (L) ya[m] cha*  
*[kichhi]<sup>13</sup> pa[rakra]nami aha[m]<sup>14</sup> k[i]ṭi[ti] bh[u]tanam*  
 31 *ananiyam<sup>15</sup> ye[ham] ia cha she<sup>16</sup> sukhayami paratra cha spagra<sup>17</sup> a[ra]khetu ti*

<sup>1</sup> *Devana[m]priye* Bühler.<sup>2</sup> *aha* Bühler.<sup>3</sup> *atikramitām anitaram* Bühler.<sup>4</sup> *na[e]* Bühler<sup>5</sup> Bühler omitted *cha*.<sup>6</sup> *kichhi* Bühler.<sup>7</sup> *mukhato* looks almost like *mukhati*, which is Bühler's reading.<sup>8</sup> *ya[m]* Bühler.<sup>9</sup> *aropita* Bühler.<sup>10</sup> Read *nykhat*, which is Bühler's reading<sup>11</sup> *a[na]m[ati]alyena pativedetaviye* Bühler.<sup>12</sup> *[ki]khi* Bühler.<sup>13</sup> *aham* Bühler.<sup>14</sup> *ananiyam* Bühler.<sup>15</sup> *sha* Bühler.<sup>16</sup> *spagram* Bühler.

- (M) se etaye athraye iyaṁ dhrama-dipi likhita chira-ṭhitika<sup>1</sup> hotu ta[tha ' cha] me pu[tra nata]re para[kra]mate<sup>2</sup> sa[vra]-  
 32 [lo]ka-hitaye (N) dukare cha<sup>3</sup> kho [a]ṇātra a[g]rena para[kra]mena

## SEVENTH ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

- 32 (A) देवनप्रियो प्रियद्रशि रज सव्रच इक्षति सव्रपषड वसेयु (B) सव्रे हि ते सयम  
 भवशुधि च  
 33 इक्षति (C) जने चु उचवुचछदे उचवुचरगे (D) ते सव्रं एकदेशं व पि कषति (E)  
 विपुले पि चु दने यस नस्ति सयेमे भवशुति क्खित्तत द्विदभतित च  
 34 निचे वदं

- 32 (A) Devanapriyo<sup>4</sup> Priyadraśi raja savratra ichhati savra-pashaḍa vaseyu (B)  
 savre hi te sa[ya]ma [lha]va-śu[dh]i [cha]  
 33 [ichha]ṭi (C) jane chu uchavucha-chhade<sup>5</sup> uchavucha-ṛage (D) te savram eka-deśaṁ  
 va pi kashati (E) [v]ipule pi ch[u] dane yasa nasti sayeme<sup>6</sup> bhava-śuti<sup>7</sup>  
 kitanata dridha-bhatita<sup>8</sup> cha  
 34 niche badham

## EIGHTH ROCK-EDICT. MANSEHRA

- 34 (A) अतिक्रान्तं अतारं देवनप्रिय विहरयच नम निक्रमिषु (B) इक्ष भिगविय अजनि  
 च एदिशनि अभिरमनि हुसु (C) से देवनप्रिये प्रियद्रशि  
 35 रज दशवषभिसिते संतं निक्रमि सबोधि (D) तेनद धमयद् (E) अच इय होति  
 शमणव्रमणन द्रशने दने च बुध्न द्रशने च हिजपटिविधने च  
 36 जनपदस जनस द्रशने धमनुशस्ति च धमपरिपुद्ध च ततोपय (F) एषे भुये रति  
 होति देवनप्रियस प्रियद्रशिस  
 37 रजिने भगे अणे  
 34 (A) a[ti]krataṁ ataraṁ<sup>10</sup> Devanapri[ya] vihara-yatra nama nikramiṣhu (B) ia<sup>11</sup>  
 mṛgaviya añāni cha eḍiṣāni abhiramani husu (C) [r] Devanap[r]iy[e]  
 P[r]iyadraśi  
 35 raja dāsa-vashabbhisite saṁta[m] nikrami Sabodhi<sup>12</sup> (D) tenada dhrama yada<sup>13</sup>

<sup>1</sup> -ṭhitika Bühler.<sup>2</sup> tathāsi Bühler.<sup>3</sup> °manīte Bühler<sup>4</sup> chu Bühler<sup>5</sup> [priye] Bühler.<sup>6</sup> -chade Bühler.<sup>7</sup> sayame Bühler<sup>8</sup> Read -śudhi.<sup>9</sup> dṛḍhra- Bühler.<sup>10</sup> anitaram Bühler.<sup>11</sup> s[ha] Bühler.<sup>12</sup> sambodhi Bühler

<sup>13</sup> tenad[am] dhrama-yatra Bühler. What looks like an Anuvāra or Rēpha, is probably the optional bottom-line of da, which occurs also in V, 23, 24, VIII, 36. IX, 8 (twice), X, 9, XIII, 3, 7, 9, 10, 13. Cf. above, p. 54, n 7

- (E) atra iya hoti śramaṇa-bramanana<sup>1</sup> dra[śa]ne dane cha vudhrana<sup>2</sup> dra[śa]ne  
[cha hi]jā-paṭivī[dhane<sup>3</sup> cha]  
36 janapadasa janasa draśāne dhramanuśasti cha dhrama-[pa]h[i]puchha cha tatopaya  
(F) eśhe bhuye rati hoti Devanapriyasa Priyadrasīsa  
37 rajine bhage ane

## NINTH ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

B.—North Face of Second Rock.

- 1 (A) देवनप्रिये प्रियद्रशि रज एवं अह (B) जने उचवुचं मगलं करोति  
2 अबधसि अबहसि विवहसि प्रजोपदये प्रवससि एतये अजये च एदिशये जने  
3 बहु मंगलं करोति (C) अच तु अबकजनिक बहु च बहुविध च खुद च निरधिय  
च मगलं करोति (D) से कटविये चेव खो  
4 मगले (E) अपफले चु खो एवे (F) इयं चु खो महफले ये भ्रममगले (G) अच  
इयं दसभटकसि सम्यपटिपति गुरुन अपचिंति  
5 प्रणन सयमे अमणनमणन दने एवे अणे च एदिशे भ्रममगले नम (H) से  
वतविये पितुन पि पुचन पि भतुन पि स्पमिकेन पि  
6 मिचसंस्तुतेन अव पटिवेशियेन पि इयं सधु इयं कटविये मगले अव तस अचस  
निवुटिय निवुटसि व पुन इम कषमि ति (I) ए हि इतरे मगले  
7 शशयिके से (J) सिय व तं अचूं निवटेय सिय पन नो (K) हिदलोकिके चेव से  
(L) इयं पुन भ्रममगले अकलिके (M) हचे पि तं अचूं नो निवटेति हिद  
अच परच  
8 अनत पुण प्रसवति (N) हचे पुन तं अचूं निवटेति हिद ततो उभयेसं अरधे होति  
हिद च से अचे परच च अनत पुणं प्रसवति तेन भ्रममगलेन

- 1 (A) Devanapriye Priyadrasī raja evam aha (B) jane uchavucha[rh ma]gala[in]  
karoti  
2 abadhasi a[va]jhasi vi[va]jhasi prajopadaye pravasaspi etaye añaye [cha ed]śa[re]  
jane]  
3 bahu maṅga[la]m ka[ro]ti (C) atra tu abaka-janika<sup>4</sup> bahu cha bahuvidha cha khuda  
cha nirathriya cha magalam karoti (D) se ka[ṭaviye ch]eva<sup>5</sup> kho  
4 magale (E) apa-phale chu [kho e]śhe (F) iyaṃ chlu kho maha-phale ye dhrama-  
magale<sup>6</sup> (G) atra iyaṃ dasa-bhāṭakasi samya-paṭipati guruna a[pachut]i  
5 pra[n]a[na] śa[rya]me śramaṇa-bramanana [dane] eśhe ane cha ediśe dhrama-magale  
nama (H) se vataviye p[itu]na pi putrena pi bhratuna<sup>7</sup> pi spamikena pi  
6 mitra-sa[m]stutena [a]ya paṭiveśiyena pi iyaṃ sadhu iyaṃ kaṭaviye magale ava tasa  
athrasa nivuṭiya nivuṭasi va puna ima [ka]śhami ti<sup>8</sup> (I) c hi [i]tare<sup>9</sup> maga[le]

<sup>1</sup> śramaṇa- Bühler.<sup>4</sup> baka for abaka- Bühler.<sup>7</sup> bhātuna Bühler.<sup>2</sup> vudhrana Bühler.<sup>5</sup> cha for [k]eva Bühler.<sup>8</sup> k[e]śa[a]miti Bühler.<sup>3</sup> Read śraśa-.<sup>6</sup> -magale Bühler.<sup>9</sup> [a]śake Bühler.

- 7 śa[śa]yike se (J) ś[i]ya va tam athraṃ nivaṭeya ś[i]a pana no (K) hida[o]kike  
cheva se<sup>1</sup> (L) iyaṃ puna dhrama-magale akalike (M) [ha]che pi tam athraṃ  
no<sup>2</sup> nivaṭeti [hi]la a[tha] paratra  
8 anata puna<sup>3</sup> prasavati (N) hache puna ta[m] athraṃ<sup>4</sup> nivaṭ[e]li hida tato  
ubhayesaṃ [ara]dhe<sup>5</sup> hoti hida cha se athre paratra cha anata<sup>7</sup> punaṃ  
prasavati tena dhramagalena<sup>6</sup>

## TENTH ROCK-EDICT. MANSEHRA

- 9 (A) देवनप्रिये प्रियद्रशि रज यशो व किटि व नो महध्वहं मज्जति अणव यं पि  
यशो व किटि व इहति तद्वये अयतिय च जने भ्रमसुषुषु सधुषुतु मे ति  
10 भ्रमवुतं च अनुविधियतु ति (B) एतकये देवनप्रिये प्रियद्रशि रज यशो व किटि  
व इहति (C) . . . . किछि परक्रमति देवनप्रिये प्रियद्रशि रज तं सवं  
परिकये व किति  
11 सकले अणपरिसवे सियति ति (D) एषे चु परिसवे ए अणुषे (E) दुकरे चु खो  
एषे खुदकेन व वयेन उसटेन व अणव अयेन परक्रमेन सवं परितिजितु (F)  
अण तु खो उसटेनेव दुकरे  
9 (A) [Devana]priye Priyadraśi raja yaśo va kiti va no<sup>9</sup> mahathravaham mañati  
anatra yam pi ya[śo va] kiti va ichhati tadatvay<sup>10</sup> ayatiya cha jana  
[dhra]ma-suśrūsha suśrūshatu<sup>11</sup> me ti  
10 dhrama-[vutam cha]<sup>12</sup> anuvīdhiyatu ti (B) etakaye Devanapriye Priya[dra]śi  
raja yaśo va kiti va i[clha]tu (C) . . . [k]ichhi<sup>13</sup> parak[i]ma[ti] Devanapriye  
Priyadraśi raja tam savram parat[r]ikay[e va k]i[ti]  
11 sa[kale apa]-pa[r]iśav[e] siyati ti (D) eṣhe chu<sup>14</sup> pa[r]iśave e aṇu[ṣe]<sup>15</sup> (E) dukare<sup>16</sup>  
chu kho eṣhe khudakena<sup>17</sup> [va va]g[e]na [n]atena va ana[tra]<sup>18</sup> a[gre]na  
para[krame]na sav[ram] pari[ti]jitu (F) atra<sup>19</sup> tu [kho] usateneva du[kar]e<sup>20</sup>

## ELEVENTH ROCK-EDICT. MANSEHRA

- 12 (A) देवनप्रिये प्रियद्रशि रज एवं अह (B) नस्ति एदिशे दने अदिशे भ्रमदने  
भ्रमसंघवे भ्रमसंविभग भ्रमसंबंधे (C) तच एषे दसभटकसि सम्यपटिपति  
मतापनुषु सुषुषु

<sup>1</sup> i[ha]y[i]a[loki]cha vase Buhler.<sup>2</sup> na Buhler.<sup>3</sup> an[am]tam puṣam Buhler<sup>4</sup> [a] . va Buhler.<sup>5</sup> tato looks almost like tati<sup>6</sup> ubhayasa [va la]dhe Buhler<sup>7</sup> ana[m]ia[śi] Buhler.<sup>8</sup> Read dhrama-magalena The same mistake is found in the Shāhbāgarhi version<sup>9</sup> n[a] Buhler.<sup>10</sup> tadattaye Buhler, but see above, p. 62, n. 2<sup>11</sup> The syllable śru is engraved in a deep round hole which must have existed already at the time of the inscription.<sup>12</sup> Buhler omitted cha.<sup>13</sup> [e tu] kichhi Buhler<sup>14</sup> tu Buhler.<sup>15</sup> [apu]śa[m] Buhler.<sup>16</sup> dukaram Buhler<sup>17</sup> khudakena Buhler.<sup>18</sup> a[śa]tra Buhler.<sup>19</sup> e . Buhler.<sup>20</sup> usatena va dukara Buhler



- 13 मिषसंस्तुतजितिकन भमस्यप्रमथन दने प्रथन अनरभे (D) एवे वतविये पितुन  
पि पुचेन पि भतुन पि स्पमिकेन पि मिषसंस्तुतेन अष पटिवेशियेन
- 14 इयं सधु इयं कटविये (E) से तथ करतं हिदलोके च वं अरभे होति परष च  
अनंतं पुणं प्रसवति तेन भमदनेन
- 12 (A) Devanapri[ya] Priyadrasī raja evaṃ aha (B) nasti ediśe dane [a]diśe  
dhrama-dane dhrama-samtha[v]e dhrama-saṃvibhaga<sup>1</sup> dhrama-sa[rh]ba[rh]dh[e]  
(C) tatra eshe dasa-bhaṭa[ka]si samya-paṭipati<sup>2</sup> mata-[pitu]jshu su[śru]jha  
13 mitra-sam[stuta]-ñatikana śramana-bramaṇana dan[e] praṇana [ava]rabhe<sup>3</sup> (D)  
[e]she vataviye pituna pi putrena pi bhraṭuna<sup>4</sup> pi spamike[na] pi mitra-  
saṃ[stu]t[e]na ava paṭiveśiyena  
14 iyaṃ sa[dhu] iyaṃ kaṭaviye<sup>5</sup> (E) se tatha karata[rh] hi[dalo]ke<sup>6</sup> [cha] kaṃ<sup>7</sup> aradhe  
ho[ti]<sup>8</sup> pa[ra]tra[ra] cha ana[rh]taṃ punarh p[r]asavati te[na] dhra[ma]-danena

## TWELFTH ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

*C—South Face of Second Rock.*

- 1 (A) देवनप्रिये प्रियद्रशि रज सधपषडनि प्रवजितनि गेहधनि च पुजेति दनेन  
विविधये च पुत्रये (B) नो चु तथ दन व पुज व
- 2 देवनप्रिये मज्जति अथ किति सलवढि सिय सधपषडन ति (C) सलवुढि तु  
बहुविष (D) तस चु इयं मुले अं वचगुति
- 3 किति अतप्रषडपुज व परपषडगरह व नो सिय अपकरणसि लहुक व सिय तसि  
तसि पकरणसि (E) पुजेतविय व चु परप्रषड तेन तेन
- 4 अकरेन (F) एवं करतं अतपषड वढं वढयति परपषडस पि च उपकरोति (G)  
तदंजय करतं अतपषड च क्खति परपषडस पि च
- 5 अपकरोति (H) ये हि केहि अतपषड पुजेति परपषड व गरहति समे अत-  
पषडभतिय व किति अतपषड दिपयम ति . . . पुन तथ करतं
- 6 बढतरे उपहंति अतपषड (I) से समयये नो सधु किति अणमणस भनं षुषेसु  
च सुषुषेसु च ति (J) एवं हि देवनप्रियस इह किति सधपषड बहुश्रुत च
- 7 कयणम च हुवेसु ति (K) ए च तथ तथ प्रसन तेहि वतविये (L) देवनप्रिये नो  
तथ दनं व पुजं व मणति अथ किति सलवढि सिय सधपषडन
- 8 (M) बहुक च एतये अषुये वपुट भममहमच इस्सिजस्समहमच वचभुमिक अजे च  
निकये (N) इयं च एतिस फले
- 9 यं अतपषडवढि च भोति भमस च दिपन

<sup>1</sup> °bhage Bühler.<sup>2</sup> -[bha]ṭa . . . sa sa[mya]-saṃpāṭipati Bühler.<sup>3</sup> anarabhe Bühler.<sup>4</sup> bhatuna Bühler.<sup>5</sup> krataviye Bühler.<sup>6</sup> karantam hida . . . ka Bühler.<sup>7</sup> [ka?] Bühler in foot-note 10.<sup>8</sup> aradhe . . . s Bühler

- 1 (A) **Devanapriye Priyadrāṣī** rāja savra-pashadani [p]ra[va]j[i]kani gehathani<sup>1</sup> cha  
pujeti danena vividhaye cha pujaye<sup>2</sup> (B) no chu tatha dana va puja va  
2 [De]vana[th]priye māñiati atha kiti sala-vadhi siya savra-pashadana ti (C) sala-  
vrudhi t[u] bahuvidha (D) tasa chu iyañi mule añi vacha-guti  
3 kiti ata-prashada-puja va para-pashada-garaha va no siya apakaranasi lahuka va  
siya tasi tasi pakaranasi (E) pujetaviya va chu para-p[r]ashada tena tena  
4 akarena (F) evam karatam atva-pashada<sup>3</sup> badham vadhayati para-pashadasa pi cha  
upakaroti (G) tad-amñiatha<sup>4</sup> karatam ata-pashada<sup>5</sup> cha chhanati para-pashadasa  
pi cha  
5 apakaroti (H) ye hi kechhi<sup>6</sup> atva-pashada pujeti para-pashada va garahati savre  
atva-pashada-bhatiya va kiti atva-pashada dipayama ti . . . puna tatha  
karatam  
6 badhataram<sup>7</sup> upahanti<sup>8</sup> atva-pasha[da] (I) se samavaye vo<sup>9</sup> sadhu ki[t]i anamañasa  
dhramani śruñ[c]y[u] cha suśrushe[ya] cha ti (J) evam hi **Devanapriyasa**<sup>10</sup>  
ichha kiti savra-pashada bahu-śruta cha  
7 kayanagama cha [hu]jeyu<sup>11</sup> ti (K) e cha tatra tatra prasana tchi vataviye (L)  
**Devanapriye** no tatha danani va puja[m] va manati atha kiti sala-vadhi siya  
savra-pashada[na]  
8 (M) [ba]huka cha etaye athraye vaputa dhrama-mahamatra istriyakhsha-mahamatra<sup>12</sup>  
vracha-bh[u]mika añi cha uikay[e]<sup>13</sup> (N) iyañi cha etisa phale  
9 yañi atva-pashada-valhi cha bh[o]t[i] dhramasa cha [di]pana

## THIRTEENTH ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

## D.—Third Inscribed Rock.

- 1 (A) अटवषभिसितस देवनप्रियस प्रियद्रशिने रजिने कलिग विजित (B) दिग्दमवे  
प्रणयतस . . . . .  
2 मटे (C) ततो पच अपुन लपेषु कलिगेषु तिप्ते भ्रमवये . . . . .  
भ्रमनुशस्ति च देवनप्रि . . . . (D) . . . . .  
3 मरणे व अपवहे व जनस से बढं वेदनिमते गुरुमते च देवनप्रियस (E) इयं पि  
चु ततो . . . . .  
4 येसु बिहित एव अयभुदिसुशुच मतपितुषु सुशुच गुल्सुशुच मिचसंसु . . . . .

<sup>1</sup> -prashadani pravajjani gehatham Buhler.<sup>2</sup> pujaya Buhler.<sup>3</sup> Hec, and in five other places of the same edict, Buhler read *atma-* for *atva-*. The second syllable of this word is identical in shape with the *tva* of *tadatvaye* in edict X, l. 9. I therefore read *atva-*, following Konow (SPAW, 1916, 864, n. 7), who quotes in support Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 277.<sup>4</sup> *taduññathani* Buhler. The wavy line at the bottom of *da* need not be an Anusvāra, but may be a portion of *da* itself, see above, p. 77. n. 13.<sup>5</sup> *atma-* Buhler.<sup>6</sup> *kechi* Buhler.<sup>7</sup> *badhamtarām* Buhler<sup>8</sup> *hanti* looks like *anti*, *ho[na]ti* Buhler.<sup>9</sup> *ta* Buhler.<sup>10</sup> *Devana[m]priyasa* Buhler.<sup>11</sup> *haryu* Buhler.<sup>12</sup> Read *istriyakhsha-*<sup>13</sup> *mikaya* Buhler

- 5 वधे व अभिरतनं व विनिक्रमणि (H) येधं व पि सुविहितनं सिनेहे अविपहिने ए तनं मिचसं .....
- 6 (I) ..... एष सवमनुशनं गुरुमते च देवनंप्रियस (G) नस्ति च से जनपदे यच नस्ति इमे निकय अज्ज योनेषु ब्रमणे च अमणे ..... पि जनपदसि यच .....
- 7 न नम प्रसदे (K) से यवतके जने तद कलिंगेषु हते च ..... अपवुडे च ततो शतभगे व सहस्रभगे व अज गुरुमते व देवनंप्रियस (L) ..... पक ..... मितवि .....
- 8 (M) .. पि च अटवि देवनंप्रियस विजितसि होति त पि अनुनयति अनुनिभपयति (N) अनुतपे पि च प्रभवे देवनंप्रियस वुचति तेव कि ..... (O) .. छ ..... वनंप्रिय .....
- 9 (P) ..... सुखमुते विजये देवनंप्रियस ये भ्रमविजये (Q) से च पुन लधे देवनंप्रियस हिद च सवेषु च अंतेषु अ वषु पि योजनशतेषु ..... तियोगे नम योनरज .....
- 10 अंते .... नम मक नम अलिकमुदरे नम निच चोडपंडिय अ तंबपणिय (R) एवमेव हिद रजविषवसि योनकंबोजेषु नभकनभपतिषु भोजपित्तनिकेषु अथप .....
- 11 (S) यच पि दत्त देवनंप्रियस न यंति ते पि श्रुतु देवनंप्रियस भ्रमवुत विधनं भ्रमनुशस्ति भ्रमं अनुविधियंति अनुविधियिंति च (T) ये से लधे एतकेन होति सप्रच विजये .....
- 12 (W) परचिकमेव महफल मणति देवनंप्रिये (X) एतये च अष्ये इयं भ्रमदिपि लिखित किति पुच प्रपोच मे असु नवं वि ..... तवियं मणेषु सय .....
- 13 (Y) .. हिदलोके परलोकिके (Z) सब च क निरति होतु य भ्रमरति (AA) स हि इअलोकिक परलोकिक

1 (A) [aṭha]-vashabhisita[sa] De[va]na[priyasa] Priyadrasīne rajīne [Ka]līga [v]i[ṭṭa] (B) [di]ya[dha]-mat[r]e prana-[ṣata-sa] .....

2 [ma]te (C) [tato] pacha<sup>1</sup> adhuna la[dhe]shu Kaligoshu ti[vr]e dhrama[va]jye ..... [dhra]manu[ṣa]sti [cha De]vana[pri] ..... (D) .....

3 [marane va apavahre va janasa] se [badham] vedaniya-mate guru-mate [cha Do]vanapriyasa (F) [i]yam [pi] chu tato .....

4 [yr]ku [vihi]ta esha [a]grabhu[ti]-suśrūsha mata-pi[ti]sh[u] su[śru]sha guru-suśrūsha mit[r]a-sa[m]tu .....

<sup>1</sup> *pachha* Bühler In this edict I am noting only verbal differences from Bühler's text, but not the numerous passages which he omitted because he was unable to make them out from the materials at his disposal.

- 5 [va]lh[e] va abh[iratanam] va vini[k]ramani<sup>1</sup> (H) yesha[m] va pi s[u]vih[itanam]<sup>2</sup> si[n]e[he] avipahin[e<sup>3</sup> e] ta[nam] mitra-[sam] . . . .
- 6 (I) . . . . [esha] savra-manuśanam<sup>4</sup> guru-mate cha **Devanapriyasa** (J) nasti cha se janapade yatra nasti ime ni[k]a]ya a[ñā]tra **Yonoshu** [briamane<sup>5</sup> cha] śra[mane] . . . . pi [janapada]hi ya[t]i . . . .
- 7 na<sup>6</sup> nama prasade (K) se yavatake jane tada **Kaligesh[u]** hate<sup>7</sup> cha apavuthe cha ta[tu]śāta-bhage va sahasra-bhage va<sup>8</sup> aja guru-ma[te] va **Devanapriya** (L) . . . . pa[ka] . . . . [mi]tavi . . . .
- 8 (M) . [pi cha] ātavi **Devanapriyasa**<sup>10</sup> vijitasi hoti [ta] pi a[nuna]ya[tu] a[nu]niha]paya[t]i<sup>11</sup> (N) [anu]tāpe pi cha prabhava **Devanapriyasa**<sup>12</sup> vuchati [te]sha<sup>13</sup> [ki] . . . . (O) chha . . . . **vanapriy** ]<sup>14</sup> .
- 9 (P) . . . . [mukha]-mute v[i]jaye **D[e]vanapriyasa**<sup>15</sup> ye dhrama-vijaye (Q) se cha [puna] la[dh]je [Deva]napri[ya]sa<sup>16</sup> hida cha sa[vi]jeshu cha amteshu a shasnu pi [o]ja[na-śa]e[śhu] . . . . tiyo[go] nama Yo[na]-[raja] . . . .
- 10 **Añt[o]** . [nama **Ma]ka** na[ma] **Alikasudare** nama mcha<sup>17</sup> **Choḍa-Pañdiya** a **Tambapañniya**<sup>18</sup> (R) evameva [hida] raja-vishava[si]<sup>19</sup> **Y[o]na-Kam**<sup>20</sup> ojeshu **Nabhaka**-[Na]bhapa[ñ]tishu<sup>21</sup> [Bh]o[ja-Pi]tini[ke]shu **Adha**-[Pa]<sup>22</sup> . . . .
- 11 (S) [yatra pi du]ta **[Do]vanapriyasa** na<sup>23</sup> yamti te pi śrutu **Devanapriyasa**<sup>24</sup> dhrama-vuta<sup>25</sup> vidhana[m] dhramanuśasu dhra[m]na[m] anuviddhiyamti [a]nuvidhiy[ī]śa[nti]<sup>26</sup> cha (T) [ye se] ladhe e[ta]ke[na] hoti savra[tra]-<sup>27</sup> vi[jaye] . . . .
- 12 (W) paratrikameva maha-phala [ina]nati **Deva]napri[ye]** (X) e[ta]ye cha<sup>28</sup> [a]thray[e] iyam dhramma-dipi<sup>29</sup> li[khi]ta kitu putra piya[u]tra me a[si] nava[ni]<sup>30</sup> v[i] . . . . [tavi]yam man[ishu] sayā . . . .
- 13 (Y) . hidaloke paralokike (Z) sava<sup>31</sup> cha [ka]<sup>32</sup> nirati hotu ya dhrama-rati<sup>33</sup> (**AA**) sa hi [i]lloki[ka]<sup>34</sup> paraloki[ka]

## FOURTEENTH ROCK-EDICT. MANSEHRA

- 13 (A) इयं भ्रमदिपि देवमप्रियेन प्रिय . . . . . जिन लिखपित . . . . .
- 14 लिखिते लिखपेगमि चेव नि . . (D) अस्ति च्चु अच पुन पुन लपिते तस तस अचस मधुरियये येन जने तथ पटिपजेयति (E) से सिय अच किच्चि . . . . . ति लिखित . . . . व संखय . . . . .

<sup>1</sup> mane Buhler<sup>4</sup> savan manu<sup>3</sup> Buhler<sup>7</sup> hate looks like ante<sup>10</sup> Devanapri<sup>9</sup> Buhler.<sup>13</sup> [teshasi] Buhler<sup>16</sup> . . . . yok Buhler<sup>19</sup> Visha-Vaj[re]- Buhler<sup>22</sup> no Buhler.<sup>25</sup> Buhler omitted this word<sup>28</sup> nava Buhler<sup>31</sup> [a]rama- Buhler<sup>5</sup> samva<sup>4</sup> Buhler<sup>8</sup> yesha [briama] Buhler.<sup>11</sup> [tata] Buhler.<sup>14</sup> [payi] Buhler.<sup>17</sup> [vanapri] Buhler.<sup>20</sup> [na]cha Buhler<sup>23</sup> [Nabha]ke [Na]bha<sup>22</sup> Buhler<sup>26</sup> [vutasi] Buhler<sup>29</sup> Buhler omitted cha.<sup>32</sup> sava Buhler.<sup>35</sup> [hata] Buhler<sup>6</sup> aviprah[ne] Buhler<sup>9</sup> no Buhler<sup>12</sup> Buhler omitted va<sup>15</sup> Deva[nam]pi<sup>14</sup> Buhler<sup>18</sup> [Di]vanapri<sup>17</sup> Buhler<sup>21</sup> [panniya] Buhler.<sup>24</sup> [Amtha]- Buhler<sup>27</sup> [samti] Buhler.<sup>30</sup> dhrama- Buhler<sup>33</sup> Buhler omitted ka

13 (A) [i]yañ dhrama-dipi De[va]napriyena Pri[ya] <sup>1</sup> . . . . . [jina likhapita]

14 [likhite likha]p[śa]mi che[va] ni . . . (D) [asti chu a]tra puna puna la[pīte] tasa  
ta[sa] a[thra]śa [madhu]riyaye [ye]na jane ta[tha] paṭipaje[ya]ti (E) se [si]ya  
atra ki[chhi]. . . . . [t]i likhi[t .] . . . . va [saṁkha]ya . . . . .

## V. THE DHAULI ROCK

### FIRST ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

- 1 (A) . . . . . सि पवतसि देवानंपियस पियदसिने ल  
लिखा . . . . . ीवं आलभितु पजोह . . . . .  
2 (C) नो पि च समाजे . . . . . समाज द . . . . . (E) . . . .  
पि चु . . . . . तिया समाजा साधुमता देव . . . . .  
3 पियदसिने लाजिने (F) . . . . . मह . . . . . पिय . . . . . नि  
पानसत . . . . . आलभियसु सुपढाये  
4 (G) से अज अदा इयं धंमलिपी लिता तिं . . . . . आलभिय . . . . .  
तिंति पानानि पद्धा नो आलंभियसंति

- 1 (A) . . . . . [si<sup>3</sup> pava]tasi [D]e[v]ā[na]m̐piy[is] . . . . . [nā lājina l̐][khā]  
. . . . . [ṛ]yañ ālabhitu pajo[h] . . . . .  
2 (C) [no pi cha sa]m̐h̐[je] . . . . . [sa]m̐ja . . . . . [d] . . . . . (E) . . . . [pī  
chu] . . . . . [t]i[y]ā [sa]m̐h̐[ja] s[ā]dhu-matā Dev . . . . .  
3 [Piya]dasine lā[ji]ne (F) . . . . . [mah] . . . . . Piya[a] . . . . . [n̐]  
[p]āna [sa]ta . . . . . [ā]nabhiyisu sūpaṭhāy[e]  
4 (G) se a[ja] adā [iyam dha]m̐[ma]līpi likhitā tim . . . . . [āla]bh[iy] . . . . .  
[t]imni pānāni pachhā n[ā] ā[am]bhiyasa[m̐]t[i]

### SECOND ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

- 1 (A) सबत विजितसि देवानंपियस पियदसिने ल . . . . . अषा  
. . . . . तियोके नाम योनलाजा  
2 ए वा पि तस अंतियोक्स सामंता लाजाने सबत देवानंपियेन पियदसिना  
. . . . . सा च पसुचिकिसा च (B) . . . . . धानि

<sup>1</sup> Of this edict Bühler has read only the two words [*Devanaṁpiyena Priyadrasina*], see ZDMG, 44. 704.

<sup>2</sup> The actual reading was perhaps *nikāṣi*, which would correspond to *nikyam* at Kālsī.

<sup>3</sup> The name of the hill on which the Dhāuli record was engraved is lost. It cannot have been *K'hepungala* as believed (and traced on his plate IX) by Cunningham, because this was the original name of the Jaugada rock, see the Jaugada edict I, A.

<sup>4</sup> *ālābhi*° Senart, *ālābhi*° Bühler.

THIRTEENTH AND FOURTEENTH ROCK-EDICTS: MANSEHRA





3 आनि मुनिसोपगानि पसुओपगानि च अतत नधि सवत हालापिता च लोपापिता च (C) मूल ..... वत हालापिता च

4 लोपापिता च (D) मनेसु उदुपानानि खानापितानि लुखानि च लोपापितानि पटिभोगावे ..... नं

1 (A) [sa]vata [v]i[ti]asi [D]e[v]ānampiyasa Piyadasi[no 1] . . . . . [athā]  
 . . . . . [t]iyoke nāma Yo[na]-lājā

2 [c] vā [p]i [ta]sa Añtiyo[ka]sa sāmamtā lājāne savat[a D]evā[nam]p[ī][ye]na  
 P[ī]yadasa[nā] . . . . . [s]ā cha p[asu-ch]i[k]s[ā] cha (B) . . . dhami

3 ān[i m]u[nisopa]gāni pasu-opagān[i] cha atata na[thi savata hā]lāpita[ā] cha [lo]pāp[ī]ta  
 [cha] (C) mū[ti] . . . . . v[a]t[ā] hālāpitā [cha]

4 lo[p]āpitā cha (D) ma[g]e[su udu]pānāni khānāpitāni lukhāni cha lopā[ī]tāni  
 p[a]tibhogāye . . . . . [na]m

## THIRD ROCK-EDICT DHAULI

1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसी लाजा हेवं आहा (B) दुवादसवसाभिसितेन मे इयं  
 आनापयि (C) . . . . . त विजितसि मे युता लजुके . . . . .

2 पंचसु पंचसु वसेसु अनुसयानं निखमावू अथा अनाये पि कमने हेवं इमाये  
 धंमानुसथिये (D) साधु मातापितसु सुमूसा म . . . . .

3 नातिसु च बभनसमनेहि साधु दाने जीवेसु अनालंभे साधु अपबियता अपभंडता  
 साधु (E) पलिसा पि च . . . . . नसि युतानि आनपयिसति हेतुते च  
 वियंज . . . . .

1 (A) Devānampiye Piyadasi lājā hevam āhā (B) duvādasa-vasābhisitena me  
 iya[ā]h ānāp[ay]i . . . . . (C) [ta v]i[ti]t[ā] m[ti] yut[ā] la[ti]u[k]t . . .

2 pañchasu pañchasu vasesu anuśayānam nikhamaṃvū athā amnaye pi [ka]m[ma]ne  
 hevam mā[tye] [dham]mānus[āthi]y[e] (D) [s]ādh[u] ma[ā]-p[ī]t[ī]su su[s]us[ā]  
 m . . . . .

3 nātisū cha bambhana-samanehi sādhu dāne jīvesu anālambhe sādhu apa-viy[ā]t[ā]  
 apa-bh[ā]m[ti]t[ā] sādhu (E) p[a]lisa pi cha [nas]i y[ut]i[ā]ni a[na]h[ā]y[is]a[ti]  
 [h]at[ā] ch[a] vī[ya]mja . . . . .

## FOURTH ROCK-EDICT DHAULI

1 (A) अतिकंतं अंतलं बहुनि वससतानि बढिते व पानालंभे विहिसा च भूतानं  
 नातिसु असंपटिपति समनबाभनेसु असंपटिपति

2 (B) से अज देवानंपियस पियदसिने लाजिने धंमचलनेन भेलियोसं अहो  
 धंमघोसं विमानदसनं ह्यीनि अगिकंधानि अनानि च दिवियानि



- 3 लूपानि दसयितु मुनिसानं (C) आदिसे बहुहि वससतेहि नो हूतपुलुवे तादिसे  
अत्र वदिते देवानंपियस पियदसिने लाजिने धंमानुसधिया  
4 अनालंभे पानानं अविहिंसा भूतानं नातिसु संपटिपति समनबाभनेसु संपटिपति  
मातिपितुसुसुसा वुडसुसुसा (D) एस अने च बहुविधे  
5 धंमचलने वदिते (E) वदयिसति चेव देवानंपिये पियदसी लाजा धंमचलनं इमं  
(F) पुता पि चु नति पनति . . च देवानंपियस पियदसिने लाजिने  
6 पवदयिसंति येव धंमचलनं इमं आक्कपं धंमसि सीलसि च चिठितु धंमं  
अनुसासिसंति (G) एस हि सेठे कंमे या धंमानुसासना (H) धंमचलने  
पि चु  
7 नो होति असीलस (I) से इमस अठस वदी अहीनि च साधू (J) एताये अठये  
इयं लिखिते इमस अठस वदी युजंतू हीनि च मा अलोचयिसू  
8 (K) दुवादस वसानि अभिसितस देवानंपियस पियदसिने लाजिने यं इध लिखिते

- 1 (A) atikamtam amtalam bahuni vasa-satāni vadhite va panā[la]mbhe vihīsā cha  
bhūtānāni nātisu asampatipatī samana-babbha[ne]su asampatipatī  
2 (B) se aja Devānāmpiyasa Piyadasīno lājīno dhamma-chalanena bheli-ghosam  
a[h]o dhamma-[gho]kam vimana-dasanam hathini [a]ḥḥ-kamdhāni amuāni cha  
[di]vi[y]āni  
3 lūpan[i] dasayitu munisānam (C) aḥ[i]he b[a]hūhi vasa-sa[t]ṭhi no hūta-pulive tadise  
aja va[dhite Devānāmpiyasa Piy(a)dasīno lājīn(e) dham[m]ānus[a]h[ya]yā  
4 an[ā]lāmbhe pānānam avihisa bhūtānam nātisu sampatipatī sama[na-b[a]h[ya]nesu  
sāmpatipatī m[a]h[ā]pitu-susūsā vu[dha]-susūsā (D) esa amne cha ba[h]huvīdhe  
5 dh[a]mma-chalanē vadhite (E) vadhaya[s]ati cheva Devānāmpiyasa Piyada[s]ī l[ā]jā  
dhamma-chalanam imam (F) putā pi chu<sup>1</sup> nati [panatī] . .<sup>2</sup> [cha] Devānāmpiyasa Piyadasīno lājīno  
6 pavadhayisanti yeva dhamma-chalanam imam ā-k[a]ṇṇam dhammasi [v]ajasi ch[a  
ch][th]itu [dhammam a]nus[a]sam[t]i (G) esa hi[i] se[the kam]me ya  
dhammanusāsana (H) dhamma-chalanē pi chu  
7 no hoti asīlāsa (I) se imasa athasa v[a]h[ā]hi<sup>3</sup> ahini ch[a] a[ā]dhū<sup>4</sup> (J) et[āy]e [athāy]e  
iyam likhite imasa athasa vadhi yujantū hīni cha ma alochayisū<sup>5</sup>  
8 (K) duvādasa vāsāni abhisitasa Devānāmpiyasa Piyadasīno lājīno yam<sup>6</sup> [idha]  
likhite

## FIFTH ROCK-EDICT. DHAULI

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसी लाजा हेवं आहा (B) कयाने दुक्कले (C) . . . . .  
कयानस से दुक्कलं कलेत्ति (D) से मे बहुके कयाने फटे (E) तं ये मे पुता व

<sup>1</sup> -bambhanesu Buhler.<sup>2</sup> The Kālsi version reads panātikyā<sup>3</sup> yisu Senart and Buhler.<sup>4</sup> cha Senart and Buhler<sup>5</sup> vudhi Buhler.<sup>6</sup> sādhu Senart and Buhler<sup>7</sup> Read perhaps iyam.

- 2 नती व . . . च तेन ये अप्रति ये मे आवकपं तथा अनुवत्तिंसे से सुकटं कळति  
(F) ए हेत देसं पि हापयिसति से दुकटं कळति (G) पापे हि नाम
- 3 सुपदालये (H) से अतिवंतं अंतलं नो हूतपुलुवा धम्ममहामाता नाम (I) से  
तेदसवसाभिसितेन मे धम्ममहामाता नाम कटा (J) ते सवपासंडेसु
- 4 वियापटा धंमाधिषानाये धंमवडिये हितसुखाये च धंमयुतस येनिकंबोचगंधालेसु  
लठिकपितेनिकेसु ए वा पि अने अपलंता (K) भटिमयेसु
- 5 बाभनिभियेसु अनायेसु महालकेसु च हितसुखाये धंमयुताये अपलिबोधाये  
वियापटा से (L) बंधनबधस पटिविधानाये अपलिबोधाये मोखाये च
- 6 इयं अनुबंध पजा ति व कटाभीकाले ति व महालके ति व वियापटा से (M)  
हिद च बाहिलेसु च नगलेसु सवेसु सवेसु ओलोपनेसु मे ए वा पि भातीनं  
मे भगिनीनं व
- 7 अनेसु वा नातिसु सवत वियापटा (N) ए इयं धंमनिसिते ति व धंमाधिषाने ति  
व दानसयुते व सवपुठवियं धंमयुतसि वियापटा इमे धम्ममहामाता (O)  
इमाये अट्टाये
- 8 इयं धंमलिपी लिखिता चिलिठितीका होतु तथा च मे पजा अनुवततु

- 1 (A) [Dev]ānaṃpiye Piyaṃsī lājā h[eva]m ahā (B) kayāne dukale (C)  
k[a]y[ā]n[ā]sa s[et] dukalam kal[et]u (D) se me bh[ā]h[ā]jake kayāne katu (E) tam y[  
me [p]u[i] va
- 2 n[a]t[et] va] . . . m cha t[et]na ye ap[et]iye me āva-kapam tatha anuvattisam[et] s[et]  
sukatam kachh[am]u (F) e heta d[et]sa[m] pi hapayisat[et] se dukatam kachhatu (G)  
pa[p]e hi [nāma]
- 3 supadālaye (H) s[et] at[et]ikim]tam antalaṃ no hūta-puluvā dhamma mahāmātā nama  
(I) se **tedasa-va[sā]bhāsita**na me dhamma-mahamata nāma katā (J) te  
sava-pāsande[su]
- 4 v[et]i[apata] dhammadhithān[ā]ye dhamma-[va]dhiye hita-sukhāye [cha] dhamm[  
yuta-s[ā] **Yona-Kambocha-Gandhālesu Lathika-[P]tenikesu** e va pi amme  
āpalamā<sup>4</sup> (K) bhāt[imaye]su]
- 5 bābha[n]bh[et]es[et] anāthesu ma[hāla]kesu cha h[et]i[ā]-sukhāye dhamma yutāye  
a[pa]llobdhāye viy[et]p[et]i se<sup>5</sup> (L) bamdhana-[la]kha-s[ā] p[et]i[et]v[et]h[et]n[et]ye  
apalib[et]dhāye mokhāye cha
- 6 iya[m] anubamdh[et] p[et]i[et]jā<sup>6</sup> [et]i [va] ka]lābhikā[le] ti va mahālake ti va vi[et]pata  
se (M) hi d[et] cha bāhilesu cha n[et]galesu s[et]vesu olodhanes[et]u me e vā pi  
bhā[et]nam<sup>6</sup> me bhaginīnam va

<sup>1</sup> nat[et] Buhler<sup>4</sup> āpalamta Buhler

<sup>2</sup> Here, and at the end of section I., Franke (VO), p. 349 f.) joins *vyāpatāse* into one word, and takes it as an equivalent of the Vedic nominative plural in -āsah. In the pillar-Edict VII, V (twice) and CC, *vyāpatāse* actually occurs. But, as pointed out by Michelson (AJP, 32. 442 f.), the case may after all be different at Dhauri, because the other versions have *te* in the place of *se*.

<sup>5</sup> pa[ju] Buhler.<sup>6</sup> bhāt[et]nam Buhler.

- 7 añnesu vā [nāt]i[su sava]i[a] v[i]yāpaṭā (N) e iyañ dhamm[a-n]isite ti va  
dhammādhithāne ti va dāna-sayute va sava-puṭhaviyañ dha[m]ma-yutasi  
viyāpaṭā ime dhamma-mahām[ā]tā (O) [i]m[a]ye aṭṭhāye  
8 iyañ dhamma-lip[i] li[kh]i[tā] chila-ṭhitikā ho[ḥu]t[athā] cha me pa[jā] anu[va]tatu

## SIXTH ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

- 1 (A) देवानंघिये पियदसी लाजा हेवं आहा (B) अतिकंतं अंतलं नो हूतपुलुवे  
सवं कालं अठकंमे व पटिवेदना व (C) से ममया कटे (D) सवं कालं  
..... मानस मे  
2 अति ओलोधनसि गभागालसि वचसि विनीतसि उयानसि च सवत पटिवेदका  
जनस अठ पटिवेदयंतु मे ति (E) सवत च जनस अठ कालामि हवं  
3 (F) अं पि च किंछि मुखते आनपयामि दापकं वा सावकं वा ए वा महामातेहि  
अतियायिके आलोपिते होति तसि अठसि विवादे व निभृत्ती वा संतं  
पलिसाया  
4 आनंतलियं पटिवेदेतविये मे ति सवत सवं कालं (G) हेवं मे अनुसचे (H) नधि  
हि मे तोसे उठानसि अठसंतीलनाय च (I) कटचियमेते हि मे सबलोकहिते  
5 (J) तस च पन इयं मूले उठाने च अठसंतीलना च (K) नधि हि कंमत ..  
सबलोकहितेन (L) अं च किंछि पलकमामि हवं किति भूतानं आननियं  
येहं ति  
6 हिद च कानि मुखयामि पलत च स्वगं आलाभयंतू ति (M) एताये अठये  
इयं धंमलिपी लिखिता चिलठितीका होतु तथा च पुता पपोता मे  
पलकमंतू  
7 सबलोकहिताये (N) दुक्कले च इयं अंनत अगेन पलकमेन

- 1 (A) Dev[ānaṃp]iye P[ī]yada[s]i lājā [h]e[va]ñ [ā]hā (B) atikam[tam a]m[ta]lun no  
[h]i[tā]-puluve s[a]vañ kālam atha-ka[m]me va [pa]ṭiveda[n]ā va (C) se mamaya-  
kate (D) sa[va]m [kālam] . . . [māna]sa<sup>1</sup> me  
2 amte olodh[a]nasi ga[bhā]ḍ[ā]si v[achas]i [v]nitasi [u]y[ā]n[asi] cha sa[va]ta-  
paṭivedakā janasa aṭham [pa]ṭived[a]yaṃtu m[ra] ti (E) sava[ta] ch[a] j[a]nasa  
atham kālāmi h[ā]ka[ḥ]  
3 (F) am pi cha ki[m]hi mukh[a]te ānapay[ā]mi dāpakañ v[ā] sa[va]kañ vā e va  
mahām[ā]tehi<sup>2</sup> atiyāyike aloṇite hoti tasi athasi v[i]vāde va [n]ijhatti vā samtam  
palisāya<sup>3</sup>  
4 āna[ṇ]aliyam paṭi[ve]detav[i]y[ra] me ti savata savañ kālam (G) heva[m] me-  
anusathe (H) nath[i] hi m[ra] [tos]e u[thāna]si aṭha-saṃtīlanāya cha (I) kaṭaviya-  
m[at]e hi me sava-loka-hite

<sup>1</sup> [m]i<sup>2</sup>nasa Bühler.<sup>2</sup> palisāya Bühler.

# DHAULI ROCK; MIDDLE COLUMN





- 5 (J) *tasa cha pana iyaṃ mūle* [u]thān[e cha a]ṭṭha-saṃtī[a]n[ā] cha (K) *nathī hi kaṇṇimata . .* [sa]va-lo[kā]-hitena (L) [aṃ] ch[a kichhi] p[a]lakamāmi hakam kiṃti bhūṭānaṃ ā[na]niyaṃ yeha[m] ti
- 6 [h]h[da] cha [k]ān[ī] sukhayāmi pal[a]ta cha svag[āṃ ā]ḍḍhayamtu ti (M) *et[ā]y[e aṭṭhāye i]yam dhamma-lipī likhitā ch[i]ṭṭa-th[i]ṭṭikā hotu ta[th]ā cha putā papotā me palakama[m]ṭṭū<sup>1</sup>*
- 7 [sava-loka]-hitāye (N) *dukale chu iyaṃ amnat[a] a[ḍ]en[a pa]lakamena*

## SEVENTH ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

- 1 (A) *देवानंपिये पियदसी लाजा सबत इच्छति सवपासंडा वसेवू ति* (B) *सवे हि ते सयमं भावसुधी च इच्छति* (C) *मुनिसा च*
- 2 *उचावुचछंदा उचावुचलागा* (D) *ते सबं वा एकदेसं व कच्छति* (E) *विपुले पि चा दाने अस नपि सयने भावसुधी च नीचे वाढं*
- 1 (A) [D]evānaṃpiye Piy[a]daśī lājā savata ichchati sava-pa-saṃdā va-sevū ti (B) *save h[i] t[e sa]yamam [bh]āv[a]-sudhī cha ichchamti* (C) *mun[i]sā ch[a]*
- 2 [u]ch[ā]v[u]cha-[chha]m[d]ā uchāvucha lāgā (D) *te savaṃ va ek[a]-de[sam va kachham]ū* (E) *vipul[e] pi cha<sup>4</sup> dāne asa n[athi sa]yamne [bh]āva-sudhī cha nīche baḍham*

## EIGHTH ROCK-EDICT DHAULI

- 1 (A) *अतिकंतं अंतलं लाजाने बिहालयातं नाम निखमिसु* (B) *त मिगविषा अंनानि च एदिसानि अभिलामानि हुवंति नं* (C) *से देवानंपिये*
- 2 *पियदसी लाजा दसवसाभिसिते निखमि संबोधि* (D) *तेनता धंमयाता* (E) *ततेस होति समनवाभनानं दसने च दाने च वुढानं दसने च*
- 3 *हिलंनपटिविधाने च जानपदस जनस दसने च धंमानुसणी च . . . . . पुच्छा च तदोपया* (F) *एसा भुये अभिलामे होति देवानंपियस पियदसिने लाजिने भागे अंने*
- 1 (A) [atika]m[ta]m aṃt[ā]m lājān[ī] v[i]h[ā]la yatam nāma [n]i[kha]m[i]v[i]u (B) *. . [ta miga]v[i]y[ā] a[m]nāni ch[a] edisāni a[bh]i[ḍ]amāni huvamti nam* (C) *se Devānaṃpiye*
- 2 P[i]y[a]daśī lājā d[a]sa-[vas]ābhisi[t]e [n]ikhama Sambodh[i]<sup>3</sup> (D) [t]e[na]ta dha[n]ma-yatā (E) [at]esa [ho]u samana-bābhananān d[a]s[ā]n[ī] ch[a] d[ā]ne cha v[u]dhanam dasane cha

<sup>1</sup> *°mātu Senart, °mainu Buhler*<sup>2</sup> *cha Buhler, the reading chu is also possible, but less probable, because the Jaugada version has /hd/.*<sup>3</sup> *sambodhī Bühler.*

- 3 h[ɪ]lamna-p[a]pividdhāne<sup>1</sup> cha jāna]padasa janasa [dasa]ne cha dhammānu[sath]i  
[cha] . . . . . [p]u[chh]ā cha [ta]d[o]payā (F) e[sā] bhuy]e<sup>2</sup> abhilāme hoti  
Devānaṃpiyaṣa Piyada[s]iṇe lāṇe bhāge [aṃ]ne

## NINTH ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसी लाजा हेवं आहा (B) अथि जने उचावुचं मंगलं  
कलेति आवाध . . . . . वीवाह . . . . . जुपदाये पवाससि  
2 एताये अनाये च हेदिसाये जने बहुकं मंगलं क . . . . . (C) . . . . . चु इषी बहुकं  
च बहुविधं च खुदं च निलठियं च मंगलं कलेति  
3 (D) से कठविये चेव खो मंगले (E) अपफले चु खो एस हेदिसे मंग . . . . . (F) . . . . . यं  
चु खो महाफले ए धंममंगले (G) ततेस दासभटकसि संन्यापटिपति  
4 गुलूनं अप . . . . . मे समनबाभनानं दाने एस अने च . . . . .  
धंममंगले नाम (H) से वतविये पितिना पि पुतेन पि भतिना पि  
5 सुवामिकेन पि . . . . . ले आव तस अठस निफतिया (I) अथि च हेवं  
वुते दाने साधू ति (J) से नथि . . . . . अनुगहे वा  
6 आदिसे धंमदाने धंमानुगहे . . . . . मि . . . . . ति केन सहायेन  
पि वियोवदित . . . . . ति तसि पकलनसि इयं . . . . .  
7 . . . . . लाधयितवे (L) . . . . . टव . . . . . स्वगस  
आलधी

- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lājā hevaṃ ahā (B) [aṭhi ja]ne uchāvucham maṃgalaṃ  
ka[le]ti [ab]adha<sup>1</sup> . . . . . [v]i[vā]ha . . . . . [ju]padāye<sup>2</sup> pavās[a]si  
2 eṭāye amnaye ch[a] hedisaye [a]n[e] bahukam maṃgalaṃ k[a] . . . . . (C) . .  
[chiu]<sup>3</sup> iṭhi l[ā]huka]m cha [hā]hu[v]idh[am] ch[a kh]ud[am]<sup>4</sup> cha nilaṭṭhi]yam cha  
maṃgalaṃ kaleti  
3 (D) se ka[ṭa]viye che[vā kh]o m[a]ṃgale (E) [a]pa-phale chu kho esa h[ṛ]iṣe  
maṃga]. (F) . . . . . [ya]n [ch]u<sup>5</sup> kho mah[a]ph[a]le e [dha]mma-maṃgale (G)  
[ta]re[sā d]i[sā-bhaṭṭaka]s] sammya-jappat[i]  
4 [gulu]ṇam a[pa] . . . . . [me] samana-babhan[ā]ṇam dāne esa amne ch[a]  
. . . . . [dhamma]-maṃga[le nāma] (H) [se]<sup>6</sup> vata[viye p]iṭṭinā pi pute]ṇa  
pi bhātinā pi  
5 suvāmike]na p]. . . . . [je [ā]va tasa aṭhas[a] niphayut[ā] (I) [a]hi [cha]  
heva]m v[ut]e dāne v[ā]k[hi]u ti (J) [s]e [na]thi . . . . . [anu]gāh]e v[ā]  
6 [ād]i[sē dha]mma-dāne dhaṃ[manu]gahe<sup>7</sup> . . . . . (K) . . . . . [n]i . . . . . [t]i[k]ena  
sahaye[na p]i viyovadita<sup>8</sup> . . . . . [tasi] pak[alana]si [iya]m . . . . .  
7 . . . . . [l]ādhayitave (L) . . . . . ta[v] . . . . . [svagasa] al[adh]i . . . . .

<sup>1</sup> *hālamna*- Senart and Bühler, -*paṭṭi* looks like -*peti*, and may be meant for -*peti*.

<sup>2</sup> *esa bhūye* Bühler. For the nom. sing. masc. *esa* see above, p. 15, n. 7

<sup>3</sup> *ābādhe* Senart and Bühler.

<sup>4</sup> [j]epadāye Bühler.

<sup>5</sup> [eta] ti Bühler

<sup>6</sup> *khuda[kam]* Bühler. <sup>7</sup> [cha] Bühler. <sup>8</sup> *tā* Senart, [ta] Bühler. <sup>9</sup> *pa* Senart, [pi] Bühler

<sup>10</sup> *dhammannu* Senart and Bühler

<sup>11</sup> Restore *vijayavajjave*.

## TENTH ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसी लाजा यसो वा किटी वा न ..... हं मंनते  
 ..... ि यसो वा किटी वा इहति तदनाये आ ..... जने  
 2 ..... सुसं सुसूतु मे धंम ..... मे (B) एतकाये यसो वा किटी  
 वा इ ..... ि पलवमति देवानंपिये पालतिकाये ..  
 3 किंति सकले अपपलिसवे हुवेया ति (D) पलिस ..... (E) दुकले  
 ..... त अगेन ..... न सर्वं च पलितिजितु  
 4 खुदकेन वा उसटेन वा (F) उसटेन चु दुकलतले  
 1 (A) [Devānaṃ]piye Piyad[s]ā[ī lā]jā yaso v[ā] [k]ṭi vā n... . [ha]m  
 maṇ[ate] . . . . . [yaso] va k[ṭi] [v]ā ichhatu tadatvaye [ā] ..  
 [ja]ne  
 2 . . . . . [sūsa]m [susu]s[at]ju [m]e dhamma . . . . . [me] (B) etakāye [yaso va  
 kṭi v]ā . . . . . [pa]lakama[ti] Devānaṃpiye pāl[atuk]ā[y]e .  
 3 kinti saka[le] apa-pal[i]save [hu]v[eya t]i (D) pa[l]iṣa . . . . . (E) [du]ka[le]  
 . . . . . t[ā] āgena[ ] . . . . . [na sa]vam cha paliti[ju]tu  
 4 khudakena v[ā] usatena vā (F) u[satena] chu [dukalatake]

## FOURTEENTH ROCK-EDICT DHAULI

- 1 (A) इयं धंमलिपी देवानंपियेन पियदसिना लाजिना लिखा .....  
 अथि मग्गिसेन ..... हि सवे सवत घटिते  
 2 (C) महंते हि विजये बहुके च लिखिते लिखियिस ..... (D) अथि  
 ..... वुते तस ..... याये  
 3 किंति च जने तथा पटिपजेया ति (E) ए पि चु हेत असमति लिखिते स ..... सं  
 .. लोचयितु ..... कला ..... ति  
 1 (A) iyam dhamma-li-pi De[v]ānaṃpiyena Piyada[sin]ā lāj[inā] likha[  
 athi ma[jh]imena] . . . . . [h] save sav[a]ta ghatite  
 2 (C) mahante hi vijaye bahu[k]e cha likhite likhiyis . . . . . (D) [a]thi  
 . . . . . [vu]te ta[sā] . . . . . [y]ay[re]  
 3 [k]imti cha j[a]ne tathā patipajeyā tu . . . . . (E) e pi chu heta asamati likhit[re] .  
 sam . [lochay]itu . . . . . k[a]lā . . . . . [t]

## AT THE END OF THE SIXTH DHAULI ROCK-EDICT

सेतो

seto

<sup>1</sup> Restore *likhiyisāma*.<sup>2</sup> Or *patipajeyāti* may be one word, as suggested above, p. 71, n. 14<sup>3</sup> *sam* Senart and Buhler



## TRANSLATION

The white one.<sup>1</sup>

## FIRST SEPARATE ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

- 1 (A) देवानंपियस वचनेन तोसलियं महामात नगलवियोहालका
- 2 वतविय (B) अं किंकि दखामि हकं तं इहामि किंति कमन पटिपादयेहं
- 3 दुवालते च आलमेहं (C) एस च मे मोख्यमत दुवाल एतसि अठसि अं तुफेसु
- 4 अनुसधि (D) तुफे हि बहूसु पानसहसेसुं आयत पनयं गळेम सु मुनिसानं (E) सवे
- 5 मुनिसे पजा ममा (F) अथा पजाये इहामि हकं किंति सवेन हितमुखेन  
हिदलोकिक्क-
- 6 पाललोकिक्केन यूजेवू ति तथा . . . . मुनिसेसु पि इहामि हकं (G) नो च  
पापुनाष आवग-
- 7 मुके इयं अठे (H) केह व एकपुल्लिसे . . . . नाति एतं से पि देसं नो सवं (I)  
देसत हि तुफे एतं
- 8 सुविहिता पि (J) नितियं एकपुल्लिसे पि अचि ये बंधनं वा पल्लिकिलेसं वा  
पापुनाति (K) तत होति
- 9 अकस्सा तेन चपनंतिक अने च . . . . . हु जने दविये दुखीयति (L) तत  
इहितविये
- 10 तुफेहि किंति मभं पटिपादयेमा ति (M) इमेहि चु जातेहि नो संपटिपजति  
इसाय आसुलोपेन
- 11 निदूल्लियेन नूलनाय अनावूतिय आलसियेन किलमयेन (N) से इहितविये  
किंति एते
- 12 जाता नो हुवेवु ममा ति (O) एतस च सवस मूले अनासुलोपे अतूलना च  
(P) नितियं ए किलंते सिया
- 13 न ते उगख संबलितविये तु वटितविये एतविये वा (Q) हेवंमेव ए दसेय तुफाक  
तेन वतविये
- 14 आनने देसत हेवं च हेवं च देवानंपियस अनुसधि (R) से महाफले ए तस  
संपटिपाद
- 15 महाअपाये असंपटिपति (S) विपटिपादयमीने हि एतं नधि स्वगस आलधि नो  
लाजालधि

<sup>1</sup> As stated by Bühler (ZDMG, 39. 490), this word refers to the figure of an elephant representing the Buddha, which is carved at the top of the Dhauti rock. Cf the similar labels at Gīrnār and Kālsī, above, pp. 26 f. and 50.

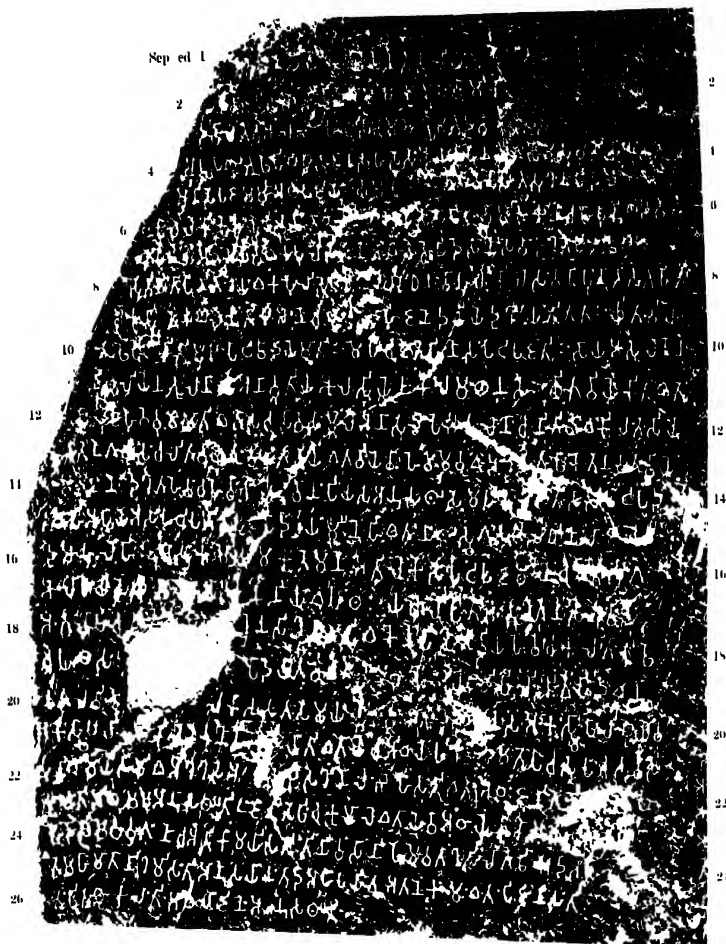
- 16 (T) दुआहले हि इमस कंस मे कुते मनोअतिलेके (U) संपटिपजमीने चु  
एतं स्वगं
- 17 आलापयिसथ मम च आननियं एहथ (V) इयं च लिपि तिसनखतेन सोतविवा  
18 (W) अंतला पि च तिसेन खनसि खनसि एकेन पि सोतविद्य (X) हेवं च  
कलंतं तुफे
- 19 चषथ संपटिपादयितवे (Y) एताये अठाये इयं लिपि लिखित हिद एन  
20 नगलवियोहालका सस्वतं समयं यूजेवू ति ..... नस अक्खमा पलिवोपे व  
21 अक्खमा पलिकिलेसे व नो सिया ति (Z) एताये च अठाये हकं ..... मते  
पंचसु पंचसु वसे-
- 22 सु निखामयिसांमि ए अक्खसे अचंडे सखिनालंभे होसति एतं अठं जानितु  
..... तथा
- 23 कलंति अथ मम अनुसथी ति (AA) उजेनिते पि चु कुमाले एताये व अठाये  
निखामयिस .....  
24 हेदिसमेव वगं नो च अतिकामयिसति तिंनि वसानि (BB) हेमेव तखसिलाने  
पि (CC) अदा अ .....  
25 ते महामाता निखमिसंति अनुसयानं तदा अहापयितु अतने कंसं एतं पि  
जानिसंति  
26 तं पि तथा कलंति अथ लाजिने अनुसथी ति

- 1 (A) [Devāna]m[pt]i[asa vacha]nena Tosaliyān mā[hā]māta [naga]la  
[v]h[yo]hāl.k[ā]  
2 [va]taviya (B) [am kichhi dakhā]mī hakam tam ichhāmi k[i]m[t]i kam[mana  
pa]t[upadaya]kham<sup>1</sup>  
3 duvalate cha ālabheham (C) esa cha me mokhya-mata dūvā[la etas]i atha[si] am  
tuph[esu]  
4 anusathī (D) tuphe hi bahūsu pāna-sahasum<sup>2</sup> ā[yata]<sup>3</sup> p[a]na[yam ga]khh[c]ma  
su munisānam (E) save  
5 munise pajā mamā (F) ath[ā] pajāye ichhāmi h[a]ka[m kimti sa]ve[na hi]ta-sukhena  
hidak[kika]-  
6 pālalokike[na]<sup>4</sup> y[ūjev]ū [t]i [tathā . . . muni]sesu<sup>5</sup> p[ī] [i]chhāmi [hi]ka[m] (G) no  
cha pāpunātha āv[ā]-ga-  
7 [m]u[k]e<sup>6</sup> [ryam athe] (H) [k]k[chha] v[a] eka-pul[ise]. natī<sup>7</sup> e[ta]m se p[ī]  
desam no savam (I) de[kha]k[a hi t]u[phc] etam  
8 suv[hi]tā pi (J) [n]uyam<sup>8</sup> eka-pulise [pī athi] y[e] bamdhanam vā p[a]hikilesam vā  
pāpunāti (K) tata hoti

<sup>1</sup> *pativeda*° Snart and Buhler.<sup>2</sup> *āyatā* Snart and Buhler<sup>3</sup> Restore *sava-munisesa*.<sup>4</sup> Read *pāpunāti*, as at Jaugada<sup>5</sup> *\*sesu* Snart and Buhler.<sup>6</sup> *\*lokikāye* Snart and Buhler<sup>7</sup> *āvā-gamake* Snart and Buhler<sup>8</sup> *niti ryam* Snart and Buhler

- 9 akasmā tena badhana[m]tik[a]<sup>1</sup> amne cha . . . . hu jane da[v]je dukhiyati (L)  
tata ichhitaviye
- 10 tuphehi kintū m[a]jhañ paṭipādayemā ti (M) imeh[i] chu [jātch]i no sampāṭipajati  
iśaya āsūlopena
- 11 m[thū]liyena \* tulanā[ya] anāvūtiya ālasiyena k[i]lāmāthena (N) se ichhitaviye  
kitūm \* ete
- 12 [jātā no] huvevu ma[m]ā ti (O) etasa cha sava[sa] mūle anāsulope a[tū][a]nā cha  
(P) niti[ya]m e kilamte siyā
- 13 [na] te uga[chiha] \* samchalitaviy[c] tu va[t]ita[v]iy[e] etaviye vā (Q) hevāñimeva e  
da[kheya] \* t[u]phak[a] tena vataviye
- 14 ānamne \* dekhata hevam cha hev[a]m cha [D]evānampiyasa anusathi (R) se  
mah[i-pha]le [c] t[a]sa [sampa]ṭipāda
- 15 mahā-apāye asampapāpati (S) [vi]paṭ[i]pādayamīne hi \* etam nathi svagasa [a][a]dhi  
no lā[ā]la[dh]i
- 16 (T) duā[ha]le hi [ma]sa kamm[asa] m[c] kute man[o]atuleke \* (U) sa[m]paṭi  
pajam[t]i[n]e chu [eta]m svaga[m]
- 17 ālādha[yi]sa[tha] mama cha \* ānaniyam chatha (V) iyam cha l[i]p[i]<sup>10</sup> t[i]sa-  
na[kha]tena so[t]aviy[ā]<sup>11</sup>
- 18 (W) amta[l]ā [p]i cha [t]i[sa]na<sup>12</sup> kha[nai] kha[nas]i ekena pi sotaviya (X) hevam  
cha kalamtam tuphe
- 19 chagghatha sampat[i]pād[a]y[i]tave (Y) [e]tāye aṭhāye<sup>13</sup> iya[m] l[i]p[i] likhi[t]a  
h[i]da ena
- 20 nagala-vij[ya]laka sas[v]atam samayam yūjevū<sup>14</sup> t[i] . . . . [na]sa<sup>15</sup> akasmā  
[pa]libodhe va
- 21 [a]k[a]mā jaliki[l]i[sa] va no siyā ti (Z) etāye cha aṭhāye haka[m] . . . . mate<sup>16</sup>  
p[a]mchasa pamchasa [va]se-
- 22 su [n]i[khā]may[i]sāmi e akkhase a[cha]m[k]e s[a]khināmbhe hosati etam  
atham janitu . . . . [ta]tha
- 23 kala[m]ti atha mama anusathi ti (AA) Ujēnīte pi chu kumāle etāye v[a] aṭhāye  
[ni]khamayisa . . . .
- 24 hedisameva<sup>17</sup> vagam no cha atikāmayisati tiñni vasāni (BB) hemeva T[a]kha[s]lāte  
pi (CC) [a]dā . . . .
- 25 te mahāmātā nikhamisamti anusayānañ tadā ahāpayitu atane kaimam etam pi  
jānisamti
- 26 tam pi ta[th]a kalamti a[tha] lājine anusathi ti

<sup>1</sup> *baindha*° Senart and Buhler<sup>2</sup> *nithūli*° Senart and Buhler.<sup>3</sup> Read *kintū*, which is Senart's reading; *kintū* Buhler.<sup>4</sup> Read *ugachhe*. <sup>5</sup> *dakhiye* Senart and Buhler. <sup>6</sup> *asinnai* ne Senart and Buhler.<sup>7</sup> Luders (SPAW, 1913, 1013, n. 1) has shown that *hi* must be a separate word on the analogy of section U, below, and of the Jaugada separate edict I, T. Senart and Buhler read \**minne*.<sup>8</sup> *mama*- Senart, *mane*- Buhler.<sup>9</sup> *t* . . . . for *mama cha* Senart, [ta] . . . Buhler.<sup>10</sup> *lipi* Buhler.<sup>11</sup> \**viyāñ* Senart, \**viya* Buhler<sup>12</sup> [as] Buhler <sup>13</sup> *aṭhāye* Senart and Buhler <sup>14</sup> *yūjevū* Senart and Buhler.<sup>15</sup> Restore *ena janasa*; *nagala-janasa* Senart and Buhler, which is visible (evidently owing to retouching) on Burgess' plate, but not on my material.<sup>16</sup> Read *mahāmātām*; *dhammate* Senart and Buhler.<sup>17</sup> *hedisammeva* Senart and Buhler.





## TRANSLATION

(A) At the word of *Dēvānāmpriya*, the *Mahāmātras* at *Tosali*,<sup>1</sup> (who are) the judicial officers of the city,<sup>2</sup> have to be told (thus)

(B) Whatever I recognize (to be right), that I strive to carry out by deeds, and to accomplish by (various) means.<sup>3</sup>

(C) And this is considered by me the principal means for this object, viz. (to give) instruction to you.

(D) For you are occupied with many thousands of men,<sup>4</sup> with the object of gaining the affection of men.<sup>5</sup>

(E) All men are my children.

(F) As on behalf of (my own) children I desire that they may be provided with complete welfare and happiness in this world and in the other world, the same I desire also on behalf of [all] men.<sup>6</sup>

(G) And you do not learn<sup>7</sup> how far this (my) object reaches<sup>8</sup>

(H) Some single person<sup>9</sup> only learns this, (and) even he (only) a portion,<sup>10</sup> (but) not the whole

(I) Now you must pay attention to this, although you are well provided for<sup>11</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Two copper-plate inscriptions from the Cuttack district, Orissa, mention the two districts of Northern and Southern Tōsalī, see F.I. 9. 286, and 15. 1. Prinsep (JASB. 7. 449) identified Tōsalī with the *Tosalei* *μητρόπολις* of Ptolemy, but the latter is stated to have been situated beyond the Ganges. See Lassen, *Ind. Alt.* 2 (sec. ed.) 252, n. 2, Burnouf, *Index*, p. 673, Keim, JRSB, 1886. 384 f., IA, 13. 382.

<sup>2</sup> With *nagala-vijohāḥaka* cf. *pauṣa-vyāvalārika* in the *Kāutilya*, p. 20, l. 13, see SPAW 1914. 855.

<sup>3</sup> The correct translation of this section is due to Senart, see Franke, GN, 1895. 337, and of a quite similar construction in the Calcutta-Banāt rock inscription, B.

<sup>4</sup> Here, and in the pillar-edicts (IV, C, VII, M, N), the participle *anta* (= Skt. *āyanta*) seems to be used in the sense of *vāpṛita*. Cf. the rock-edict V, J to N, and the pillar-edict VII Y to AA.

<sup>5</sup> Previous translators took *sumnuisānam* to be one word 'of good men'. As, however, in the two next sections the king is concerned with 'all men', Luders is no doubt right in explaining *su* = Skt. *svat*, see SPAW, 1914. 856, and cf. *su* in the Dhauli separate edict II, F.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Asvaghosha's *Buddhacarita*, II, 35 स्वात्मः प्रजास्यो हि यथा नदीव सर्वप्रजास्यः प्रियमाश्रये 'as for his own children, even so (king Buddhodāna) desired welfare for all (his) subjects'.

<sup>7</sup> Buhler rendered *pāpūnātha* by 'understand', and Luders (SPAW, 1914. 857) more closely by 'learn'. The verb has the same meaning three times in the second separate edict. In section J of the first edict it means 'to suffer', see my note on the Jaugada separate edict I, K.

<sup>8</sup> Buhler translated *asu-gaṇṇake* *īyam* *atthe* by '(all) that the sense (of these words) implies', and Luders by 'how far this matter reaches', i.e. 'how far this matter is attended to' (Cf. *asa ste pi cha me āvṛita* in the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict IV, l. 15).

<sup>9</sup> This seems to refer to the judge who happens to decide in individual case. Senart compared *eka-puṣe* (= *eka-munise* at Jaugada) with the Buddhist term *puṭhavyano* (see Childers, s. *puṭhavyano*), and Buhler rendered it by 'a private person', see ZDMG, 41. 17. The expression *eka-puṣe* or *eka-munise*, 'a single person', occurs again in section J (= K at Jaugada), where it is opposed to 'many other people' in section K (= L at Jaugada). In section W 'a single (person)' is contrasted with the whole body of officers in section V, see also the second separate edict, N and O.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. the rock-edict V, F, and VII, D.

<sup>11</sup> See above p. 47, n. 6.

(J) It happens in the administration (of justice)<sup>1</sup> that a single person suffers either imprisonment or harsh treatment.<sup>2</sup>

(K) In this case (an order) cancelling the imprisonment<sup>3</sup> is (obtained) by him<sup>4</sup> accidentally, while [many] other people continue to suffer.

(L) In this case you must strive to deal (with all of them) impartially.

(M) But one fails to act (thus) on account of the following dispositions.<sup>5</sup> envy, anger,<sup>6</sup> cruelty, hurry, want of practice,<sup>7</sup> laziness, (and) fatigue.

(N) (You) must strive for this, that these dispositions may not arise to you.

(O) And the root of all this is the absence of anger and the avoidance of hurry.

(P) He who is fatigued in the administration (of justice), will not rise, but one ought to move, to walk, and to advance.

(Q) He who will pay attention to this, must tell you<sup>8</sup> 'See that (you) discharge the debt (which you owe to the king),<sup>9</sup> such and such is the instruction of **Dēvānāmpriya**.'

(R) The observance of this produces great fruit, (but its) non-observance (becomes) a great evil<sup>10</sup>

(S) For if one fails to observe this,<sup>11</sup> there will be neither attainment of heaven nor satisfaction of the king.<sup>12</sup>

(T) For how (could) my mind be pleased if one badly fulfils this duty?<sup>13</sup>

<sup>1</sup> As recognized by Luders (SPAW, 1914 859), *nīti* is here = *danda-nīti*. I connect the locative *nītyām* with *asti*; at Jaugada it is replaced by *bahuka*, 'frequently'.

<sup>2</sup> Bühler translated *palikīṣa* by 'trouble'. Senart and Luders (SPAW, 1914, 841, n. 1, and 857) render it by 'torture'. But in the *Kautilya* the technical term for 'torture' is *karman*, and *parikīṣayatah*, which occurs on p. 223, l. 16, cannot have the same meaning as *karma kārayatah* in the next preceding line.

<sup>3</sup> The correct explanation of *ba[m\*]dhanamika* and *davye* is due to Luders, see SPAW, 1914 861 f.

<sup>4</sup> As stated by Bühler (ZDMG, 41 16), one would expect *tasa* for *tena*. He proposed to supply *prāptam*.

<sup>5</sup> As Senart remarks, this unusual meaning of *jētām* is justified by etymology, see IA, 19 84.

<sup>6</sup> For *āsuhṣa*, 'anger' (literally 'quick infatuation'), see Bühler, ZDMG, 48 60 f.

<sup>7</sup> With Bühler (ZDMG, 41. 16) I take *āvāti* (Dhauī) or *āvuti* (Jaugada) = Skt. *āvṛtti*, 'repetition'. In the pillar edict IV, I., *avuti* corresponds to Skt. *ayukti*, 'an order'.

<sup>8</sup> Hitherto the construction and bearing of this sentence have been misunderstood. The relative corresponds to the demonstrative *tena*, and the subject is probably one of the controlling officers who are mentioned at the end of the edict.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. below, section U. Previous translators failed to make out the actual meaning of this sentence because they read *aminam*, which they divided into *aminam ne* = Skt. *ajñam naḥ* (Senart and Bühler) or *anyat + nah* (Luders).

<sup>10</sup> Both at Dhauī and at Jaugada, the predicate is a masculine or neuter, although the subject is a feminine. Cf. above, p. 49, n. 1.

<sup>11</sup> As *vipatipādāyamine* corresponds to *vipatipātayamītam* at Jaugada, it must be a nominative singular absolute. The same applies to *sampatipāyamine* in section U, below, to *anuvekhamāne* in the Delhi-Iopra pillar-edict VII, I., and to *vinamane* in the Kāśī edict XIII, E. Cf. below, p. 97, n. 3, and Luders, SPAW, 1913 1011 ff.

<sup>12</sup> For *āladhi* (= *\*ārādhi*) see above, p. 19, n. 16.

<sup>13</sup> In the translation of this difficult passage I follow Franke, GN, 1895. 537 f., but explain *duāhah* as a nominative absolute, because in the Māgadhā dialect the locative would end in *-asi*.

(U) But if (you) observe this, you will attain heaven, and you will discharge the debt (which you owe) to me.<sup>1</sup>

(V) And this edict must be listened to (by all) on (every day of) the constellation Tishya.

(W) And it may be listened to even by a single (person) also on frequent (other) occasions between (the days of) Tishya.

**(X)** And if (you) act thus,<sup>d</sup> you will be able<sup>e</sup> to fulfil (this duty).

(Y) For the following purpose has this rescript been written here, (viz) in order that the judicial officers of the city may strive at all times ' (for this), [that] neither undeserved fettering\* nor undeserved harsh treatment are happening to men]

(Z) And for the following purpose I shall send out every five years ' [a *Mahāmātra*] who will be neither harsh \* nor fierce, (but) of gentle actions, (viz. in order to ascertain) whether (the judicial officers),\* paying attention to this object, . . . are acting thus, as my instruction (implies)

(AA) But from Ujjayini also the prince (governor) will send out for the same purpose . . . . a person of the same description,<sup>10</sup> and he will not allow (more than) three years to pass (without such a deputation).

(BB) In the same way (an officer will be deputed) from **Takshasilā** also

(CC) When . . . . these *Mahanāts* as will set out on tour, then, without neglecting their own duties, they will ascertain this as well, (viz.) whether (the judicial officers) are carrying out this also thus, as the instruction of the king (implies)

## SECOND SEPARATE ROCK-EDICT DHAULI

- 1 (A) देवानं पि यस्य वचनेन तोसलियं कुमारले महामाता च वतविय (B) अं किं हि  
दत्तामि हवं तं इ .....  
2 दुवालेने च आलभेहं (C) एस च मे मोख्यमत दुवाला एतसि अठसि अं  
तुफेसु ..... मम

<sup>1</sup> Cf the Dhauli separate edict II, L.

<sup>2</sup> i.e. three times per year, see the Dhauī separate edict II, N

<sup>4</sup> The forms *kāntam* (heir and in II, L and P), *\*pāyāntam* (Jaugada s. private edict I, S and T), *sañtām* (II, Q, and pillar-edict IV, I), *nāsantam* (pillar-edict IV, M), and *\*pajāntam* (Delhi-Tōprā pillar edict VII, P<sup>1</sup>) are nominatives singular absolute. Cf. above, p. 35, n. 9.

<sup>4</sup> Franke (VOJ, 9: 340ff) has shown that *chaghatai* is the future of *chak*, a variant of the root *śak*. Cf. *chakiye* in the Dhauī separate edict II, l. 5, in the Sahasrām rock inscription, l. 3, and in the Bauāt rock-inscription, l. 5, also *chakiye*, *ibid.*, l. 6.

<sup>5</sup> In the translation of *sasvatam samayanam* I follow Kuhn (JRAS, 1880, 191) and Luder, (SPAW, 1914, 864).

<sup>6</sup> See above, p. 33, n. 8.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. the rock-dict III, C.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Dhammapadam*, verse 408.

**Akkasam vinnapanun gran sachcham udhaye**

yāva nābhyaḥ kañchi tam ahaṁ brūmi bhāṣmanam ॥

<sup>9</sup> The context shows that these are meant here, and that the *Mahāmatras* were directed by the king to control them, see SPAW, 1914. 865 f

<sup>10</sup> See above, p. 40, n. 2.



- 3 (D) अथ पजाये इहामि हकं किंति सवेन हितसुखेन हिदलोकिपाललोकिनाये  
युजेवू ति हेवं . . . . .
- 4 (E) सिया अंतानं अविजितानं किछदे सु लाज अफेसु . . (G) . . . . . मव इह  
मम अतेसु . . ि पापुनेवु ते इति देवानंपिय . . . . . अनुविगिन ममाये  
5 हुवेवू ति अस्वसेवु च सुखमेव लहेवु ममते नो दुखं हेवं . . . . . नेवू इति खमिसति  
ने देवानंपिये अफाका ति ए चकिये खमितवे मम निमितं व च  
धमं चलेवू  
6 हिदलोक पललोके च आलापयेवू (H) एतसि अठसि हकं अनुसासामि तुफे  
अनने एतकेन हकं अनुसासितु छंदं च वेदितु आ हि धिति पटिंजा  
च ममा  
7 अजला (I) से हेवं कटु कंमे चलितविये अस्वास . . . . . ि च तानि एन  
पापुनेवू इति अथ पिता तथ देवानंपिये अफाक अथा च अतानं हेवं  
देवानंपिये अनुकंपति अफे  
8 अथा च पजा हेवं मये देवानंपियस (J) से हकं अनुसासितु छंदं च वेदितु तुफाक  
देसावुतिके होसामि एताये अठाये (K) पटिबला हि तुफे अस्वासनाये  
हितसुखाये च तेस  
9 हिदलोकिपाललोकिनाये (L) हेवं च कलंतं तुफे स्वगं आलापयिसथ मम  
च आननियं एहथ (M) एताये च अठाये इयं लिपि लिखिता हिद एन  
महामाता स्वसांतं सम  
10 युजिसेति अस्वासनाये धमचलनाये च तेस अंतानं (N) इयं च लिपि अनु-  
चातुंमासं तितेन नखतेन सोतविया (O) कामं च खणसि खनसि अंतला  
पि तितेन एकेन पि  
11 सोतविय (P) हेवं कलंतं तुफे चषथ संपटिपादयितवे

- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiya[s] vachanena Tosaliyaṃ kumāle mahāmātā cha vataviya (B)  
am kichhi dakhām[i] h[akam taṃ i] . . . . .
- 2 duvālate cha ālabhcham (C) esa cha me mokhya-mata duvālā etasi athaṣi aṇ  
tuphe[s]ju . . . . . mama
- 3 (E) ath[a] pajāye ichhāmi hakaṃ ki[m]ti savena hi[ta-sukhe]na hidalokika-  
pālalokikayc<sup>1</sup> yujevū ti h[e]v[am] . . . . .
- 4 (F) siyā amtanam aviṇṇanam ki-chha[mde] su lāja [aphesu]. (G) . . . m[a]va<sup>2</sup>  
ichha mama amtesu . . . i<sup>3</sup> [p]ā[p]unevu te iti Devānaṃp[iy] . . . . .  
[anu]v[i]g[ina] mamāye
- 5 huvevū ti asvasevu cha sukhameva lahevu mama[c] no dukha[m] h[e]va[m]

Read -pālalokikena, as in the first separate edict, Y<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> mave Buhler; read perhaps *hevaṃmeva*.

<sup>2</sup> Reston. *kimti*.

- . . un[c]vū<sup>1</sup> iti khamisatī<sup>2</sup> ne **Devānāmpriya** [aph]ākā<sup>3</sup> ti e chakiye khamitave mama nimitaṃ [va]<sup>4</sup> cha dhammaṃ chalevū
- 6 hidaloka palaloka[m] cha āladhayevū (**H**) etasi aḥasi haka[m] anusāsāmi tuphe ana[n]e [e]takena hakaṃ anusāsitu cchamdaṃ cha veditu ā [hi] dhi[t] paṇimā<sup>5</sup> cha mamā
- 7 [a]jalā (**I**) s[e] hevaṃ kaṭu kamme chal[i]t[a]v[i]ye asv[āsa] . . . i<sup>6</sup> [cha] tāni ena pāpunevū iti atha pitā tatha **Devānāmpriya**[e] aphāka athā cha atānam<sup>7</sup> hevaṃ **Devānāmpriya** [a]nukampatū aph<sup>8</sup>
- 8 athā cha pajā<sup>9</sup> hevaṃ may[e] **D[e]vānāmpriyasa** (**J**) se hakaṃ anusāsitu [chha]nda[m] ch[a] veditu tu]phāk[a] desāvutike hoṣāmi etāye athāye<sup>10</sup> (**K**) paṇibālā hī tupa[e] asvāsanāye hita-sukhāye cha [tesa]
- 9 hidalokika-pālalo[k]i kaye (**L**) hevaṃ cha kalamtam tuphe svagam āladha[yi]satha mama ch[a] ānaniyam chatha (**M**) etāye cha aṭhāye iyaṃ līpi likhitā hida c[na] ma]hamātā svasata[m sa]ma<sup>11</sup>
- 10 yujisamti as[vā]s[a]nāye dhamma-chala[n]āye cha tes[a] amtānam (**N**) iyaṃ cha līpi [anu]chāturmāsāṃ tīṣṇa nakhatena sotaviyā (**O**) kāmam chu<sup>12</sup> [kha]nas[i]<sup>13</sup> khaṇavi amtalā pi tīṣṇa ekena [p]
- 11 [so]laviya (**P**) hevaṃ kala[m]tam [t]uphe chaghattha sampappadayitave

## TRANSLATION

(A) At the word of **Devānāmpriya**, the prince (governor) and the *Makāmāt*, as at **Tōsalī** have to be told (thus)

(B) Whatever I recognize (to be right), that . . . . . and to accomplish by (various) means

(C) And this is considered by me the principal means for this object, viz. . . . . to you

(D) . . . . . my . . .

(E) As on behalf of (my own) children I desire that they may be provided with complete welfare and happiness in this world and in the other world, thus . . . .

(F) It might occur<sup>14</sup> to (my) unconquered borderers<sup>15</sup> (to ask) 'What does the king desire<sup>16</sup> with reference to us?'

(G) [This] alone is my wish with reference to the borderers, that they may learn that **Devānāmpriya** . . . . . that they may not be afraid of me, but may have

<sup>1</sup> Restore *pāpunevū*

<sup>2</sup> The syllable *sa* is entered above the line.

<sup>3</sup> *aphāka* Senart and Buhler

<sup>4</sup> Senart and Buhler omit *va*

<sup>5</sup> Restore *asvāsantiyāmi*

<sup>6</sup> The syllable *nam* is entered above the line

<sup>7</sup> *paṇa* Buhler

<sup>8</sup> *athāye* Senart and Buhler.

<sup>9</sup> Read *sasvatam samayam*.

<sup>10</sup> *cha* Senart and Buhler.

<sup>11</sup> The syllable *si* is entered above the line.

<sup>12</sup> Luders showed that *syā* is not the last word of section I, as previous translators thought, but opens section F, and is used in the same way as *kuthā* in the Delhi-Iopra pillar edict VII, I and J. He also pointed out the correct construction of sections F and G, which had been curiously misunderstood; see SPAW, 1914. 866 ff

<sup>13</sup> Cf. the Kāśī rock-edict II, A, V, J, XIII, Q

<sup>14</sup> Kern (JRAS, 1880. 381) explained *su* by Skt *svat*. Cf. *gachhema su* in the Dhauī & paratī edict I, D, and *hinasu* in the Delhi-Tōpīa pillar-edict VII, F, G, H.

confidence (in me); that they may obtain only happiness from me,<sup>1</sup> not misery, that they may [learn] this, that **Dēvānāmpriya** will forgive them<sup>2</sup> what can be forgiven,<sup>3</sup> that they may (be induced) by me (to) practise morality; (and) that they may attain (happiness in) this world and (in) the other world.

(E) For the following purpose I am instructing you, (viz. that) I may discharge the debt (which I owe to them)<sup>4</sup> by this, that I instruct (you) and inform (you) of (my) will, i. e. my unshakable<sup>5</sup> resolution and vow.

(I) Therefore, acting thus, (you) must fulfil (your) duty and must inspire confidence to them,<sup>6</sup> in order that they may learn that **Dēvānāmpriya** is to them like a father, that **Dēvānāmpriya** loves them like himself, and that they are to **Dēvānāmpriya** like (his own) children.

(J) Therefore, having instructed (you), and having informed you of (my) will, I shall have (i. e. entertain) officers in (all) provinces<sup>7</sup> for this object.

(K) For you are able to inspire confidence to those (borderers) and (to secure their) welfare and happiness in this world and in the other world.

(L) And if (you) act thus, you will attain heaven, and will discharge the debt (which you owe) to me.

(M) And for the following purpose has this rescript been written here, (viz.) in order that the *Mahāmātras* may strive at all times to inspire confidence to those borderers (of mine) and (to induce them) to practise morality.

(N) And this rescript must be listened to (by all) every four months<sup>8</sup> on (the day of) the constellation Tishya.<sup>9</sup>

(O) But if desired, it may be listened to even by a single (person)<sup>10</sup> also on frequent (other) occasions between (the days of) Tishya

(P) If (you) act thus, you will be able to carry out (my orders).

<sup>1</sup> Here and at Jaugada, Senart and Buhler wrongly read *mama te* (in two words) instead of *mamate*, which, as Kein recognized, corresponds to the Prākṛit ablative *mamatto*. See JRAS, 1880, 380, 382, 383, SPAW, 1914, 868, Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 415 f.

<sup>2</sup> As Buhler (ASSI, I, 128, n. 24) remarked, either *ne* or *aphākā* is superfluous.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the Shāhbhāgarhi rock-edict XIII, L. For *chakṛiye* see above, p. 97, n. 4.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the rock-edict VI, L.

<sup>5</sup> *ajala* corresponds to *achala* at Jaugada, as *loga* (Jaugada separate edict II, ll 7 and 11) to *loka*, *lōi* (Dhuli-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, QQ and SS) to *lōpi*, *huda* (Kālsi, V, J and K) to *hita*, and *dose* (Kālsi, VI, H) to *tose*.

<sup>6</sup> The neuter *tānt* is improperly used for the masculine *te*, which is the reading of the Jaugada version.

<sup>7</sup> Kein (JRAS, 1880, 384) translated 'I will entrust the country to your care.' For the difficult term *desāntika* (Dhuli) or *[saka]la-di-sā-āy[ur]ika* (Jaugada) see Buhler (ZDMG, 41, 28), who took *āyuti* = Skt. *āyuktin*, 'an official'. Cf. *āyuti* = Skt. *āyuktin*, 'an order', in the pillar-edict IV, L. The provincial officers who are here referred to, are perhaps identical with the *Mahāmātras* whom Asoka ordered to be deputed on inspection duty from Pāṭaliputra, Ujjayini, and Takṣaṣilā; see the four last sections of the Dhuli separate edict I.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. *chātummāsī* in the Delhi Tōprā pillar-edict V, ll 11, 16, 18.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. the Dhuli separate edict I, V.

<sup>10</sup> See above, p. 95, n. 9.

DHAULI ROCK; RIGHT COLUMN





## VI. THE JAUGADA ROCK

## FIRST ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA

- 1 (A) इयं धम्मलिपी खेपिंगलसि पवतसि देवानंपियेन पियदसिना लाजिना  
लिखापिता (B) हिद नो किच्छि जीवं आलभितु पजोहितविये  
2 (C) नो पि च समाजे कटविये (D) बहुकं हि दोसं समाजस द्रक्षति देवानंपिये  
पियदसी लाजा (E) अथि पि चु एकतिया समाजा साधुमता देवानंपियस  
3 पियद्रसिने लाजिने (F) पुलुवं महानससि देवानंपियस पियदसिने लाजिने  
अनुदिवसं बहूनि पानसतसहसानि आलभियिसु सूपढाये  
4 (G) से अज अदा इयं धम्मलिपी लिखिता तिनि येव पानानि आलंभियंति  
दुवे मजूला एके मिगे से पि चु मिगे नो धुवं (H) एतानि पि चु तिनि  
पानानि  
5 पक्षा नो आलभियंसंति

- 1 (A) *iyam dhamma-lipi Khēpi[ṁ]galasi<sup>1</sup> pavatasi Devānaṃpiyaṇa Piyadasinā*  
*lājinaṃ likhāpita* (B) *hida no kicchi jīvaṃ ālabhi[tu]ṇi pajohitaviye*  
2 (C) *no pi cha samāje kataviye* (D) *bahukam hi dosam samājasa<sup>2</sup> drakhatu<sup>3</sup>*  
*Devānaṃpiye Piyadasī lājā* (E) *athi pi chu ekatīya samājā sadhu-mata*  
*Devānaṃpiyasa*  
3 *Piyadrasine<sup>4</sup> lājine* (F) *puluvam mahā[nasa]ṇi Devānaṃpiyasa Piyadasine*  
*lājine anudivasam bahū[ṇi]ṇi pāna sata-sah[a]ṇaṇi ālabhiyisu sūpa[ṭh]āye*  
4 (G) *se aja adā iyam dhamma-lipi likhita timni yeva pānāni āla[m]bhīyanti duve*  
*majūlā eke mige se pi chu mige no dhuvam* (H) *etāni pi chu timni pānāni*  
5 *pachhā no āla[bh]īyaṃti*

## TRANSLATION

- (A) This rescript on morality has been caused to be written on the **Khēpiṅgala**<sup>1</sup>  
mountain by king **Dēvānāṃpriya Priyadarśin**  
(B) Here no living being must be killed and sacrificed  
(C) And also no festival meeting must be held.  
(D) For king **Dēvānāṃpriya Priyadarśin** sees much evil in festival meetings  
(E) But there are also some festival meetings which are considered meritorious by  
king **Dēvānāṃpriya Priyadarśin**.

<sup>1</sup> *Khapiṅgalasi* Buhler, but the *i* of *khe* is perfectly distinct

<sup>2</sup> *samājasa* Buhler

<sup>3</sup> A horizontal stroke, which may be meant for *r*, seems to be attached both at the top and at the bottom of *da*, *dakhatu* Senart and Buhler

<sup>4</sup> *Piyadasine* Senart and Buhler. The curve at the bottom of *da* is probably intended for *r*

<sup>5</sup> *ālabhiyanti* Senart and Buhler.

<sup>6</sup> The etymological meaning of this name is: ' (which appears) brown in the air,' see Buhler, ZDMG, 37, 92

(F) Formerly in the kitchen of king *Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin* many hundred thousands of animals were killed daily for the sake of curry.

(G) But now, when this rescript on morality is written, only three animals are being killed (daily), (viz.) two peacocks (and) one deer, but even this deer not regularly.

(H) But even these three animals shall not be killed in future.

## SECOND ROCK-EDICT. JAUGADA

- 1 (A) सवत विजितसि देवानंप्रियस पियदसिने लाजिने ए वा पि अंता अथा  
चोडा पंडिया सतियपुते .....<sup>1</sup> अंतियोके नाम
- 2 योनलाजा ए वा पि तस अंतियोकस सामंता लाजाने सवत देवानंप्रियेन  
पियदसिना लाजि ..... चिकिसा च
- 3 पसुचिकिसा च (B) ओसधानि आनि मुनिसोपगानि पसुओपगानि च अतत  
नथि सवत ..... च अतत नथि
- 4 सवच हालापिता च लोपापिता च (D) मगेसु उदुपानानि खानापितानि  
लुखानि च .....

- 1 (A) savata vijitasi Devānāmpriyasa Piyadasine lājine e vā pi antā athā Choḍā  
Paṇḍiyā Satiyapu[t]e . . . . . I Antiyoke nāma
- 2 Yona-lājā [c] vā pi tasa Antiyokasa sāmanta lājāne savata Devānāmpriyena  
Piyadasinā lāji . . . . . [ch]ikisā cha
- 3 pasu-chikisā cha (B) osadhāni āni munisopagāni pasu-opagāni cha atata nathi  
sava[ta] . . . . . cha atata nathi
- 4 s[a]vatra<sup>1</sup> halāpitā cha lopāpitā cha (D)<sup>2</sup> magesu udupānāni khānāpitāni lukhāni  
cha .....

## TRANSLATION (DHIAULI AND JAUGADA)

(A) Everywhere in the dominions of king *Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin*, and also (of those) who (are his) borderers, such as the *Chōḍas*, the *Pāṇḍyas*, the *Satiyaputa*, ..... the *Yōna* king named *Antiyoka*, and also the kings who are the neighbours of this *Antiyoka*,—everywhere [two (kinds of) medical treatment were established] by king *Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin*, (viz.) medical treatment [for men] and medical treatment for cattle.

(B) Wherever there were no herbs that are beneficial to men and beneficial to cattle, everywhere they were caused to be imported and to be planted.<sup>1</sup>

(C) Wherever there were no roots and [fruits], everywhere they were caused to be imported and to be planted.

(D) On the roads wells were caused to be dug, and trees were caused to be planted for the use of [cattle and men].

<sup>1</sup> *sāvata* Senart, *savatu* Bühler.

<sup>2</sup> The last words of this section are missing at Jaugada, but are preserved at Dhauli. Henceforth I shall use straight brackets in the translation only if words are lost in both of these versions of the rock-edicts.

## THIRD ROCK-EDICT JAUGADA

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसी लाजा ह्वं आहा (B) दुवादसवसाभिसितेन मे इवं  
आ ..... च पादसिके च
- 2 पंचसु पंचसु वसेसु अनुसयानं निखमावू अया अनाये पि कंमने .....  
सा मितसंपुत्तेस ..
- 3 नातिसु च वंभनसमनेहि साधु दाने जीवेसु अनालंभे साधु .....  
यि .....
- 4 हेतुते च वियंजने च
- 1 (A) Devā[na]m̐piye Piyadaśi lājā hevaṃ āha (B) duvādasa-vasābhisitena me  
iyam [ā]... ..... cha pād[ic]hike cha
- 2 pañchasu pañchasu vasesu anusayinam nikhamāvū aṭha amnāye pi kamma[n]...  
..... [s]ā mita-samthute[s]...
- 3 nātisu ch[a] bambhana-samanchi sādhu dāne jīvesu [a]nalambhe sadhu . .  
[y]i.....
- 4 hetute cha viyaṃjanate cha

## TRANSLATION (DHAULI AND JAUGADA)

(A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus

(B) (When I had been) anointed twelve years, the following was ordered by me

(C) [Everywhere] in my dominions the *Yuktas*, the *Jajukas*, and the *Prādēśika* shall set out on a complete tour (throughout their charges) every five years, just as for other business, even so for the following instruction in morality.

(D) 'Meritorious is obedience to mother and father, to friends and acquaintances, and to relatives. Liberality to Brāhmanas and Śramanas is meritorious. Abstinence from killing animals is meritorious. Moderation in expenditure (and) moderation in possessions are meritorious.'

(E) And the council (of *Mahamātras*) also shall order the *Yuktas* to register (these rules) both with (the addition of) reasons and according to the letter

## FOURTH ROCK-EDICT JAUGADA

- 1 (A) अतिकं अंतलं बहूनि वससतानि वदिते व पानालंभे .....
- 2 (B) से अज देवानंपियस पियदसिने लाजिने धंमचलनेन भेल .....
- 3 दिवियानि लूपानि दसयितु मुनिसानं (C) आदिसे बहूहि वससते .....
- 4 धंमानुसयिया अनालंभे पानानं अविहिंस भूतानं नातिसु संप .....
- 5 (D) एस अने च बहुविधे धंमचलने वदिते (E) वदयि .....
- 6 पियदसिने लाजिने पवदयिसंति येव धंमचल .....
- 7 (H) धंमचलने पि चु नो होति .....
- 8 हीनि च मा अलोचयि .....



- 1 (A) a[t]kaṁtaṁ amtaṁ bahūni vasa-satāni vadhite va pānālabhe . . . . .  
 2 (B) se aja **Devānāmpriyasa Priyadasine lājine** dhamma-chalanena bhe[ ] . . . . .  
 3 divi[y]āni lūpāni drasayitu<sup>1</sup> munisānaṁ (C) ādisse bahūhi vasa-sate . . . . .  
 4 dhammānusathiyā anālabhe pānānaṁ avihiṣā bhūtānaṁ nātisu [saṁpa] . . . . .  
 5 (D) esa amne cha bahuvudhe dhamma-chalane vadhite (E) va[dhay]i . . . . .  
 6 **Priyadasine lājine** pavadhay[i]sa[m]t[i] [y]e[va] dhamma-cha[la] . . . . .  
 7 (H) dhamma-chalane pi chu no ho[t]i . . . . .  
 8 [hi]ni cha mā aloch[ay]i . . . . .

## TRANSLATION (DHAULI AND JAUGADA)

(A) In times past, for many hundreds of years, there had ever been promoted the killing of animals and the hurting of living beings, discourtesy to relatives, (and) discourtesy to Śramanas and Brāhmanas.

(B) But now, in consequence of the practice of morality on the part of **king Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin**, the sound of drums has become the sound of morality, showing the people representations of aerial chariots, elephants, masses of fire, and other divine figures.

(C) Such as they had not existed before for many hundreds of years, thus there are now promoted, through the instruction in morality on the part of **king Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin**, abstention from killing animals, abstention from hurting living beings, courtesy to relatives, courtesy to Śramanas and Brāhmanas, obedience to mother and father, (and) obedience to the aged.

(D) In this and many other ways is the practice of morality promoted.

(E) And **king Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin** will ever promote this practice of morality.

(F) But also the sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons of **king Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin** will ever promote this practice of morality until the æon (of destruction of the world), (and) will instruct (people) in morality, abiding by morality and by good conduct.

(G) For this is the best work, viz instruction in morality.

(H) But the practice of morality also is not (possible) for (a person) devoid of good conduct

(I) Therefore promotion and not neglect of this object is meritorious.

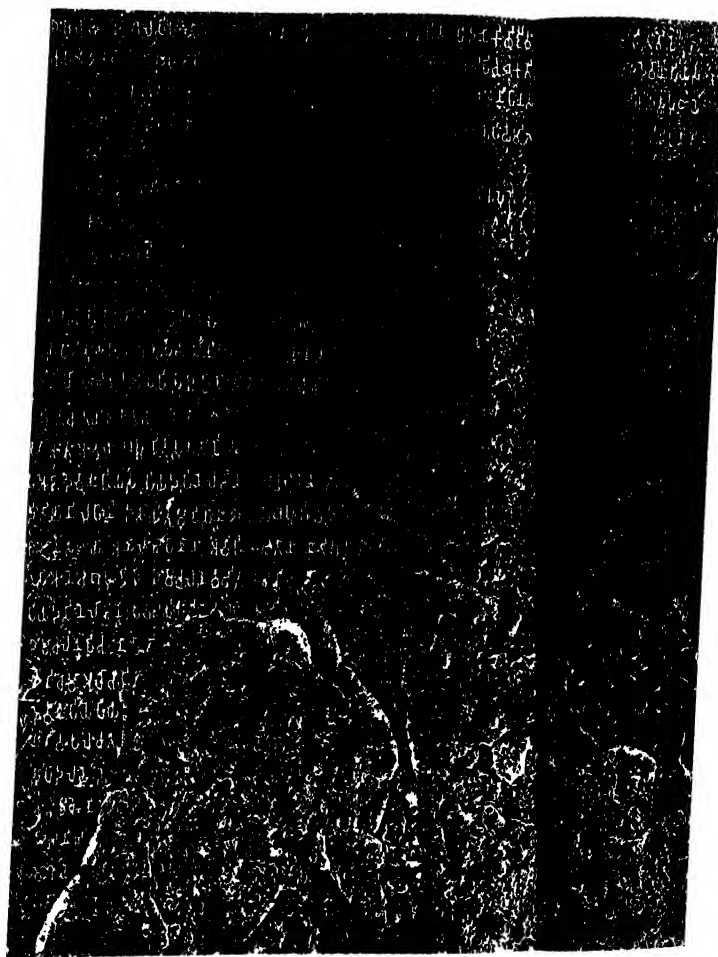
(J) For the following purpose has this been written, (viz in order that) they should devote themselves to the promotion of this practice, and that they should not approve<sup>2</sup> the neglect (of it).

(K) This has been written here by **king Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin** (when he had been) **anointed twelve years**.

<sup>1</sup> *dasayitu* Senart, *dasayitu* Buhler.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 31, n. 7.

# JAUGADA ROCK; FIRST COLUMN





## FIFTH ROCK-EDICT · JAUGADA

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियद् .....  
 2 नती व पलं च ते .....  
 3 सुपदालये (H) से झ .....  
 4 धंमाधिषाना .....  
 5 .. भनिभि .....  
 6 मोक्षायै .....  
 7 ए वा .....  
 8 .....

- 1 (A) Devā[na]m̐piye Piya[da] ... ..  
 2 nat[i]<sup>1</sup> va palam cha te ... ..  
 3 s[u]padālaye (H) se [a] ... ..  
 4 [dha]m̐[m]ā[dh][th]ānā<sup>2</sup> . . .  
 5 .. bhanibhi .....  
 6 mokhāye .....  
 7 e [v]ā .....  
 8 ..... ..

## TRANSLATION (DHĀULI AND JAUGADA)

(A) King Dēvanāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus

(B) It is difficult to perform virtuous deeds.

(C) He [who starts performing] victorious deeds accomplishes something difficult

(D) Now, by me many virtuous deeds have been performed

(E) Therefore (among) my sons and grandsons, and (among) my descendants (who shall come) after them until the æon (of the destruction of the world), those who will conform to this (duty) will perform good deeds.

(F) He who will neglect even a portion of this (duty) will perform evil deeds

(G) For sin indeed steps fast.<sup>1</sup>

(H) Now in times past, (officers) called *Mahāmātras* of morality did not exist before.

(I) But (the officers) called *Mahāmātras* of morality were appointed by me (when I had been) anointed thirteen years.

(J) These are occupied with all sects in establishing morality, in promoting morality, and for the welfare and happiness of those who are devoted to morality (even) among the Yōnas, Kambōjas, and Gandhāras, among the Lathikas and Pitōnikas, and whatever other western borderers (of mine there are).

(K) They are occupied with servants and masters, with Brāhmanas and Ibhyas,

<sup>1</sup> *namti* Senart, *nati* Buhler.

<sup>2</sup> *thānā* Buhler.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 33, n. 3

with the destitute, and with the aged, for the welfare and happiness of those who are devoted to morality,<sup>1</sup> (and) in releasing (them) from the fetters (of worldly life).<sup>2</sup>

(L) They are occupied in supporting prisoners (with money), in causing (their) fetters to be taken off, and in setting (them) free, if (one has) children, or is bewitched, or aged, respectively.

(M) They are occupied everywhere, both here and in all the outlying towns, in all the harems of myself, of my brothers, and of (my) sisters, and with (my) other relatives.

(N) These *Mahāmātras* of morality are occupied on the whole earth with those who are devoted to morality, (in order to ascertain) whether one is eager for morality, or established in morality, or furnished with gifts.

(O) For the following purpose has this rescript on morality been written, (viz that) it may be of long duration, and (that) my descendants may conform to it.

### SIXTH ROCK-EDICT JAUGADA

- 1 (A) ..... नंपिये पियदसी लाजा हेवं आहा (B) अतिकंतां अंतलं नो हृतपुलुवे  
सवं कालं अठकंमे पटिवेदना व (C) से ममया कटे (D) सवं कालं  
2 ..... स मे अति ओलोधनसि गभागालसि वचसि विनीतसि उयानसि च  
सवत पटिवेदका जनस अठं प्रटिवेदयंतु मे ति (E) सवत च जनस  
3 ..... कं (F) अं पि च किंछि मुखते आनपयामि दापकं वा सावकं  
वा ए वा महामातेहि अतियायिके आलोपिते होति तसि अठसि  
विवादे व  
4 ..... लिसायं आनंतलियं पटिवेदेतविये मे ति सवत सवं कालं (G)  
हेव मे अनुसथे (H) नथि हि मे तोसे उठानसि अठसंतीलनाय च  
5 (I) ..... मे सबलोकहिते (J) तस च पन इयं मूले उठाने च  
अठसंतीलना च (K) नथि हि कंमतला सबलोकहितेन (L) अं च किंछि  
पलकमामि हकं  
6 ..... नियं येहं ति हिद च कानि सुखयामि पलत च स्वगं आलाधयंतु  
ति (M) एताये अठाये इयं धंमलिपी लिखिता चिल्लितीका होतु  
7 ..... ता मे पलकमंतु सबलोकहिताये (N) दुक्खे चु इयं अनंत अगेन  
पलकमेन

1 (A) ... [na]m̐piye Piyadasī lājā hevam āhā (B) atikāntāṃ amtalam no hūta-  
puluve savam kālam aṭṭha-kamm[c] paṭivedanā va (C) se mamayā kaṭe (D)  
savam kālam

2 . [sa m]e aṃte olodhanasi gabbhāgālasi vachasi vinitas[i] uyānasi cha savata  
pativedakā janasa aṭṭham prativēdayamtu<sup>3</sup> me ti (E) savata cha janasa

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 33, n. 7.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 23, n. 8.

<sup>3</sup> The *r* is expressed by a horizontal stroke before *pa*, which therefore looks like *pe*; *paṭi*  
Senart and Buhler

- 3 . . . . . [ka]m (F) am pi cha kimchhi mukhate ānapayāmi dāpakam vā sāvakam  
vā e v[ā] mah[ā]mātehi a[t̪i]yāyike [ā]lopite hoti tasi athasi vivāde va
- 4 . . . . . isāy[am̐] ānam[ta]liyam paṭivedetaviye me ti savata savam  
kālam (G) hevam me anusathe (H) nathi hi me tose uthanasī atha-  
samtilan[ā]y[a] cha
- 5 (I) . . . . . me sava loka-hite (J) tasa cha pana iyam mūle utthāne cha aṭha-  
samtilanā cha (K) nathi hi k[am]matalā sava-loka-hiten[a] (L) am cha kichhi  
p[a]lakamami hakam
- 6 . . . . . [n̪]iyam yecham ti hida cha kāni su[kha]jāmi palata cha svagam  
alādhayamtū ti (M) etāye athāye i[yā]m dhamma lopi lakkhā chila-ṭhūka  
hotu\*
- 7 . . . . . [t̪i] me [pa]lakamamtu sava-loka-hitāye (N) dukale chu i[yā]m amnata  
agena palakamena

## TRANSLATION (DHIAULI AND JAUGADA)

(A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(B) In times past neither the disposal of affairs nor the submission of reports at all times did exist before

(C) But I have made (the following arrangement)

(D) Reporters have to report to me the affairs of the people at any time (and) anywhere, while I am [eating], within\* the harem, in the inner apartment, at the cowpen, in the palanquin, and in the park

(E) And everywhere I am disposing of the affairs of the people.

(F) And also, if in the council (of *Mahāmātras*) a dispute arises, or an amendment is moved, in connexion with any donation or proclamation which I am ordering verbally, or (in connexion with) an emergent matter which has been delegated to the *Mahāmātras*, it must be reported to me immediately, anywhere, (and) at any time

(G) Thus I have ordered

(H) For I am never satisfied in exerting myself and in dispatching business

(I) For I consider it my duty (to promote) the welfare of all men

(J) But the root of that (is) this, (viz.) exertion and the dispatch of business

(K) For no duty is more important than (promoting) the welfare of all men

(L) And whatever effort I am making, (is made) in order that I may discharge the debt (which I owe) to living beings, (that) I may make them happy in this (world), and (that) they may attain heaven in the other (world).

(M) For the following purpose has this re-script on morality been written, (viz. that) it may be of long duration, and (that) my sons (and) great-grandsons may display the same zeal for the welfare of all men

(N) But it is difficult to accomplish this without great zeal

\* *sāya* Senart and Bühler.

\* *hotu* Bühler

On plate 68 of ASSI, vol. I, a portion of the syllable *pe* is visible before *ta*

The preposition *ante*, 'within', is used with the locative, just as *anto* in Pāli, see Childers, *Pāli Dictionary*, p. 39 b.

## SEVENTH ROCK-EDICT. JAUGADA

- 1 (A) ..... दसी लाजा सवत इहति सबपासंदा वसे ' ' ति (B) सवे हि  
ते समयं भावसुधी च इहति (C) मुनिसा च उभावुचंदा उभावुचलागा  
2 (D) ..... सं व कइति (E) विपुले पि चा दाने ..... धी  
च नीचे बाढं

- 1 (A) ... .. dā[sī]<sup>1</sup> lājā savata ichhati sava-p[ā]samdā va[s]e .. [t]i (B) [sav]r-  
hi te sa[yama]m bhāva-[su]dhī cha ichhamti (C) munisā cha uchāvucha-chhamdā  
uchāvuch[a]-lāgā  
2 (D) . . . . . [sa]rñ<sup>2</sup> va kachhamti (E) [v]i[pul]e [p]i chā<sup>3</sup> [d]ā[ne] . . . . .  
[dhī] cha niche [b]ādham

## TRANSLATION (DHAULI AND JAUGADA)

- (A) King *Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin* desires (that) all sects may reside everywhere.  
(B) For all these desire self-control and purity of mind.  
(C) And men possess various desires (and) various passions.  
(D) They will fulfil either the whole or (only) a portion (of their duties).  
(E) And even one who (practises) great liberality, (but) does not possess self-control and purity of mind, is very mean.

## EIGHTH ROCK-EDICT JAUGADA

- 1 ..... विया अनानि च एदि ..... मानि हुवन्ति नं (C) से  
देवानंपिये  
2 पिय ..... दस ..... ता (E) ततेस होति स .....  
च दाने च वुदानं दसने च  
3 हिलनपटिविधाने च ..... धंमपलियुद्धा ..... िलाने  
होति देवानंपियस  
4 पियदसिने लाजिने भागे अ . . .

- 1 <sup>4</sup> ..... [v]i[y]ā [a]mnāni cha e[d]i ..... [m]āni huvaṃti nam (C) se  
*Dēvānāmpriya*  
2 [Piya] . . . . . [dasa]<sup>4</sup> . . . . . [tā] (E) [ta]tesa hoti [sa] . . . . . cha  
dāne<sup>5</sup> cha vudhanam dasane cha  
3 hilaṇṇa-paṭiv[ī]dh[ā]ne [cha] . . . . . [dha]rma-p[ā]l[i]pucchā<sup>7</sup> . . . . .  
ilame hoti De[v]ānāmpiyasa  
4 Piyadasine lājine bhāge [a] . .

<sup>1</sup> On plate 68 of ASSI, vol. I, the two syllables [Piya] are visible before *dasi*.

<sup>2</sup> The same plate reads [va] *cha-desaṃ* <sup>3</sup> *cha* Senart and Buhler.

<sup>4</sup> At the beginning of this line, plate 68 of ASSI, vol. I, reads [a\*][ti]kamtaṃ amtalam lāya

<sup>5</sup> The same plate reads *Piyadasi* [lājā] *dasa*.

<sup>6</sup> *cha* looks almost like *chu*, and *dāne* like *dāno*.

<sup>7</sup> -pālī Senart and Buhler.

## TRANSLATION (DHAULI AND JAUGADA)

- (A) In times past, kings used to set out on so-called pleasure tours.  
 (B) On these (tours) hunting and other such pleasures were (enjoyed) <sup>1</sup>  
 (C) But when king *Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin* had been anointed ten years, he went out to *Sambōdhi*.  
 (D) Therefore tours of morality (were undertaken) here.  
 (E) On these (tours) the following takes place, (viz) visiting Śramanas and Brāhmanas and making gifts (to them), visiting the aged and supporting (them) with gold, visiting the people of the country, instructing (them) in morality, and questioning (them) about morality, as suitable for this (occasion)  
 (F) This second period (of the reign) of king *Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin* becomes a pleasure in a higher degree

## NINTH ROCK-EDICT JAUGADA

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसी लाजा ..... पनुपदाये पवाससि एताये  
 ज्ञानाये च  
 2 हेदिसाये जने बहुके ..... च मंगलं कलेति (D) से कटविये चेव  
 खो मंगले  
 3 (E) अपफले चु खो एस हेदिसे म ..... (F) इयं चु ..... सभटकसि  
 संम्यापटिपति गुलूनं अपचिति पानेसु सयमे  
 4 समनवाभनानं दाने एस ज्ञने ..... पितिना पि पुतेन पि भातिना  
 पि सुवामिकेन पि इयं साधु इयं कटविये  
 5 ..... से दाने अनुगहे वा आदिसे धंमदाने धंमानुगहे च (K) से चु  
 खो मितेन  
 6 ..... यं साधू इमेन सकिये स्वगे आलापयितवे (L) किं हि इमेन  
 कटवियतला  
 7 .....

- 1 (A) *Devān[arh]piye Piyadasī lā[jā]* . . . . . [pa]ṇupadaye pavāsasi etāye  
 aññāyē cha  
 2 *hedisāye jane [bā]hu[kam]* . . . . . [cha ma]m[ga]m k[a]leti (D) se kataviye  
 cheva kho mangale  
 3 (E) *apa-[pha]le chu [kh]o e[sa] he[d]isc ma* . . . . . (F) *i[ya]m [chu]*<sup>4</sup> . . .  
 [sa-bha]ṭkasi sammyā-patipati gulūnam apachiti paṇesu say[a]me  
 4 *saman[a]-bābha[n]ā[nam d]a[n]e* . . . . . [e]sa a[m]n[e] . . . . . [pi]tina pi putena pi  
 bhātina pi suvāmike[n] pi iyaṃ saḍhu iyaṃ kataviye

<sup>1</sup> With *huvāsitu nam* cf. *etehi na* in the Kārī and Nāsiṃ inscriptions (I.1, 7 64, text l 4 8, 65, text l 14; 71, text l 4; 73, text l 11). In the Jaina Prākṛit, *nam* is used as an enclitical particle, and in Saurasēni, according to the grammarians, in the sense of *nam*. Pischel (*Grammatik*, § 150) derives it from Skt. *nānam*.

<sup>2</sup> These two words are invisible on plate 68 of ASSI, vol. I





## TRANSLATION (DHAULI AND JAUGADA)

(A) King *Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin* does not think that either glory or fame [conveys much advantage, except whatever] glory or fame he desires (on account of his aim that) at the present time, and in the future, men may (be induced) by him to practise obedience to morality . . . . . morality.

(B) On this (account) [he is desiring] glory and fame.

(C) [Whatever] effort *Dēvānāmpriya* is making, (is) only for the sake of (merit) in the other (world), (and) in order that all (men) may run little danger.

(D) The danger . . . . .

(E) . . . . . difficult to accomplish either for a lowly (person) or for a high one [without] great [real] and (without) laying aside every (other aim).

(F) But it is more difficult to accomplish for a high (person).

## FOURTEENTH ROCK-EDICT JAUGADA

1 (A) . . . . . मभिमेन अपि विषटेन (B) नो हि सवे सबत घटिते (C)  
महंते हि विजये

2 . . . . . स माधुलियाये किंति च जने तथा पटिपजेया ति (E) ए पि  
चु हेत

3 . . . . .

1 (A) . . . . . [ma]jhimē[na] ath[i] vithatena (B) [no] hi sаве savata ghatite  
(C) mahamte hi vijaye

2 . . . . . [sa] mādhuliyaye kiṁti[ti] cha jane tathā paṭipajeyā ti (E) ε pi chu heta

3 . . . . .

## TRANSLATION (DHAULI AND JAUGADA)

(A) These rescripts on morality [have been caused] to be written by king *Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin* . . . . . or of middle (size), or at full length

(B) For the whole was not suitable everywhere.

(C) For (my) dominions are wide, and much has been written, [and I] shall cause [still] (more) to be written.

(D) . . . . . has been stated . . . . . because of the charm of [certain topics], and in order that men should act accordingly.

(E) But whatever of this is written incompletely . . . . .

## FIRST SEPARATE ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA

1 (A) देवानंप्रिये हेवं आहा (B) समापायं महामाता नगलवियोहालक हेवं  
वतविद्या (C) अं किञ्चि दस्सामि हकं तं इद्धामि किंति कं कम्मन पटिपातयेहं

2 दुबालते च आलमेहं (D) एस च मे मोखियमत दुबालं अं तुपेसु अनुसवि (E)  
फे हि बहूसु पानसहसेसु आयत पनयं गद्धेम सु मुनिसानं (F) सबमुना मे

- 3 पञ्जा (G) अथ पञ्जाये इक्षामि किंति मे सवेन हितसुखेन यूजेयू ति हिदलोकि-  
पाललोकिने हेमेव मे इह सवसुनिसेसु (H) नो चु तुफे एतं पापुनाथ  
आवगमुके
- 4 इयं अठे (I) केचा एकमुनिसे पापुनाति से पि देसं नो सबं (J) दसथ हि तुफे पि  
सुविता पि (K) बहुक अठि ये एति एकमुनिसे बंधनं पलिकिलेसं पि  
पापुनाति (L) तत होति अक-
- 5 स्मा ति तेन बधनंतिक अन्ये च वगे बहुके वेदयति (M) तत तुफेहि इक्षितये  
किंति मभं पटिपातयेम (N) इमेहि जातेहि नो पटिपजति इसाय आमुलीयेन  
निदूलियेन
- 6 तुलाय अनावुतिय आलस्येन किलमथेन (O) हेवं इक्षितविये किंति मे एतानि  
जातानि नो ह्येयू ति (P) सवस चु इयं मूले अनामुलीये अतुलना च  
(Q) नितियं एयं किलंते सिय . . . .
- 7 संचलित उपाया संचलितथे तु वटितविय पि एतविये पि नीतियं (R) एवे  
दसेया आनने णिक्पेतविये हेवं हेवं च देवानंपियस अनुसथि ति (S) एतं  
संपटिपातयं-
- 8 तं महाफले होति असंपटिपति महापाये होति (T) विषटिपातयंतं नो  
स्वगआलपि नो लाजाधि (U) दुआहले एतस कंस स मे कुते मनो-  
अतिलेके (V) एतं संपटिपजमीने मम
- 9 च आननेयं एसथ स्वगं च आलापयिसथा (W) इयं चा लिपी अनुतिसं  
सोतविया (X) अला पि खनेन सोतविया एककेन पि (Y) . . . . .  
मीने चयथ . . . . .
- 10 तवे (Z) एताये च अदाये इयं लिखिता लिपी एन महामाता नगलक सस्वतं  
समयं एतं युजेयु ति एन मुनिसानं अ . . . . . ने पलिकि  
. . . . . ये
- 11 पंचसु पंचसु वसेसु अनुसयानं निखामयिसामि महामातं अचंडं अफलुसं  
त . . . . . पि कुमाले वि . . . . . मयि . . . . .  
लाते . . . . .
- 12 . . . . . वचनिक अद अनुसयानं निखमिसंति अतने कं . . . . .  
यितु तं पि तथा कलंति अथा . . . . .

1 (A) Dev[ā]nāpiye he[va]m [ā]hā (B) Sam[ā]pāyam mahāmātā [na]gala-  
viyohālaka he[vam va]tav[ī]y[ā] (C) am kichhi dakhānu ha[ka]m [tam] ichhām[ī]  
k[um]t[ī] karī kamana<sup>2</sup> pa[ti]pātayeham

<sup>1</sup> Senart and Buhler omitt *kani*. Cf. the Jaugaḍa separate edict II, end of line 1, and see above,  
P. 35, n. 12.

<sup>2</sup> [*kani*]mana Buhler.

- 2 duvalāte cha ālabhecam (D) eṣ[a] cha me mokhiya-mata duvalam a[m] tūphesu anusathi (E) phe hi bahūsu pāna-sahasasu [ā]ya[ta] p[ā]na[ya]m gachhema [su] m[u]n[i]s[ā]na[m] (F) sava-mu[n]i me<sup>1</sup>
- 3 pajā (G) atha pa[ā]ye ichhāmi kīmi[ti] me savena hita-sukhena y[u]ṣyati hi[ḍa]lo[ḡ]ik[a]-pālalokikena [he]meva me ichha sava-munis[ḥ]su (H) no chu tu[phē] e[ti]tam [p]ā[p]u[ā]tha āva-gamu[k]e<sup>2</sup>
- 4 [i]yaṁ ath[e] (I) kechā cka-[muni]-[e]ṣ[a] pa[p]unati<sup>3</sup> se pi desam no savam (J) dakhatha hi [tūphē] pi<sup>4</sup> suvitā [p]i (K) bahuka athi<sup>5</sup> ye eti eka-munis- ba[m]dhanam pali[kile]sam [p]i<sup>6</sup> pāpunati (L) tata [ho]t[ti] aka-
- 5 sm[ā] ti<sup>7</sup> ten[a] badhana[m]tu[ka]<sup>10</sup> anye<sup>11</sup> cha [va]ḡe bāhuke vedayati (M) tata tūphēhi ichhiṭṭaye kīmti majham [va]tipatayem[ti] (N) imehi jāti[h]i<sup>12</sup> no [pa]tipa[ya]ti<sup>13</sup> iṣ[ā]ya<sup>14</sup> ānulopena [ni]tū[h]iye[na]<sup>15</sup>
- 6 t[ul]āya<sup>16</sup> [a]nā[ṣ]v[ati]ya<sup>17</sup> āla[ṣ]y[e]na ki[ḷ]amath[e]na (O) hevam ichhiṭṭa[ṣ]v[ati]ye kīmti me e[ti]āni jāta[ni] n[ō] h[ṣ]v[ati] ti (P) savasa chu<sup>18</sup> iyaṁ mū[hi] a[n]ā[ṣ]u[lo]pi[ḥ] atulana) cha (Q) n[ṣ]t[ya]m [ṣ]y[am] ki[ḷ]am[ti] [ṣ]ya . .
- 7 samchalitu uthay[ā]<sup>20</sup> samchalitavye tu v[ā]tutaviya<sup>21</sup> [ni] etaviye pi n[ṣ]t[ya]m (R) eve dakh[e]ya<sup>22</sup> āna[m]ne<sup>23</sup> n[ṣ]h[ā]ṣ[e]t[ā]viye<sup>24</sup> heva[m] h[ṣ]vam) cha Devānam[p]i[ya]sa an[ṣ]v[ati]ti ti (S) [eta]m sampatipat[ā]yam-
- 8 tam mahā-phale hoti āsāmpatipati mahap[ṣ]y[e] hoti (T) vipatipatavāntam no svag[ṣ]t[ā]lādhi no jājādhi<sup>25</sup> (U) dū[ṣ]hale etasa [kam]masa sa m[ā] k[ṣ]i[ṣ]i majh[ṣ]t[ā]le[ḥ]c[ḥ]<sup>26</sup> (V) [eta]m sampatipatavāntame mama]
- 9 cha ānāyem esatha svagam cha ālā[ḍ]h[ā]yisa[ṣ]t[ā]ti (W) iyaṁ cha<sup>27</sup> h[ṣ]pi anutisam sot[ā]v[ati]ya (X) [a]lā<sup>28</sup> [p]i kha[ṣ]ne[na] sot[ā]v[ati]ye ek[ṣ]k[e]ya pi (Y) m[ṣ]ne<sup>29</sup> ch[ā]ghathā]
- 10 tave (Z) tāye cha ath[ā]ye iyaṁ [li]khitā [l]i[ṣ]i na mahāmātā nagalaka sa[ṣ]vat[ā]m sama[ṣ]am [eta]m yu[ṣ]t[ā] y[ṣ]t[ā] t[ā] ena [muni]ṣ[ā]nam [a] . . . ne [ṣ]a[ṣ]t[ā] [k]i<sup>30</sup>
- 11 [pa]mchasa pamchasa va[ṣ]sesu ant[ṣ]v[ati]ānam<sup>31</sup> nikh[ṣ]m[ṣ]y[am] mahāmātā[m] ahamā[ṣ]m aphal[ṣ]am<sup>32</sup> ta<sup>33</sup> pi kumāle [v]i<sup>34</sup> . . . ta . . . m[ṣ]y[am]<sup>35</sup> . . . [lā]t[ā]<sup>36</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Read -munivā me, -munise Senait and Buhler<sup>2</sup> cha Buhler<sup>3</sup> -pulise Senait and Buhler<sup>4</sup> hi Buhler<sup>5</sup> hi Buhler<sup>7</sup> athi Buhler<sup>6</sup> Senait and Buhler omit ti<sup>7</sup> Buhler omitted this word<sup>8</sup> sampati<sup>9</sup> Senait sami<sup>10</sup> Buhler<sup>9</sup> nitha<sup>11</sup> Senait, nitha<sup>12</sup> Buhler.<sup>10</sup> nitye Senait and Buhler<sup>11</sup> cha Senait and Buhler<sup>12</sup> dekhuyi Senait and Buhler<sup>13</sup> nyha<sup>14</sup> Senait and Buhler<sup>14</sup> Read jālādhi<sup>15</sup> Read antalā<sup>16</sup> samyānam Senait and Buhler<sup>17</sup> Buhler adds vacchaule, perhaps vakhānāmbham is intended, as in the corresponding passage at Dhauhi<sup>18</sup> This is probably a remnant of Takhasulāte

avā- Buhler, amale Senait and Buhler

<sup>19</sup> pi manati Senait, pi [ma]nati Buhler<sup>20</sup> hi Buhler<sup>21</sup> bandha<sup>22</sup> Senait and Buhler<sup>22</sup> jātihi Buhler<sup>23</sup> vā[ṣ]t[ā] Buhler<sup>24</sup> tubay Senait and Buhler<sup>25</sup> h[ṣ]v[ati] Senait and Buhler<sup>26</sup> nitha[ṣ] Buhler<sup>27</sup> vapi<sup>28</sup> Senait and Buhler<sup>28</sup> amma ne Senait and Buhler<sup>29</sup> cha Senait and Buhler<sup>30</sup> mane Buhler.<sup>31</sup> samā Buhler<sup>32</sup> Restore akasmā bandhana palikitha<sup>33</sup> Restore nikhāmayasati

- 12 . . . . . vachanik[a]<sup>1</sup> ada<sup>2</sup> [anusa]yānam<sup>3</sup> n[ikha]mi[sar]ti a[ta]ne ka[rma]m  
 . . . . [yitu tam pi tathā] kalamti [athā]. . . . .

## TRANSLATION

(A) *Dēvānāmpriya* speaks thus

(B) The *Mahāmātras* at *Samāpā*, (who are) the judicial officers of the city, have to be told this

(C) Whatever I recognize (to be right), that I strive to carry out by deeds, and to accomplish by (various) means

(D) And this is considered by me the principal means, viz. (to give) instruction to you.

(E) For you are occupied with many thousands of men, with the object of gaining the affection of men.

(F) All men are my children.

(G) As on behalf of (my own) children I desire that they may be provided by me with complete welfare and happiness in this world and in the other world, even so is my desire on behalf of all men.

(H) But you do not learn this, (viz.) how far this (my) object reaches

(I) Some single person (only) learns (this), (and) even he (only) a portion, (but) not the whole.

(J) Now you must also pay attention (to this), although you are in prosperous circumstances<sup>4</sup>

(K) It happens frequently that a single person undergoes imprisonment and suffers harsh treatment<sup>5</sup>

(L) In this case (an order) cancelling the imprisonment is (obtained) by him accidentally, while many other people<sup>6</sup> (continue to) suffer.

(M) In this case you must strive to deal (with all of them) impartially.

(N) One fails to act (thus) on account of the following dispositions: envy, anger, cruelty, hurry, want of practice, laziness, (and) fatigue.

(O) (You) must strive for this, that these dispositions may not arise in you.

(P) But the root of all is this: the absence of anger and the avoidance of hurry

(Q) Whoever is fatigued in the administration (of justice), will [not] move and rise; but one ought to move, to walk, and to advance in the administration (of justice).

(R) He who will pay attention to this,<sup>7</sup> must exhort<sup>8</sup> (you) to discharge (your) debt (to the king), (by telling you). 'Such and such is the instruction of *Dēvānāmpriya*.'

<sup>1</sup> *javacha*<sup>2</sup> Senart, *ajavacha*<sup>2</sup> Buhler; cf. *[ā]ja-vachanik[a]* in the Jaugada separate edict II, B.

<sup>2</sup> *tada* Senart, *adā* Buhler

<sup>3</sup> *asāyānam* Senart and Buhler.

<sup>4</sup> For *svasta* see Bohtlingk and Roth's Dictionary. Dhauhi has the synonym *svukhita*.

<sup>5</sup> Ludeke (SPAW, 1914 862) renders the Dhauhi version of this section. 'There is also a single officer who hears of imprisonment or torture', but, in order to vindicate this translation, he is obliged to change *eti* in the Jaugada version to *eta* (p. 856, n. 17), which gives no sense. The verb *pāpūnāti* has the same meaning as here in the rock-edict XIII, cf. above, p. 47, n. 5.

<sup>6</sup> For *vage* = *jane* see above, p. 40, n. 2

<sup>7</sup> As *evā dakkh[e]yā* corresponds to *hevaṃmeva e da[kkheya]* at Dhauhi, it seems to represent *evān e dakkh[e]yā*

<sup>8</sup> For *nijhapeti* see above, p. 69, n. 4.

(B) If one observes this, great gain results, (but its) non-observance becomes a great evil.

(T) If one fails to observe (this), (there will be) neither attainment of heaven nor satisfaction of the king.

(U) How (could) my mind be pleased if one fulfils this duty badly ?

(V) If (you) observe this, you will discharge the debt (which you owe) to me, and you will attain heaven.

(W) And this rescript must be listened to (by all) on every (day of) Tishya

(X) It may be listened to even by a single (person) also on (other) occasions between (the days of Tishya)

(Y) . . . . . you will be able to . . . . .

(Z) And for the following purpose has this rescript been written, (viz) in order that the *Mahāmatras* (who are) city-judges may strive at all times for this, that to men [undeserved imprisonment or harsh treatment] . . . . .

(AA) . . . . . I shall send out every five years on a complete tour (throughout his charge)<sup>1</sup> a *Mahāmatra* who is neither fierce nor harsh . . . . .

(BB) . . . . . also the prince (governor) [will send out] . . . . .

(CC) . . . . . from [Takshāśīlā].

(DD) When, at the word [of the king],<sup>2</sup> they will set out on tour, (then), [with out neglecting] their own duties, (they will ascertain<sup>3</sup> whether the judicial officers) are carrying out this also just, as . . . . .

## SECOND SEPARATE ROCK-EDICT JAUGADA

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये हेवं आह (B) समापायं महमता लाजवचनिक वतविया (C) अं किञ्चि दस्वामि हकं तं इहामि हकं किंति कं कमन
- 2 पटिपातयेहं दुवाल्ते च आलभेहं (D) एस च मे मोखियमत दुवाल एतस अथस अं तुफेसु अनुसधि (E) सवमुनि-
- 3 सा मे पजा (F) अथ पजाये इहामि किंति मे सवेणा हितसुखेन युजेयू अथ पजाये इहामि किंति मे सवेन हितसु-
- 4 खेन युजेयू ति हिद्लोगिकपाललोकिकेण हेवंमेव मे इह सवमुनिसेसु (G) सिया अंतानं अविजिता-
- 5 नं किञ्चिदि सु लाजा अफेसु ति (H) एताका वा मे इह अतिमु पापुनेसु लाजा हेवं इहति अनुविगिन हेयू
- 6 ममियाये अस्वसेसु च मे सुखंमेव च लहेयू ममते नो खं हेवं च पापुनेसु खमिसति ने लाजा
- 7 ए सकिये खमितवे ममं निमितं च धमं चलेयू ति हिद्लोगं च पल्लोगं च आलाधयेयू (I) एताये

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 5, n. 4

<sup>2</sup> See below, p. 117, n. 10

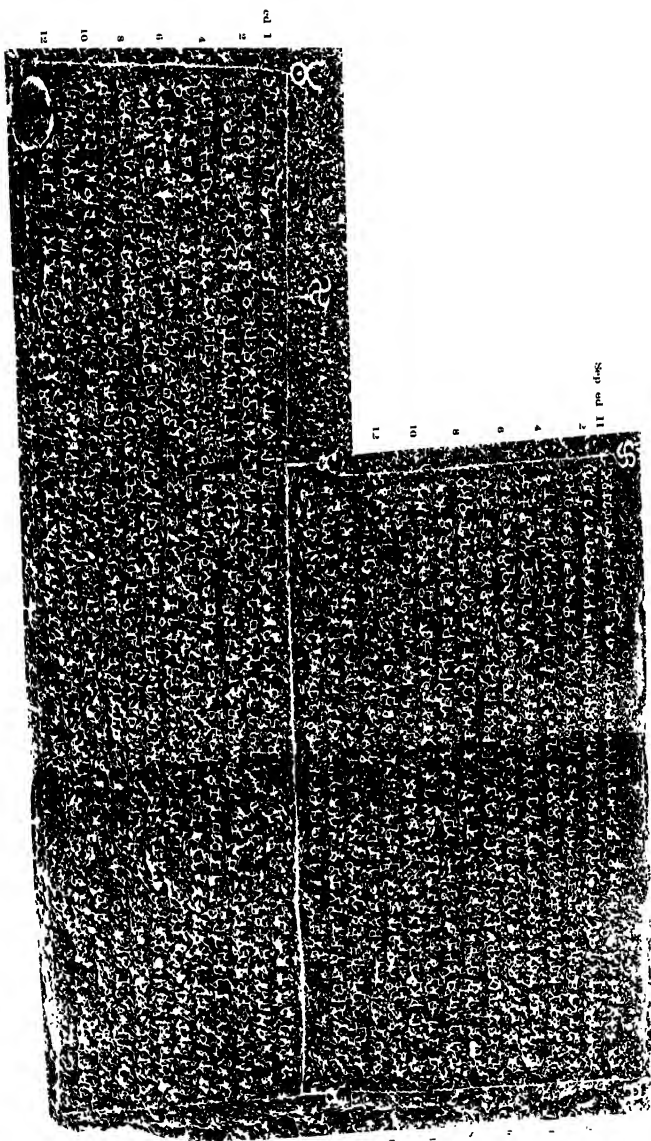
<sup>3</sup> The word *jānsanti* seems to be omitted at Jaugada, but is required by the context, see the Dhauhi version, CC.

- 8 च अथाये हकं तुफेनि अनुसासामि अनने एतकेन हकं तुफेनि अनुसासितु छंदं च वेदि-
- 9 तु आ मम धिति पटिना च अचल (J) स हेवं कटू कंमे चलितविये अस्वासनिया च ते एन ते पापुने-
- 10 यु अथा पित हेवं ने लाजा ति अथ अतानं अनुकंपति हेवं अफेनि अनुकंपति अथा पजा हे-
- 11 वं मये लाजिने (K) तुफेनि हकं अनुसासित छांदं च वेदित आ मम धिति पटिना चा अचल सकल-
- 12 देसाआयुतिके होसामी एतसि अथसि (L) अलं हि तुफे अस्वासनाये हितसुखाये च तेसं हिद-
- 13 लोगिकपाललोकिकाये (M) हेवं च कलंतं स्वगं च आलापयिसथ मम च आननेयं एसथ (N) ए-
- 14 ताये च अथाये इयं लिपी लिखित हिद एन महामाता सास्वतं समं युजेयू अस्वासनाये च
- 15 धंमचलनाये च अंतानं (O) इयं च लिपी अनुचातुमासं सोतविया तिसेन (P) अंतला पि च सोतविया
- 16 (Q) खने संतं एकेन पि सोतविया (R) हेवं च कलंतं चघथ संपटिपातयितवे

- 1 (A) *Devānarāpiyo* hevam ā[ha] (B) *Samāpāyān* mahamatā l[a]ja-vachanik[a]<sup>1</sup> vataviya (C) am kichhi dakh[ā]mī hakam tarī s[ehh]amī hakam k[im]ti kam kamana
- 2 patipātayeham duva[la]te cha alahhcham (D) esa cha me mokhiya-mat[a]<sup>2</sup> duvāl[a] etasa a[tha]-sa a[m] t[uph]esū anusa[thi] (E) sava-muni-
- 3 sa me pajā (F) atha pajāy[c] ichhami kimti me savena hita-sū[kh]kna yu[re]yū [a]tha pajāye ichhami kim[ti] m[re] savena hita-sū-
- 4 kh[re]na yueyū<sup>3</sup> ti hūdalogika-pālaloka[k]k[na]<sup>4</sup> hevammeva me ichha sava-munisessu (G) siya amtanam ā[vijita-
- 5 nam kim chhānde<sup>5</sup> su lājā aphesū ti (H) etāki<sup>6</sup> [vā] me ichha [a]ntessu pāpun yū lājā hevam ichh[a]tu anu[v]h[re]na hve[yū]<sup>7</sup>
- 6 maniyāye [a]vaseyū cha me sukham[m]jev[a] cha lahey[ū] mamate [u]o kha[m]<sup>8</sup> hevam cha pāpuneyū kha[m]s[ā]tu ne lājā
- 7 e s[ā]k[re]ye<sup>9</sup> khamitave mamam nimitam cha dhamma[m]<sup>10</sup> chaley[u] ti hūdalog[am] cha palalogam cha alālhayey[ū]<sup>11</sup> (I) etāye

<sup>1</sup> *lyja*-Senart and Buhler<sup>2</sup> *mate* Senart, *-matam* Buhler<sup>3</sup> Cancel the eight last words ([a]tha to yueyū), which the writer has repeated by mistake<sup>4</sup> *kena* Senart and Buhler<sup>5</sup> *-chhānde* Senart and Buhler.<sup>6</sup> Read *etākā*, as proposed by Luder, SPAW, 1914, 867.<sup>7</sup> *heyn* Senart and Buhler<sup>8</sup> Read *dukham*.<sup>9</sup> *chha kive* Senart, *chaktye* Buhler.<sup>10</sup> The Anusvāra of *maṃ* stands above the line; *dhamma* Senart and Buhler.<sup>11</sup> *°jeyu* Senart and Buhler.

# JAGGADA ROCK : THIRD COLUMN







- 8 cha athāye hakam tupheni anusaśāmi ana[ne eta]kena [ha]kam tupheni a[nu]śāsitu  
chhamda[m cha] vedi-
- 9 [t]u ā mama dhiti patimnā cha achala (J) sa hevam [ka]tū<sup>1</sup> k[am]me [cha]litaviye  
asvāsa[n]iyā ch[a] te en[a] te pāpune-
- 10 yu a[th]ā pita [h]evam [n]e lājā ti atha [a]tānam anukampat[i he]vam a[ph]eni  
anuka[mpa]ti athā pājā he-
- 11 vam [may]e la[j]ine (K) tupheni hakam anusaśita<sup>2</sup> [chh]āmdam<sup>3</sup> [cha v]e[di]ta<sup>4</sup>  
[ā<sup>5</sup> ma]ma dhiti patimnā chā achala [saka]la-
- 12 desa ay[ut]ike<sup>6</sup> hosāmi et[ā]si [a]thas[i] (L) [a]lam [h]i tuphe asvāsa[nā]ye hi[ta]-  
sukhāye [cha te]sa[m] hida-
- 13 logi[ka]-p[ā]l[ā]l[o]ki[k]i[ā]y[ā] (M) hevam cha kalamtani svaga[m cha ā]lādhayisa[tha]  
mama cha āna[n]iyam es[a]tha (N) e-
- 14 tāye cha a[th]āye ifya[m lipi li[kh]i[ta]<sup>7</sup> hi[da] e[na ma]h[ā]mātā sāsavatam<sup>8</sup> samam<sup>9</sup>  
yujeyā asvāsanāye cha
- 15 dhamma-chala[nā]ye [cha] amū[na]ni (O) iyam cha lipi a[nu]ch[a]tum[m]asam  
sota[ny]ā tīsena (P) amita[lā] pi cha sotaviya
- 16 (Q) khane santam eke[na] pi [sota]v[i]yā (R) heva[im] cha [ka]lam[ta]m chagghatha  
sampatipātayit[av]e

## TRANSLATION

(A) *Dāvānārpriya* speaks thus

(B) The *Alakāmātras* at *Samāpā* have to be told (this) at the word of the king<sup>10</sup>

(C) Whatever I recognise (to be right), that I strive to carry out by deeds and to accomplish by (various) means

(D) And this is considered by me the principal means for this object, viz. (to give) instruction to you

(E) All men are my children

(F) As on behalf of (my own) children I desire that they may be provided by me with complete welfare and happiness in this world and in the other world, even so is my desire on behalf of all men

(G) It might occur to (my) unconquered borderers (to ask) 'What does the king desire with reference to us?'

(H) This alone is my wish with reference to the borderers, (that) they may learn (that) the king desires this, (that) they may not be afraid of me, but may have confidence in me, (that) they may obtain only happiness from me, not misery, (that) they may learn this, (that) the king will forgive them what can be forgiven, that they may (be induced) by me (to) practise morality; (and that) they may attain (happiness) both (in) this world and (in) the other world

<sup>1</sup> *kaṭṭu* Senart and Buhler

<sup>2</sup> *chhamdaṁ* Senart and Buhler.

<sup>3</sup> Senart and Buhler omit ā.

<sup>4</sup> *likhitā* Senart and Buhler

<sup>5</sup> Read "sastu, which is Buhler's reading

<sup>6</sup> Read *vedāṭu*, *vedāṭu* Senart, *vedāṭu* Buhler

<sup>7</sup> Read *desāyutike*.

<sup>8</sup> *sasvatam* Senart and Buhler

<sup>9</sup> Read *samayam*

<sup>10</sup> The derivative [ā]ja-*vahanu*[ā] seems to convey the same meaning as the two words *Devānārpriyasa vachanena* at the beginning of each of the two separate edicts at Dhauli, and of the Queen's pillar-edict at Allahabad. Cf also the opening phrase of the Brahmagui and Siddāpura rock-inscriptions.

(I) And for the following purpose I am instructing you, (viz. that) I may discharge the debt (which I owe to them) by this, that I instruct you and inform (you) of (my) will, i. e. (of) my unshakable resolution and vow.

(J) Therefore, acting thus, (you) must fulfil (your) duty and must inspire them with confidence,<sup>1</sup> in order that they may learn that the king is to them like a father, (that) he loves them as he loves himself, (and that) they are to the king like (his own) children

(K) Having instructed you and having informed (you) of (my) will, i. e. (of) my unshakable resolution and vow, I shall have (i. e. maintain) officers in all provinces for this object.

(L) For you are able to inspire those (borderers) with confidence and (to secure their) welfare and happiness in this world and in the other world

(M) And if (you) act thus, you will attain heaven, and you will discharge the debt (which you owe) to me

(N) And for the following purpose has this rescript been written here, (viz.) in order that the *Mahāmātra* may strive at all times to inspire (my) borderers with confidence and (to induce them) to practise morality.

(O) And this rescript must be listened to (by all) every four months on (the day of) Tishya.

(P) And it may be listened to also between (the days of) Tishya).

(Q) It may be listened to even by a single (person) when an occasion offers.

(R) And if (you) act thus, you will be able to carry out (my orders)

## VII. THE BOMBAY-SOPARA FRAGMENT OF THE EIGHTH ROCK-EDICT

.....

- 5 निखमिठ स .....
- 6 (E) हेत इयं होति बभ .....
- 7 वुढानं दसने च हिरनपटिविधाने च .....
- 8 धंमानुससि धंम .....
- 9 .. ये रती होति दे .....
- 10 .... ने भागे अं ..

- 5 nikhamitha sa<sup>1</sup> .....
- 6 (E) heta iyam [ho]ti bam[bha] . . . .
- 7 vudhanam dasane<sup>4</sup> [cha] hiranma-patividhāne chā . . . . .
- 8 [dha\*]nimānusa[thi]<sup>4</sup> dhamma . . . . .
- 9 . ye [ra]ti<sup>4</sup> hoti De . . . . .
- 10 . n[e] bhage am .

<sup>1</sup> With *asvāsa[n]īyā* cf. *svastāsa[n]īyā* on the Sarnath pillar, ll 8 and 9

<sup>2</sup> The two words *khane santam* are nominatives absolute; cf. above, p 97, n

<sup>3</sup> *nikhamithā sam* Bhagvanlal Indraji.

<sup>4</sup> These two words are entered above the line.

<sup>5</sup> *sathi* Bh. I.

<sup>6</sup> *sati* Bh. I.

BOMBAY-SOPARA FRAGMENT OF THE LIGHTHOUSE ROCK-EDICULE



SCALE ONE-FOUR



## SECOND PART: THE PILLAR-EDICTS

### I. THE DELHI-TOPRA PILLAR

#### FIRST PILLAR-EDICT DELHI-TOPRA

*North Face of Pillar.*

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आहा (B) सहुवीसति-  
 2 वसअभिसितेन मे इयं धम्मलिपि लिखापिता  
 3 (C) हिदतपालते दुसंपटिपादये अंनत अगाया धम्मकामताया  
 4 अगाय पलीखाया अगाय सुसुयाया अगेन भयेना  
 5 अगेन उसाहेना (D) एस चु खी मम अनुसथिया  
 6 धंमापेखा धम्मकामता चा सुवे सुवे वडिता वडीसति चेवा  
 7 (E) पुलिसा पि च मे उक्सा चा गेवया चा मज्झिमा चा अनुविधीयंती  
 8 संपटिपादयंति चा अलं चपलं समादपयितवे (F) हेमेवा अंत-  
 9 महामाता पि (G) एस हि विधि या इयं धंमेन पालना धंमेन विधाने  
 10 धंमेन सुखियना धंमेन गोती ति
- 1 (A) *Dovānāmpīye Piyadasī lāja hevam āhā* (B) *saḍḍuvisati-*  
 2 *vasa-abhisitena me iyam dhamma-lipi likhāpitā*  
 3 (C) *hidata pālate dusampatipādaye amnata agāyā dhamma-kamatāyā*  
 4 *agāyā palikhāyā agāyā su[su]yāyā agena bhayenā*  
 5 *agena usahenā* (D) *esa chu kho mama anusathiyā*  
 6 *dhammapekha dhamma-kamatā chā suve suve vadhita vadhisati cheva*  
 7 (E) *pulisā pi cha me ukasā chā gevaya chā majjhima chā anuvīdhiyamti*  
 8 *sampatipādayamti chā alam chapalam samādapayitave* (F) *hemevā amta-*  
 9 *mahāmātā pi* (G) *esa<sup>1</sup> hi<sup>2</sup> vidhi yā iyam dhammena palanā dhammena vidhane*  
 10 *dhammena sukhīyana dhammena goti ti*

#### TRANSLATION

(A) King *Dōvānāmpriya Priyadarśin* speaks thus

(B) This rescript on morality was caused to be written by me (when I had been) anointed twenty-six years.

(C) (Happiness) in this (world) and in the other (world) is difficult to secure

<sup>1</sup> *ca* Buhler.

<sup>2</sup> *pe* Senart and Buhler, *hi* is quite distinct on the inked stampages.

<sup>3</sup> With the base *pālata*, which is derived from the Sanskrit adverb *parata*, cf. *pārātika*. Günār (= *pālāntikya* at Kālsi, and *pālātika* elsewhere)

without great love of morality, careful examination, great obedience, great fear (of sin), (and) great energy.

(D) But indeed by my instruction this regard for morality and love of morality have been promoted day by day<sup>1</sup> and will progress still (more).

(E) And my agents<sup>2</sup> also, both the high ones<sup>3</sup> and the low ones,<sup>4</sup> and those of middle rank, are conforming to and practising (morality), (and are thus) able to stir up<sup>5</sup> fickle (persons)

(F) In the same way the *Mahāmātras* of the borderers<sup>6</sup> also (are acting)

(G) For (their) instruction (is) this, viz.<sup>7</sup> to protect according to morality, to dispose according to morality, to cause pleasure<sup>8</sup> according to morality, (and) to guard (their speech)<sup>9</sup> according to morality

## SECOND PILLAR-EDICT DELHI-TOPRA

### *North Face of Pillar*

- 10 (A) देवानंपिये प्रियदसि लाज  
11 हेवं आहा (B) धंमे साधू कियं च धंमे ति (C) अपासिनवे बहु कयाने  
12 दया दाने सचे सोचये (D) चक्षुदाने पि मे बहुविधे दिने (E) दुपद-  
13 चतुपदेसु पखिवाल्लिचलेसु विविधे मे अनुगहे कटे आ पान-  
14 दाखिमाये (F) अन्नानि पि च मे बहूनि कयानानि कटानि (G) एताये मे  
15 अटाये इयं धंमलिपि लिखापिता हेवं अनुपटिपजंतु चिलं-  
16 षितिका च होतू नी ति (H) ये च हेवं संपटिपजीसति से सुकटं कळती ति

- 10 (A) Devānaṃpiye Priyadasī lāja<sup>10</sup>  
11 hevaṃ ahā (B) dhamme saḍḍhu kiyam chu dhamme ti (C) apāśinave<sup>11</sup> bahu kayane  
12 dayā dāne sache sochaye (D) chakhu-dāne pi me<sup>12</sup> bahuvividhe dinne (E) dupada-

<sup>1</sup> For *surā surā* = Skt. *śvāh śvāh* (literally 'to-morrow to-morrow'), see Childers, *Pālī Dictionary*, s. v. *surā*.

<sup>2</sup> I adopt V. A. Smith's translation of *pūṣa*, see his *Asoka*, sec. ed., p. 182, n. 3. Cf. the pillar-edict IV, G, and VII, M.

<sup>3</sup> *ukasa* (= *utkaśa*) is used in the sense of *utkrakṣa*.

<sup>4</sup> This meaning of *gerāṇā* is evident from the context. Buhler (ZDMG, 48. 62) derived *gerāṇā* (for *\*gṛāṇā*) from the root *gṛ*, to which the *Dhātupatha* attributes the meaning 'to serve'. For the change of *k* to *g* cf. *supadālaja*, above, p. 33 n. 3. But the existence of the root *gṛ* is far from certain, see Childers, SPAW, 1913. 991 and n. 1.

<sup>5</sup> For *samādāpeti* see Childers, *Pālī Dictionary*, s. v. *samādiyati*.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. the separate edict II at Dhauh (M) and at Jaugada (N).

<sup>7</sup> For this meaning of *ya jām* see Senart, IA, 17. 305, who compares with it the Pālī expression *jad idam*.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. the pillar-edict IV, F, and VII, V.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. the rock-edict XII, 1).

<sup>10</sup> *lāja* Senart and Buhler.

<sup>11</sup> A superfluous horizontal stroke is attached to the left side of the lower portion of *av*.

<sup>12</sup> A vertical stroke is attached to the bottom of *me*.

- 13 chatupadesu pakhi-vālichalesu vividhe me anugahe kate ā pāna-  
 14 dākhināye (F) amnāni pi cha me bahūni kayānāni kaṇāni (G) etāye me  
 15 aṭhāye iyaṃ dhamma-lipi likhāpitā hevaṃ anupatipajamtu chulam-  
 16 thitā cha hotū ti ti<sup>1</sup> (H) ye cha hevaṃ sampatipajisati se sukataṃ kachhatī<sup>2</sup> ti

## TRANSLATION

- (A) King Dōvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus  
 (B) (To practise) morality is meritorious, but what does morality include?<sup>3</sup>  
 (C) (It includes) few sins,<sup>4</sup> many virtuous deeds, compassion, liberality, truthfulness,  
 (and) purity.  
 (D) The gift of spiritual insight<sup>5</sup> also has been bestowed by me in many ways.  
 (E) On bipeds and quadrupeds, on birds and aquatic animals various benefits  
 have been conferred by me, (even) to the boon of life.<sup>6</sup>  
 (F) And many other virtuous deeds also have been performed by me.<sup>7</sup>  
 (G) For the following purpose was this script on morality caused to be written  
 by me, (viz.) in order that (men) might conform to it, and that it might be of long  
 duration.  
 (H) And he who will act thus will perform good deeds.<sup>8</sup>

## THIRD PILLAR-EDICT DELHI-TOPRA

## North Face of Pillar

- 17 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं अहा (B) कयानमेव देखति इयं मे  
 18 कयाने कटे ति (C) नो मिन पापं देखति इयं मे पापे कटे ति इयं वा आसिनवे  
 19 नामा ति (D) दुपटिवेखे चु खो एसा (E) हेवं चु खो एस देखिये (F) इमानि  
 20 आसिनवगामीनि नाम अय चंडिये निदूलिये कोपे माने इस्या  
 21 कालनेन व हवं मा पलिभसयिसं (G) एस बाढ देखिये (H) इयं मे  
 22 हिदतिकारे इयंमन मे पालतिकारे

<sup>1</sup> The remaining versions read *hotu ti*. Three verses of Manu in which *ti* is doubted are quoted in Bohtlingk and Roth's *Wörterbuch*, I, p. 790, l. 18. Cf. also *kitt* [?] at Kalsi, XII, 1).

<sup>2</sup> An apparent Anuvāita after *ka* is probably accidental.

<sup>3</sup> Burnouf (*Totus*, p. 667) explained *kīyam* = Skt. *kīrāṇ*.

<sup>4</sup> *āśuvava* is a dialectic variety of the Jaina term *anahaya* which is derived from *ā + śnu*, see Weber's *Ind. Studien*, 16, 326, n. 7, and Michelson, IF, 23, 267 f. The corresponding Pili term is *āsava*, which is Sanskritized by *āśava* or *āśrava*. See Burnouf, *Totus*, p. 822 f., *Sarvadarśana-saṃgraha*, translated by Cowell and Gough, p. 53 f., ZDMG, 72, 149. With the compound *apāśuvave* cf. *apa-viyatā*, *apa-phalaṃ*, and *apa-parisāra* in the Gūrār edict III, l. 5, IX, l. 3, and X, l. 3, respectively.

<sup>5</sup> Literally, 'the gift of the eye'. According to the *Itivuttaka* (ed. by Windisch, p. 52), the three *chakkhūni* are *mamsa-chakkhu*, *diḍḍu-chakkhu*, and *paññā chakkhu*, see Buhler, ZDMG, 48, 62.

<sup>6</sup> For details of these regulations see the pillar-edict V.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. the rock-edict V, 11.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. the same edict, I.



- 17 (A) Devānāmpīye Piyadasi lāja hevañ aḥā (B) kayānañmeva dekhati iyañ me  
 18 kayāne kate ti (C) no mina pāpañ d[e]khati iyañ me pāpe kaṭe ti iyañ vā āsinave  
 19 nāmā ti (D) dupaṭivekhe chu kho eṣā (E) hevañ chu kho eṣa dekhīye (F) imāni  
 20 āsinava-gāmini nāma atha chaṇḍiye nīṭhūliye kodhe māne isyā  
 21 kālanena va hakañ mā palibhasayisam (G) eṣa bāḍha dekhīy (H) iyañ me  
 22 hīdatikāye iyañmana me pālatikāye

## TRANSLATION

(A) King Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(B) (Men) regard only (their) virtuous deeds, (thinking) - 'This virtuous deed has been performed by me.'

(C) They do not at all<sup>1</sup> regard (their) evil deeds, (thinking) - 'This evil deed has been performed by me; this very (act) is called a sin.'<sup>2</sup>

(D) Now this is indeed difficult to recognize.

(E) But indeed this ought to be regarded thus:

(F) 'These (passions), viz. fierceness, cruelty, anger, pride, envy, are called sinful - Let me not 'ruin (myself) by (these) very (passions).'

(G) The following ought to be specially regarded -

(H) 'This (action conduces) to my (happiness) in this (world), that other (action)' to my (happiness) in the other (world).'

## FOURTH PILLAR-EDICT · DELHI-TOPRA

## West Face of Pillar.

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आहा (B) सङ्खीसतिक्स-  
 2 अभिसित्तिने मे इयं धम्मलिपि लिखापिता (C) लङ्का मे  
 3 बहूमु पानसतसहसेमु जनसि आयता (D) तेसं ये अभिहाले वा  
 4 दंडे वा अतपित्ये मे कटे किंति लङ्का अस्वप्प अभीता

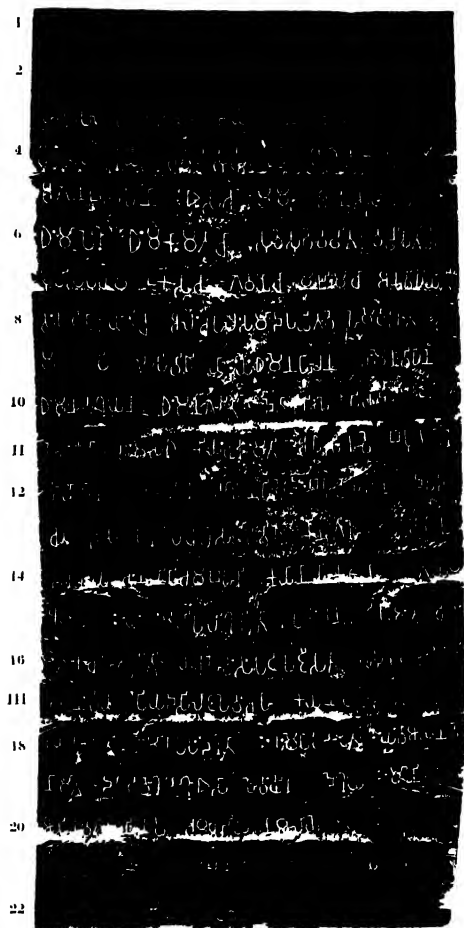
<sup>1</sup> Michelson (IF, 23, 236 f) dissolves *nomina* into *no amina*, and identifies *amina* with the Pāli *aminā*, to which he attributes the meaning 'also', but this word rather means 'hurbly'. Buhler (JL, 2, 251, n. 21) seems to be right in taking *no mina* = Skt. *na manāk*. For the change of *a* to *i* cf. Pischel's *Grammatik*, §§ 101-103.

<sup>2</sup> For *āsinava* see above, p. 121, n. 4

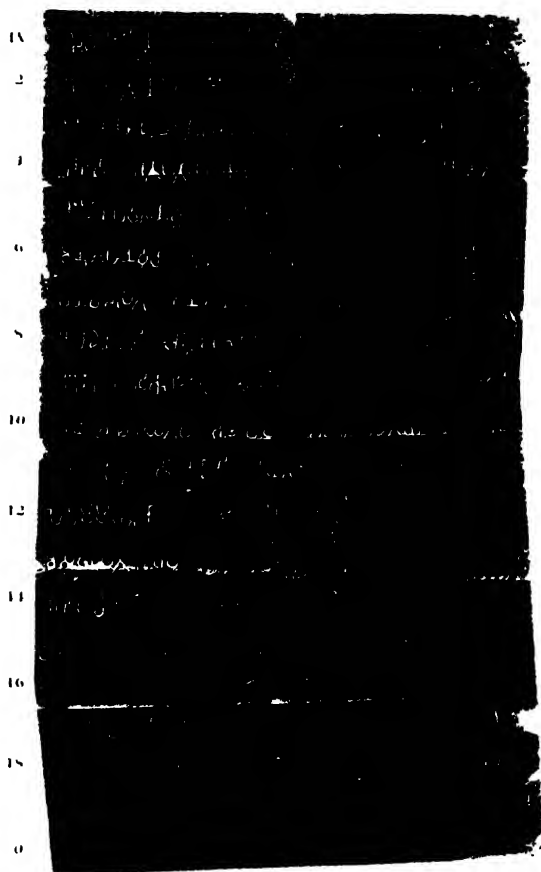
<sup>3</sup> With the compound *āsinava-gāmini* cf. *ava-gamika* in the first separate edict at Dhauli (G) and Jaugada (H).

<sup>4</sup> See Michelson, IF, 23, 262. To the reasons adduced by him against taking *mā* to be the accusative of the pronoun *mad*, we may add that, if *mā* were the object of *palibhasayisam*, it would be an unidiomatic substitute of Skt. *ātmanam*.

<sup>5</sup> Michelson (IF, 23, 237 f.) connects *mana* with Skt. *manāk*, and Buhler translated it by 'at least'. The adverb *mana* does occur in the *Jātaka*, vol I, p. 405, verse 97, where it means 'nearly'. I suspect that *iyāñmana* represents Skt. *idam anyat*. For the Sandhi cf. *kayānañmeva* in line 17, *hevañmeva* (or *vā*) in the Allahabad-Kāśmīr pillar-edict VI, D, the Dhauli separate edict I, l. 13, the Jaugada separate edict II, l. 4, and the Calcutta-Bairāt rock-inscription, F, *sukhañmeva* in the Dhauli separate edict II, l. 5, and the Jaugada separate edict II, l. 6.



# DELHI-TOPRA PILLAR ; WEST FACE



SCALE ONE-SIXTH

5 कंमानि पवतयेवू जनस जानपदसा हितसुखं उपदहेवू  
 6 अनुगहिनेवु चा (B) सुखीयनदुखीयनं जानिसंति धंमयुतेन च  
 7 वियोवदिसंति जनं जानपदं किंति हिदं च पालतं च  
 8 आलाधयेवू ति (F) लज्जूका पि लघंति पटिचलितवे मं (G) पुलिसानि पि मे  
 9 ऋदंनानि पटिचलिसंति (H) ते पि च कानि वियोवदिसंति येन मं लज्जूका  
 10 चघंति आलाधयितवे (I) अथा हि पजं वियताये धातिये निसिजितु  
 11 अस्वचे होति वियत धाति चघति मे पजं सुखं पलिहदवे  
 12 हेवं ममा लज्जूका कटा जानपदस हितसुखाये (J) येन एते अभीता  
 13 अस्वच संतं अबिमना कंमानि पवतयेवू ति एतेन मे लज्जूकानं  
 14 अभिहाले व दंडे वा अतपतिये कटे (K) इक्षितविये हि एसा किंति  
 15 वियोहालसमता च सिय दंडसमता चा (L) अथ इते पि च मे आवुति  
 16 बंधनबधानं मुनिसानं तीलितदंनानं पतवधानं तिनि दिवसानि मे  
 17 योते दिने (M) नातिका व कानि निभूपयिसंति जीविताये तानं  
 18 नासंतं वा निभूपयिता दानं दाहंति पालतिकं उपवासं व कर्हंति  
 19 (N) इहा हि मे हेवं निलुधसि पि कालसि पालतं आलाधयेवू ति (O) जनस च  
 20 वदति विविधे धंमचलने संयमे दानसविभागे ति

1 (A) Devānaṃpiyo Piyaḍasi i[ā]a hevam āhā (B) saḍḍuvisati-vasa-  
 2 abhisitena me iyaṃ dhamma-lipi likhāpitā (C) lajūka me  
 3 bahūsu jana-sata-sahasasu jausi āyatā (D) tesam ye abhihāle vā  
 4 daṇḍe vā ata-patiye me kate kimti lajūka asvatha abhihā  
 5 kammani pavatayevū janasa jānapadasā hita-sukham upadahevu  
 6 anugahinevu chā (E) sukhīyana-dukkhiyanaṃ jānisamti dhamma-yutena cha  
 7 viyovadisamti janam janapadam kumti hidatam cha pālatam cha  
 8 ālādhayevū ti (F) lajūka pi laghamti patichalitave mam (G) pulisāni pi me  
 9 chhamdamnāni paṭichalisamti (H) te pi cha kāni viyovadisamti yena mam lajūka  
 10 chaghamti ālādhayitave (I) athā hi pajam viyatāye dhātīye nisijitu  
 11 asvathe hoti viyata dhāti chaghati me pajam sukham palhaṭave  
 12 hevaṃ mama lajūka kaṭā jānapadasa hita-sukhāye (J) yena ete abhihā  
 13 asvatha samtaṃ avimaṇā kammanī pavatayevū ti etena me lajūkānam  
 14 abhi[ā]hāle<sup>1</sup> va damde vā ata-patiye kate (K) ichhitaviye [h]i esā kumti  
 15 viyohāla-samatā cha siya daṇḍa-samatā chā (L) aya ite pi cha me āvuti  
 16 bamdhana-ladhānam munisaṇam til[ā]ta-damdanam<sup>2</sup> pata-vadhānam tumhi  
 divasā[n]i me  
 17 yote diṇne (M) nātika va kāni nijhapayisamti jīvītāye tānam  
 18 nāsantaṃ vā nijhapayitā dānaṃ dāhamti pālatikam upavāsam va kachhamti  
 19 (N) ichhā hi me hevam niludhasi pi kālasi pālatam aladhayevū ti (O) janasa cha  
 20 vadhati vividhe dhamma-chalane samyame dāna-savibhāge ti

<sup>1</sup> *abhihāle* Buhler.<sup>2</sup> *tilita*-Senart and Buhler.

## TRANSLATION

(A) King Dvānāśhpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus

(B) This rescript on morality was caused to be written by me (when I had been) anointed twenty-six years.

(C) My *Lajukas*<sup>1</sup> are occupied with the people, with many hundred thousands of men<sup>2</sup>

(D) I have ordered that either rewards<sup>3</sup> or punishments are left to their discretion,<sup>4</sup> in order that the *Lajukas* should perform (their) duties confidently (and) fearlessly, that they should bestow welfare and happiness on the people of the country, and that they should confer benefits (on them)

(E) They will know how to cause pleasure<sup>5</sup> and to cause pain (to them), and will exhort the people of the country through those who are devoted to morality,<sup>6</sup> in order that they may attain (happiness) both in this (world) and in the other (world).

(F) The *Lajukas* also must obey me<sup>7</sup>

(G) They will also obey the agents<sup>8</sup> who know (my) wishes.

(H) And these (agents) will also exhort those (people),<sup>9</sup> in order that the *Lajukas* may be able to please me<sup>10</sup>

(I) For, as one feels confident after having entrusted (his) child to an intelligent<sup>11</sup> nurse, (thinking): 'The intelligent nurse will be able to keep my child well', so the *Lajukas* were appointed by me for the welfare and happiness of the country-people<sup>12</sup>

(J) In order that they should perform (their) duties, being fearless, confident, (and) unperturbed,<sup>13</sup> for this (purpose) I have ordered that either rewards or punishments are left to the discretion of the *Lajukas*.

<sup>1</sup> For *Lajuka* or *Kajuka* see above, p. 5, n. 2

<sup>2</sup> For *ajata* cf. above, p. 95, n. 4

In the *Jātaka* the word *abhihāra* has the meaning of 'a present, an offering', see Buhler, ZDMG, 46, 539 f., and Ludeis, SPAW, 1913 991 f.

<sup>4</sup> As shown by Ludeis (SPAW, 1913 990 f.), *ata-patiya* is an adjective formed of *ātman* + *pati* with the affix *-ya*, which seems to stand for *-ka*, see Franke, VOJ, 9, 347. Cf. *nilatthya* in the Kālā rock edict IX, C, and *atha-bhaṇṇya* on the Rummindī pillar, C.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *sukhaya* in the pillar edict I, 10, and *sukhāyana*, VII, V.

<sup>6</sup> Buhler translated *dharmma-yutena* by 'in accordance with the principles of the sacred law'. In the pillar edict VII, N, *dharmma-yut[en]* is an adjective qualifying *janam*, 'the people who are devoted to morality'. The same translation suits *dharmma-yut[na]* at Maski, I, 5, and the substantives *dharmma-yutasa* and *dharmma-yutavi* in the Shahbāgarhi rock edict V (J, K, N), which, as the variant [*dharmma*]-*yutānām* at Gūnār (V, K) shows, are used (just as here) in a collective sense. V. A. Smith (*Asoka*, sec. ed., p. 183) and Ludeis (SPAW, 1913 992) understand the word *dharmma-yutata* to be the collective designation of certain officials.

<sup>7</sup> Kern (*Jaschelling*, p. 96) compared *laṅhamti* with Skt. *arhamti*.

<sup>8</sup> Ludeis (SPAW, 1913 992 f.) has shown that *pūtsām* is the accusative of *pūtsa*, which occurs in the pillar edict I, E, and VII, M, cf. above, p. 30, n. 1.

<sup>9</sup> For *kānti* see above, p. 35, n. 12

<sup>10</sup> For *chaghatti* = Skt. *śakṣhāti* see above, p. 97, n. 4.

<sup>11</sup> K in (*Jaschelling*, p. 99) first identified *vyata* with Skt. *vyakta*, which, according to the *Amaraśāśa*, has also the meaning of *prajñā*, and which is used with this meaning in Buddhist Sanskrit, see Böttlinger's *Abridged Dictionary*, s.v. *व्याप्त*, and Aśvaghoṣa's *Saundarananda*, II, 38.

<sup>12</sup> I follow Senart and Ludeis (SPAW, 1913 1009 f.) in making this section end here

<sup>13</sup> *saṁtam* is a nominative singular absolute. See Ludeis, SPAW, 1913 1010 f., and cf. above, p. 97, n. 3.

(K) For the following is to be desired, (vir) that there should be both impartiality in judicial proceedings and impartiality in punishments

(L) And my order<sup>1</sup> (reaches) even so far<sup>2</sup> (that) a respite of three days is granted by me to persons lying in prison on whom punishment has been passed,<sup>3</sup> (and) who have been condemned to death

(M) (In this way) either (their) relatives will persuade<sup>4</sup> those (*Lapñās*) to (grant) their life, or, if there is none who persuades (them),<sup>5</sup> they will bestow gifts or will undergo fasts in order to (attain happiness) in the other (world)<sup>6</sup>

(N) For my desire is this, that, even when the time (of respite) has expired,<sup>7</sup> they should attain (happiness) in the other (world).

(O) And various moral practices, self-control, (and) the distribution of gifts are (thus) promoted among the people

## FIFTH PILLAR-EDICT DELHI-TOPRA

## South Face of Pillar.

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं अहा (B) सडुवीसतिवस-
- 2 अभिसितेन मे इमानि ज्ञातानि अवधियानि कटानि सेयथा
- 3 सुके सालिका अलुने चकवाके हंसे नंदीमुखे गेलादे
- 4 जतूका अंबाकपीलिका दळी अनठिकमळे वेदवेयके
- 5 गंगापुपुढके संकुजमळे कफटसयके पंनससे सिमले
- 6 संडेके ओकपिंडे पलसते सेतकपोते गामकपोते
- 7 सवे चतुपदे ये पठिभोगं नो एति न च खादियती (C) . . . . . ण

<sup>1</sup> With *ānti* = *āyukti* (Scauri) cf. *-āntike* in the Dhauī separate edict II, 1 8 -- *-āp[at]ile* at Jaugada, II, 1 12, *roharo* at Sāmāth (I 1c), *Shāhbagarū*, and *Mānschrā*, and *raṣa* at Kalsi = *ra[sa]ra* at Guṇāt, XIII, R, *supadariv* at *Mānschrā* = *supadalar* at Kalsi, Dhauī, and Jaugada, V, G, *soharo* in the Delhi-Toprā pillar edict VII, 1 28 = *sochayo* in edict II, 1 12

<sup>2</sup> Scauri (IA, 18 9) translated *ava ite* (Skt. *janat itah*) by 'from this day'. I follow Buhler's rendering (II, 2 254), and compare *ava-gamā[ti]* in the first separate edict at Dhauī (G) and Jaugada (II). Michelson (II, 23 236) compares *ava* with Avestan *ya-ut*, and *arā* the reading of three other versions of this edict, with Ancient Persian *yāw*

<sup>3</sup> With *tittha-danda* cf. *titthān* (*kājam*), Manu, IX, 233, and *attha-samānana* at Guṇāt, VI 11 9, 10

<sup>4</sup> Literally, 'will induce to meditate or consider'. LUDERS (SPAW, 1913 1022 f.) quotes *na macchikho nighapanam karonti* from the *Jātaka*. The means of 'persuasion' is evidently the payment of ransom, cf. the *Aṅguttara*, p. 146, last line. पुकायीनाः खमयानुवादा वा होषानिकच [वन्धनकारा] ददुः

<sup>5</sup> Three other versions read 'if there is none to persuade (them)'. LUDERS (SPAW, 1913 1023) has explained *nāsāntam* as the nominative singular absolute of the participle present of *nāthi* (Skt. *nāsti*).

<sup>6</sup> As shown by LUDERS (SPAW, 1913 1024 f.), the prisoners themselves are the subject of the last sentence.

<sup>7</sup> Buhler (II, 2 254, n. 28) took *nuddh* 'pi *kāl* in the sense of *nyūddha-kāl* 'pi', 'even during (their) imprisonment'. LUDERS (SPAW, 1913 1026) translates 'even in limited time', and THOMAS (JRAS, 1916, 123) 'though their hour of death is irrevocably fixed'. In favour of my rendering I may quote Childers, s. v. *nu ddh*

- 8 एठका चा सूकली चा गभिनी व पायमीना व अवधिय पत्तके  
 9 पि च कानि आसंमासिके (D) वधिकुकुटे नो कटविये (E) तुसे सजीवे  
 10 नो ज्ञापेतविये (F) दावे अनठाये वा विहिसाये वा नो ज्ञापेतविये  
 11 (G) जीवेन जीवे नो पुसितविये (H) तीसु चातुंमासीसु तिसायं पुनमासियं  
 12 तिनं दिवसानि चावुदसं पनडसं पटिपदाये धुवाये चा  
 13 अनुपोसथं महे अवधिये नो पि विकेतविये (I) एतानि येवा दिवसानि  
 14 नागवनसि केवढभोगसि यानि ज्ञानानि पि जीवनिक्कायानि  
 15 न हंतवियानि (J) अठमीपखाये चावुदसाये पनडसाये तिसाये  
 16 पुनावसुने तीसु चातुंमासीसु सुदिवसाये गोने नो नीलखितविये  
 17 अत्रके एडके सूकले ए वा पि ज्ञाने नीलखियति नो नीलखितविये  
 18 (K) तिसाये पुनावसुने चातुंमासिये चातुंमासिपखाये अस्वसा गोनासा  
 19 लखने नो कटविये (L) यावसहुवीसतिवसअभिसितेन मे एताये  
 20 अंतलिकाये पनवीसति वंधनमोखानि कटानि

- 1 (A) Devānāpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṃ ahā (B) saḍḍuvisati-vasa-  
 2 abhiṣitena me imāni jātāni avadhīyani kaṭāni seyaṭhā  
 3 suke sālīka alunc chakavāke hamse nāḍimukhe gelaye  
 4 jatukā amlā-kapilikā dālī<sup>1</sup> anathika-machhe vedaveyake  
 5 Gaṅgā-piṇṇatake samikujā-machhe kaphaṭṭa]-sayake paṇṇa-sase simale  
 6 sandake okapiṇḍe palasate seta-kapote gāma-kapote  
 7 sava chatupade ye paṭubhogam no eti na cha khādiyati<sup>2</sup> (C) . . . . .<sup>3</sup>  
 8 [e]lakā<sup>4</sup> chā sukālī chā gabhinī va pāyaminā va avadhīy[ . p . ta]ke<sup>5</sup> . . .  
 9 pi cha kaṇi āsammāsike (D) vadhi-kukute no kataviye (E) tuse sajiṇe  
 10 no jhāpetaviye (F) dave anathāye vā viṇṣāye vā no jhāpetaviye  
 11 (G) jīve na jīve no pusitaviye (H) tisu chātummāsīsū tisayaṃ puṇṇamāsīyaṃ  
 12 timni divasāni chāvudasaṃ paṇṇadasaṃ paṭṭapadāy[e] dhuvaye chā  
 13 anuposatham machhe avadhiye no pi viketaviye (I) etāni yeva<sup>6</sup> divasāni  
 14 naga vanasī kevaṭa-bhogasī yaṇi amnāni pi jīva-nikkāyaṇi  
 15 no haṃtaviyaṇi (J) aṭhamī-pakhāye chāvudasaṃ paṇṇadasāye tisaye  
 16 puṇāvāsune tisu chātummāsīsū sudivasāye gone no nilakhitaviye  
 17 ajake eḷake sukale e vā pi amne nilakhīyati no nilakhitaviye  
 18 (K) tisaye puṇāvāsune chātummāsīye chātummāsī-pakhāye asvasā gonasa  
 19 lakhane no kataviye (L) yāva-saḍḍuvisati-vasa-abhiṣitena me etāye  
 20 antalikāye paṇṇaviṣati baṇḍhana-mokkhāni kaṭāni

<sup>1</sup> *da't* Buhler, but see his *Ind. Pal.*, § 16, C, 41, and Luders in JRAS, 1911 1088. The other versions read *dālī*, and the Allahabad-Kosam pillar *dudī*.

<sup>2</sup> *khādiyati* Buhler

<sup>3</sup> Three other versions read *ajakā nāni*.

<sup>4</sup> Restore *avadhīyā potake*.

<sup>5</sup> *edakā* Buhler

<sup>6</sup> *yeva* Buhler.

## TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(B) (When I had been) anointed twenty-six years, the following animals were declared by me inviolable, viz.<sup>1</sup> parrots, mainas, the *aruna*, ruddy geese, wild geese, the *mandimukha*, the *gāḍā*, bats, queen-ants,<sup>2</sup> terrapins,<sup>3</sup> boneless fish, the *vidarevya*, the *Gaṅgā-puputaka*, skate-fish,<sup>4</sup> tortoises<sup>5</sup> and porcupines, squirrels (?),<sup>6</sup> the *śpīmarā*,<sup>7</sup> bulls set at liberty,<sup>8</sup> iguanas (?), the rhinoceros,<sup>9</sup> white doves, domestic doves, (and) all the quadrupeds which are neither useful nor edible.

(C) Those [she-goats],<sup>10</sup> ewes, and sows (which are) either with young or in milk, are inviolable, and also those (of their) young ones (which are) less than six months old.

(D) Cocks must not be caponed.

(E) Husks containing living animals must not be burnt.

(F) Forests must not be burnt either uselessly or in order to destroy (living beings)

<sup>1</sup> *syathā* = Pali *seyyathā* and Skt. *tadyathā*

<sup>2</sup> Michelson (IF, 23 266 f) dissolves *anibākapilika* into \**ambaka* (an adjective formed of *amba*) and \**pilikā* (for *pupilikā* by haplology). But it seems easier to divide the word into *ambā* and *kapilikā* = Pali *kupilika*. The Allahabad-Kōsam pillar actually reads *ambā kapilika*. Skt *pupilikā* has been changed to *kapilikā*, &c. through dissimilation; cf. Trenchner's *Pāli Miscellany*, p. 59.

<sup>3</sup> Moanmohan Chakravarti (*Memoirs*, ASB, 1 368) takes *ḍṇṇi* in the sense of 'the female tortoise'. But tortoises are mentioned separately in the sequel.

<sup>4</sup> With *saukūya* Senart (IA, 18 75) compares Skt. *śaukūchi* or *sāukūchi*, which may be derived from *saukūch*, 'to contract'.

<sup>5</sup> The identification of *kaphata* with Skt. *kaṁatha* is due to Senart, see IA, 18 75.

<sup>6</sup> This doubtful explanation of *parma-tata* was proposed by Buhler, see I.I, 2 260.

<sup>7</sup> This animal is mentioned in the *Kautiliya*, p. 100, l. 12.

<sup>8</sup> C. M. Mulvany (IA, 37 211) remarks that this translation of *śamlaka* is improbable because 'Hindūs would hardly kill a bull', but matters may have been different in Aśoka's time. Cf. the reference in Kalidāsa's *Meghaduta* (v 45) to king Rantidīva who, according to the *Mahabhārata* (7 67, 5, 12, 29, 123, 13 66, 42 f), sacrificed so many cows that their blood formed the river Chaimanvatī. According to the *Satapatha-Brāhmaṇa* (III, 1, 2, 21), Yajñavalkya was fond of tender beef. At the beginning of the fourth act of Bhavabhūti's *Uttarāśmaka* it is stated that a heifer (*vatatati*) was slaughtered by Vālmiki in honour of Vasishtha's visit to his hermitage. According to Pāṇini, III, 4, 73, *gṛighna* means 'a guest' because a cow is killed for him. Parāśara (I, 3, 27) specifies the verse which had to be recited at the killing of the cow. Apastamba (*Grhyasūtra*, I, 3, 9) permits the slaughter of a cow at the reception of a guest, at the worship of the manes, and at the celebration of a marriage, cf. Manu, V, 41. For a description of the *śulava*, a 'spit-ox' offered to Rudra, see Hillebrandt's *Ritual-Literatur*, p. 83 f. The Buddhist *Suttas* mention beef-butchers, see Neumann's translation of the *Dighanikāya*, vol II, p. 448, n. 5. Cf. also *Memoirs*, ASB, 1, 373, Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index*, vol II, p. 145, Hastings' *Jayapadma of Religion and Ethics*, article 'cow' by Jacob.

<sup>9</sup> According to Trenchner's *Pāli Miscellany*, p. 58, n. 6, *palāsata* (= Vedic *parāśvat*) is the original of Pali *palāsādi*, 'a rhinoceros', and the latter, which means literally 'eating leaves', is an etymologizing corruption of the former. The form *palāsāda* occurs in the *Jātaka*, V, p. 406, v 267, and *palāsata* *ibid*, VI, p. 277, v. 1205, see Kern's *Torrenselen op 't Woordenboek van Childers* (Amsterdam, 1916), II, p. 13.

<sup>10</sup> For the pronoun *nāni* see above, p. 13, n. 5. Luders (SPAW, 1913 998, n. 1) has refuted a suggestion of Franke (VOJ, 9, 343), who wanted to join *ajakānāni* into one word, and to consider it a Prakrit form of *ajaka*. Just as the nom. plur. neut. *nāni* is connected here with the nom. sing. fem. *ajakā*, and with the nom. sing. neut. *śke* in the Queen's edict, I, 4, *kāni* is combined with the nom. sing. masc. *potake* in I, 9, see Luders, p. 997, and cf. above, p. 35, n. 12.



(G) Living animals must not be fed with (other) living animals.

(H) Fish are inviolable, and must not be sold, on the three Chāturmāsīs<sup>1</sup> (and) on the Tishyā full-moon<sup>2</sup> during three days, (viz.) the fourteenth, the fifteenth, (and) the first (*tithi*), and invariably on every fast-day.<sup>3</sup>

(I) And during these same days also no other classes of animals which are in the elephant-park<sup>4</sup> (and) in the preserves of the fishermen, must be killed.

(J) On the eighth (*tithi*) of (every) fortnight,<sup>5</sup> on the fourteenth, on the fifteenth, on Tishyā, on Punarvasu, on the three Chāturmāsīs, (and) on festivals,<sup>6</sup> bulls<sup>7</sup> must not be castrated, (and) he-goats, rams, boars, and whatever other (animals) are castrated (otherwise), must not be castrated (then).

(K) On Tishyā, on Punarvasu, on the Chāturmāsīs, (and) during the fortnight of (every) Chāturmāsī, horses (and) bullocks must not be branded.

(L) Until (I had been) **anointed twenty-six years**, in this period the release of prisoners was ordered by me twenty-five (times).<sup>8</sup>

#### SIXTH PILLAR-EDICT · DELHI-TOPRA

##### *East Face of Pillar.*

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं अहा (B) दुवाडस-
- 2 वसअभिसितेन मे धंमल्लिपि लिखापिता लोक्सा
- 3 हितमुखाये से तं अपहृदा तं तं धंमवडि पापोवा
- 4 (C) हेवं लोक्सा हितमुखे ति पटिवेखामि अय इयं
- 5 नातिसु हेवं पतियासंनेसु हेवं अपकटेसु

<sup>1</sup> i. e. certain full-moon days of each of the three seasons (summer, rains, and winter), see Buhler, I.I, 2 261 ff, and cf the second separate edict at Dhauḍi (N) and Jaugada (O).

<sup>2</sup> *tisā* (i. e. *tishyā*), instead of which three other versions read *tis* (i. e. *\*tishī*), i. e. the full-moon of the month Taisa or Pausha, see EI, 2. 264.

<sup>3</sup> With the words *dhuvāye khā anuposatham* cf. *anuposatham cha dhuvāye* on the Sarnath pillar, I 8.

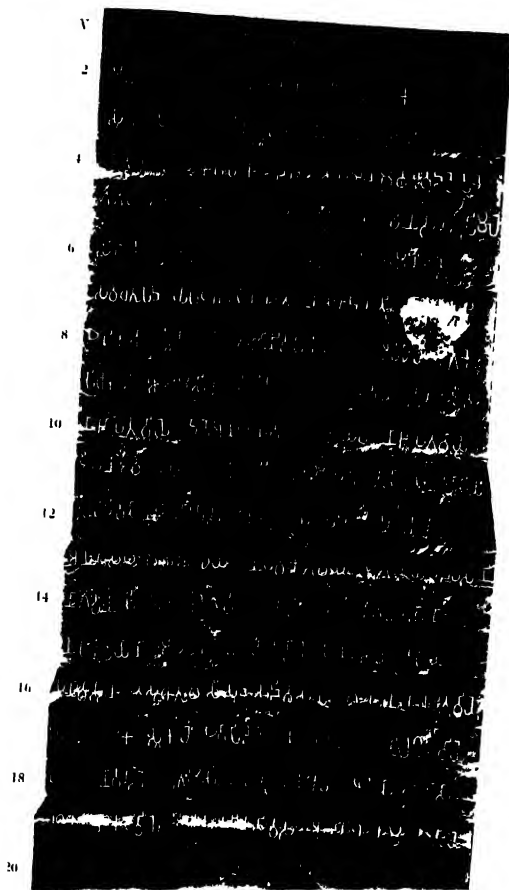
<sup>4</sup> For *naga-vana* see the *Dhammapada*, verse 324, and the *Kautilya*, p. 50.

<sup>5</sup> In the compound *athamī pakka* the usual order of the two members is reversed. Similar expressions were quoted by Buhler, I.I, 2 266, and by Franke in KZ, 34 434.

<sup>6</sup> According to the *Kautilya*, p. 407, l. 9 f., the king's birthday and local festivals are meant, see below, n. 8.

<sup>7</sup> For *gona*, the Prākṛit and Pāli equivalent of Skt. *gā*, 'an ox', see Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 193.

<sup>8</sup> The occasions on which it was customary to release prisoners are enumerated in the *Kautilya*, p. 146 f. Cf also Buhler, ZDMG, 48 63 f., and Zachariae, VOJ, 27. 406. With sections C, II, J, and L of this edict cf. the *Kautilya*, p. 407 [विजितीयुर्धनप्राप्य जय] कारयेत्सर्वकर्मलोचनं . . . . . चातुरारिषं राजदेशनपिबेकरारिषं योविषयवधं पुस्तोपचात च प्रतिविषयेत्; ' [having acquired a new territory, the conqueror] shall order all prisoners to be released . . . . . and the slaughter (of animals) to be avoided on the Chāturmāsīyas during half a month, on full-moon days during four nights, on the king's birthday and on local festivals during one night, (and) shall prohibit the slaughter of females and (their) young ones and the castration of males (on the same occasions).'



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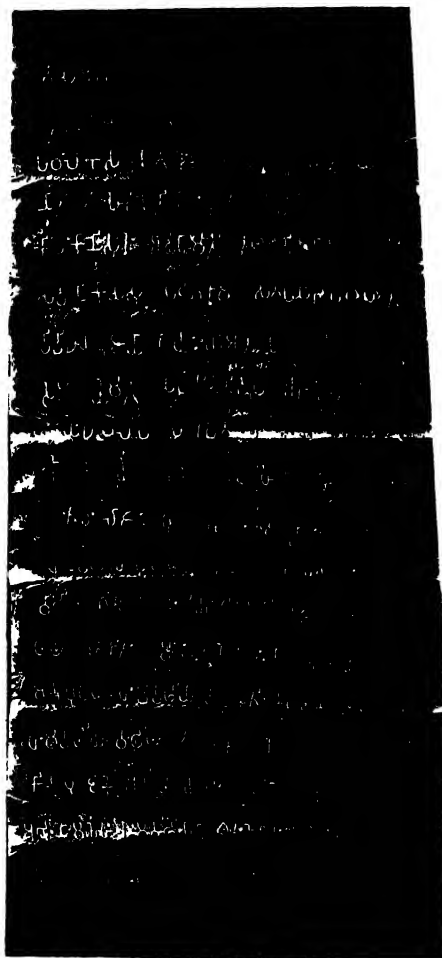
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- 6 किमं कानि सुखं अवाहामी ति तथ च विदहामि (D) हेमेवा  
 7 सवनिक्कयेसु पटिवेखामि (E) सवपासंदा पि मे पूजिता  
 8 विविधाय पूजाया (F) ए च इयं क्षतना पचूपगमने  
 9 से मे मोख्यमते (G) सदुवीसतिवसअभिसितेन मे  
 10 इयं धम्मलिपि लिखायिता

- 1 (A) Devānāmpīye Piyaḍasi lāja hevaṃ ahā (B) duvāḍasa-  
 2 vasa-abhisitena me dhamma-lipi likhāpitā lokasā  
 3 hita-sukhāye se taṃ apahatā taṃ taṃ dhamma-vadhi pāpovā  
 4 (C) hevaṃ lokasa hita-[sukhe] ti paṭivekhāmi atha iyaṃ  
 5 nātūsu hevaṃ paṭiṇsaṃnesu hevaṃ apakathesu  
 6 kimam kāni sukham avahāmi ti tatha cha vidahāmi (D) hemevā  
 7 sava-nikāyesu paṭivekhāmi<sup>1</sup> (E) sava-pāsamdā pi me pūjitā  
 8 vividhāya pūjāyā (F) e chu iyaṃ at[a]nā<sup>2</sup> pachūpagamane  
 9 se me mokhya-mate (G) saduvīsati-vasa-abhisitena me  
 10 iyaṃ dhamma-lipi likhāpitā

## TRANSLATION

(A) King Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus

(B) (When I had been) anointed twelve years, rescripts on morality were caused to be written by me for the welfare and happiness of the people, (in order that), not transgressing<sup>3</sup> those (rescripts), they might attain a promotion of morality in various respects

(C) (Thinking) 'thus the welfare and happiness of the people (will be secured)', I am directing my attention not only<sup>4</sup> to (my) relatives, but to those who are near and far, in order that<sup>5</sup> I may lead them<sup>6</sup> to happiness, and I am instructing (them) accordingly

(D) In the same manner I am directing my attention to all classes<sup>7</sup>

(E) And all the sects have been honoured by me with honours of various kinds<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A superfluous horizontal stroke is attached to the left side of the lower portion of *re*, cf. above, p. 120, n. 11.

<sup>2</sup> *atunā* Buhler, but see Fleet's note, IA, 13, 310

<sup>3</sup> Kern (*Jārtelling*, p. 92 f.), explained *apahatā* by *a-prahartā*, and translated it by 'leaving untouched'. Franke (VOJ, 9, 344, n. 2) suggested two slight modifications *upahatā* may correspond as well to *\*a-prahartā* (Skt. *a-prahṛitya*), and *pra hrī* may be taken in the sense of 'transgressing'. I adopt this translation, but believe that Kern found the correct Sanskrit equivalent. The gerund in *-vā* would be without parallel in the earlier dialect, see Luders, SPAW, 1913, 1024, n. 1. Cf. also the nominative singular *nyhapayitā* in the pillar-edict IV, M.

<sup>4</sup> With *atha iyaṃ* cf. *yathayidān*, 'just as', in Childers' *Pāli Dictionary*.

<sup>5</sup> *kimam* (or *kīṇamam* as three other versions read) appears to be used in the sense of *kimū*, and to be an enlarged form of Skt. *kim*, as Pāli *sudam* of Skt. *svad*. See the remarks of Senart in IA, 18, 107, and those of Franke in KZ, 34, 430. Buhler (EI, 2, 269) preferred to derive it from *\*kimva* = *kimsva*.

<sup>6</sup> See above, p. 35, n. 12.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. the rock-edict XIII, J.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. the rock-edict XII, A.

(F) But this is considered by me (my) principal (duty),<sup>1</sup> viz.<sup>2</sup> visiting (the people) personally.<sup>3</sup>

(G) (When I had been) anointed twenty-six years, this rescript on morality was caused to be written by me

### SEVENTH PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-TOPRA

#### *A.—East Face of Pillar.*

- 11 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाजा हेवं आहा (B) ये अतिवंतं  
12 अंतलं लाजाने हुसु हेवं इच्छिमु कथं जने  
13 धंमवडिया वडेया नो चु जने अनुलुपाया धंमवडिया  
14 वडिया (C) एतं देवानंपिये पियदसि लाजा हेवं आहा (D) एस मे  
15 हुषा (E) अतिवंतं च अंतलं हेवं इच्छिमु लाजाने कथं जने  
16 अनुलुपाया धंमवडिया वडेया ति नो च जने अनुलुपाया  
17 धंमवडिया वडिया (F) से किंसु जने अनुपटिपजेया  
18 (G) किंसु जने अनुलुपाया धंमवडिया वडेया ति (H) किंसु कानि  
19 अभ्युनामयेहं धंमवडिया ति (I) एतं देवानंपिये पियदसि लाजा हेवं  
20 आहा (J) एस मे हुषा (K) धंमसावनानि सावापयामि धंमानुसयिनि  
21 अनुसासामि (L) एतं जने सुतु अनुपटीपजीसति अभ्युनमिसति

#### *B.—Round the Pillar.*

- 22 धंमवडिया च बाढं वडिसति (M) एताये मे अठाये धंमसावनानि सावापितानि  
धंमानुसयिनि विविधानि आनपितानि य . . . . सिा पि बहुने जनसि  
आयता ए ते पल्लियोवदिसंति पि पविथलिसंति पि (N) लजूका पि बहुकेसु  
पानसतसहसेसु आयता ते पि मे आनपिता हेवं च हेवं च पल्लियोवदाष  
23 जनं धंमयुतं (O) देवानंपिये पियदसि हेवं आहा (P) एतमेव मे अनुवेसमाने  
धंमबंभानि कटानि धंममहामाता कटा धंम . . . . कटे (Q) देवानंपिये  
पियदसि लाजा हेवं आहा (R) मगेसु पि मे निगोहानि लोपापितानि  
छायोपगानि होसंति पमुमुनिसानं अंबावडिक्का लोपापिता (S) अढ-  
कोसिक्कानि पि मे उदुपानानि  
24 खानापापितानि निंसिडया च कालापिता (T) आपानानि मे बहुकानि तत  
तत कालापितानि पटीभोगाये पमुमुनिसानं (U) ल . . . . एस पटीभोगे

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the Shāhbāgarhī rock-edict XIII, P.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. above, p. 120, n. 7.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the rock edict VIII, L, and *atanā āgīccha* on the Rumminder and Nigālī Sāgar pillars Senart (JA, 18. 107 f.) translated *atanā pachūpāgamane* by 'the personal adherence (to the sect)', and Buhler (EI, 2. 268) by 'the approach through one's own free will'.

- नाम (V) विविधाया हि सुखायनाया पुलिमेहि पि लाजीहि ममया च सुखयिते लोके (W) इमं च धंमानुपटीपती अनुपटीपजंतु ति एतदथा मे
- 25 एस कटे (X) देवानंपिये पियदसि हेवं आहा (Y) धंममहामाता पि मे ते बहुविधेषु अठेसु आनुगहिकेसु वियापटासे पवजीतानं चेव गिहियानं च सब ..... ठेसु पि च वियापटासे (Z) संघठसि पि मे कटे इमे वियापटा होहंति ति हेमेव बाभनेसु आजीविकेसु पि मे कटे
- 26 इमे वियापटा होहंति ति निगठेसु पि मे कटे इमे वियापटा होहंति नानापासंडेसु पि मे कटे इमे वियापटा होहंति ति पटिविसिठं पटीविसिठं तेसु तेसु ते ..... माता (AA) धंममहामाता चु मे एतेसु चेव वियापटा सवेसु च अंनेसु पासंडेसु (BB) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाजा हेवं आहा
- 27 (CC) एते च अंने च बहुका सुखा दानविसगसि वियापटासे मम चेव देविनं च सवसि च मे ओलीपनसि ते बहुविधेन आकालेन तानि तानि तुठायतनानि पटी ..... हिद चेव दिसासु च (DD) दालकानं पि च मे कटे अंनानं च देविकुमालानं इमे दानविसगेसु वियापटा होहंति ति
- 28 धंमापदानठाये धंमानुपटिपतिये (EE) एस हि धंमापदाने धंमपटीपति च या इयं दया दाने सचे सोचवे मदवे साधवे च लोकस हेवं वडिसति ति (FF) देवानंपिये प ..... स लाजा हेवं आहा (GG) यानि हि कानिचि ममिया साधवानि कटानि तं लोके अनूपटीपने तं च अनुविधियंति (HH) तेन वडिता च
- 29 वडिसंति च मातापितिसु सुसुसाया गुलूसु सुसुसाया वयोमहालकानं अनुपटी-पतिया बाभनसमनेसु कपनवल्केसु आव दासभंटकेसु संपटीपतिया (II) देवानंपिय ..... यदसि लाजा हेवं आहा (JJ) मुनिसानं चु या इयं धंमवडि वडिता दुवेहि येव आकालेहि धंमनियमेन च निरुतिया च
- 30 (KK) तत चु लहु से धंमनियमे निरुतिया च भुये (LL) धंमनियमे चु खो एस ये मे इयं कटे इमानि च इमानि जातानि अवधियानि (MM) अंनानि पि चु बहुक ..... धंमनियमानि यानि मे कटानि (NN) निरुतिया च चु भुये मुनिसानं धंमवडि वडिता अबिहिंसाये भुतानं
- 31 अनालंभाये पानानं (OO) से एताये अथाये इयं कटे पुतापपोतिके चंदमसुलियिके होतु ति तथा च अनुपटीपजंतु ति (PP) हेवं हि अनुपटीपजंतं हिदतपालते आलधे होति (QQ) सतविसतिवसाभिसितेन मे इयं धंमलिचि लिखापापिता ति (RB) एतं देवानंपिये आहा (SS) इयं
- 32 धंमलिचि अत अपि सिलाधंभानि वा सिलाफलकानि वा तत कटविया एन एस चिलठित्तिके सिया

*A.—East Face of Pillar.*

- 11 (A) **Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lājā** hevaṃ āhā (B) ye atikamtaṃ  
 12 amtalam lājāne<sup>1</sup> husu hevaṃ ichhiṣu katham jane  
 13 dhamma-vadhiya vadheyā no chu jane anulupāyā dhamma-vadhiya  
 14 vadhiṭha (C) etam **Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lājā** hevaṃ āhā (D) esa me  
 15 lutha (E) atikamtam cha amtam[ā]m<sup>2</sup> hevaṃ ichhiṣu lājāne katham jane  
 16 anulupāyā dhamma-vadhiyā vadheyā ti no cha jane anulupāyā  
 17 dhamma-vadhiyā vadhiṭha (F) se kinasu jane anu[pa]tipajeyā<sup>3</sup>  
 18 (G) kinasu jane anulupāyā dhamma-vadhiyā vadheyā ti (H) k[i]nasu kāni  
 19 abhymnāmaycham dhamma-vadhiyā ti (I) etarā **Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lājā**  
 hevaṃ  
 20 āhā (J) esa me huthā (K) dhamma-sāvanāni sāvāpayāmi dhammānusathini  
 21 anus[ā]jāmi (L) etam jane sutu anupātipajisati abhymnamisati

*B.—Round the Pillar.*

- 22 dhamma-vadhiyā cha bādham vadhisat[i] (M) etāye me āthāye dhamma-sāvanāni  
 sāvāpitani dhammānusathini vividhani ānapitāni [ya] . . . . [i]jā<sup>4</sup> pi bahune  
 janasi āyata e te<sup>5</sup> paliyovadisanti pi pavithalisanti pi (N) lajūkā pi bahukesu  
 pāna-sata-saḥasesu āyata te pi me anapitā hevaṃ cha hevaṃ cha paliyovadātha  
 23 janam dhamma-yu[ti]m (O) **Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi** hevaṃ āhā (P) etameva me  
 anuvekhamāne dhamma-tharibhami katāni dhamma-mahāmātā kaṭā dham[ma]  
 . . . e<sup>6</sup> kaṭe (Q) **Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lājā** hevaṃ āhā (R) magesu pi  
 me nigghānu lopāpitani cihāyopagāni hosanti pasu-munisānaṃ ambā-vadikiyā  
 lopāpitā (S) adha[kus]ikyāni pi me udupānāni  
 24 khānapāritani nimsi[dha]ya<sup>7</sup> cha kālāpitā (T) āpānāni me ba[h]jūkāni tata tata  
 k[ā]lāpitāni paṭibhogāye p[ā]u-munisānam (U) [la] . . . .<sup>8</sup> esa paṭibhoge nāma  
 (V) vividhāyā hi sukhayanayā pulinchi pi lajhi mamayā cha sukhayite loka  
 (W) imarā chu dhammānupatipatī anupāppajaritū ti etadathā me  
 25 esa kate (X) **Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi** hevaṃ āhā (Y) dhamma-mahāmātā pi me  
 te bahuviddhesu athesu ānugahikesu viyāpātāse pavajitānam cheva ghitthanam  
 cha sava . . . . [i]esu<sup>9</sup> pi cha viyāpātāse (Z) saṃghaṭhasi pi me kaṭe ime  
 viyāpātā hohanāti ti hemeva bābhancesu ā[j]ivikesu pi me kate  
 26 ime viyāpāṭa hohanāti ti niganthesu pi me kaṭe ime viyāpātā hohanāti nānā-  
 pāsamedesu pi<sup>10</sup> me [ka]te ime viyāpātā hohanāti ti paṭivisiṭhami pativisiṭham  
 tesu tesu [te] . . . . mātā<sup>10</sup> (AA) dhamma-mahāmātā chu me ctesu cheva  
 viyā[pa]tā savesu cha amhesu pāsamedesu (BB) **Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lājā**  
 hevaṃ āhā

<sup>1</sup> Read *amtalam*, which is the reading of Senart and Bühler.<sup>2</sup> The *pa* of *paṇḍya* is inserted above the line<sup>3</sup> Restore *yathā pulisā*<sup>4</sup> *ete* (in one word) Senart and Bühler.<sup>5</sup> Restore *dhamma-sāvaṇe*.<sup>6</sup> *nimsudhiya* Bühler<sup>7</sup> Restore *lahuke chu*.<sup>8</sup> Restore *sava-pāsamedesu*.<sup>9</sup> *pi* look; almost like *gh*.<sup>10</sup> Restore *te te mahāmātā*. When Fleet's plate (IA, 13 310) was prepared, the missing letters were still visible.

- 27 (CC) ete cha amne cha bahukā mukhā dāna-visagasi viyāpaṭāse mama cheva devinam cha savasi cha me olodhanasi te bahuvidhena ā[kā]ṇena tāni tāni tuṭhāyatan[ā]ni paṭi . . . . .<sup>1</sup> hida cheva disasu cha (DD) dalakānam pi cha me kaṭe amnānaṃ cha devi-kumālānaṃ ime dāna-visagesu viyāpaṭa hohaṃti ti
- 28 dhammāpadānaṭhaye dhammānupaṭṭiye (EE) esa hi dhammāpadāne dhamma paṭṭiṭi cha yā iyaṃ dayā dāne sacche sochave madave sādha[v]ḥ cha lokasa hevaṃ vadhisati ti (FF) Devānaṃpiya [P . . . . . s .<sup>2</sup> 1]ājā hevaṃ āha (GG) yāni hi [k]ānichi mamiyā sādhaṃāni kaṭani tam loke anup[a]ṭṭamne tam cha anuvidhiyanti (HH) tena vadhiṭa cha
- 29 vadhisanti cha mātā-piṭṭiṣu sususāya gulusu sususāya vayo-mahālakānaṃ anupaṭṭiṭi yā bābhana-samanesu kapana-valākesu āva dāsa-bhāṭakasu sampatiṭiṭi yā (II) Devānaṃpiya . . . ya]dasi<sup>3</sup> lājā hevaṃ āha (JJ) munisaṇam chu yā iyaṃ dhamma-vadhi vadhiṭa duvehi yeva ākālehi dhamma niyameṇa cha nijhatiṭi [cha]
- 30 (KK) tata chu lahu se dhamma-niyame nijhatiṭi va bhuye (LL) dhamma-niyame chu kho esa ye me iyaṃ kaṭe imāni cha imāni jāṇi avadhiyāni (MM) amnāni pi chu bahu[k] . . .<sup>4</sup> dhamma-niyamāni yāni me kaṭāni (NN) nijhatiṭi va chu bhuye munisaṇam dhamma-vadhi vadhiṭa avihimsāye bhutānam
- 31 anālabbhāye paṇānaṃ (OO) se etāye a[th]āye<sup>5</sup> iyaṃ kaṭe putā-papotike chaṃdama suliyike hotu ti tatha cha anupaṭṭiṭi yanti ti (PP) hevaṃ hi anupaṭṭiṭi yanti hi[da]ṭa-pāṇaṭe ālādhe hoti (QQ) satavisati-vasābhhiṭiṭi tena me iyaṃ dhamma-līli līhāpapaṭi ti (RR) etam Devānaṃpiya<sup>6</sup> āha (SS) iyaṃ
- 32 dhamma-līli ata athi silā-thambhāni va silā-phalakāni va tata kaṭaviyā cna csa chila-ṭhitiṭe siya

## TRANSLATION

(A) King Devānaṃpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(B) The kings who were in times past, had this desire, that<sup>7</sup> men might (be made to) progress by the promotion of morality, but men were not made to progress by an adequate promotion of morality.

(C) Concerning this,<sup>8</sup> king Devānaṃpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(D) The following occurred to me.

(E) On one hand, in times past kings had this desire, that men might (be made to) progress by an adequate promotion of morality, (but) on the other hand, men were not made to progress by an adequate promotion of morality.

<sup>1</sup> Bühler (EI, 2, 274, note k) restored *paṭṭipādyaṇti*, which he translated by 'they point out'. I suspect that the actual reading of the pillar was *paṭṭiṭiṭi yanti*; cf. *paṭṭiṭiṭi yanti* in the Jaugada rock-edict VI, D.

<sup>2</sup> Restore *Piyadasi*

<sup>3</sup> Restore *\*piye Priyadasi*.

<sup>4</sup> Restore *bahukāni*.

<sup>5</sup> *a[th]āye* Bühler.

<sup>6</sup> The late Dr. Fleet drew my attention to the fact that a peculiar mark is attached to the top of the *de* of *Devānaṃpiya*, and that there is a corresponding mark above the word *a[th]āye* in section OO. This double *kākapāda* or caret (cf. Kalhana's *Rājatarangīnī*, IV, 117) suggests that the writer wanted us to place sections RR and SS before section OO.

<sup>7</sup> Franke (GN, 1895, 537) attributes to *katham* the meaning of 'that'. Bühler translated it by 'in some way'.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. the Shāhbāzgarhī rock-edict XI, D.



(F) How<sup>1</sup> then might men (be made to) conform to (morality)?

(G) How might men (be made to) progress by an adequate promotion of morality?

(H) How could I elevate<sup>2</sup> them<sup>3</sup> by the promotion of morality?

(I) Concerning this, king *Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin* speaks thus.

(J) The following occurred to me.

(K) I shall issue proclamations on morality,<sup>4</sup> (and) shall order instruction in morality (to be given).

(L) Hearing this, men will conform to (it), will be elevated, and will (be made to) progress considerably by the promotion of morality.

(M) For this purpose proclamations on morality were issued by me, (and) manifold instruction in morality was ordered (to be given), [in order that those agents] (of mine)<sup>5</sup> too, who are occupied<sup>6</sup> with many<sup>7</sup> people, will exhort (them) and will explain (morality to them) in detail.

(N) The *Lajūkas*<sup>8</sup> also, who are occupied with many hundred thousands of men, —these too were ordered by me: 'In such and such a manner<sup>9</sup> exhort ye the people who are devoted to morality'.

(O) *Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin* speaks thus.

(P) Having in view this very (matter),<sup>10</sup> I have set up pillars of morality,<sup>11</sup> appointed *Mahāmātras* of morality, (and) issued [proclamations] on morality

(Q) King *Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin* speaks thus.

(R) On the roads banyan-trees were caused to be planted by me, (in order that) they might afford shade to cattle and men,<sup>12</sup> (and) mango-groves<sup>13</sup> were caused to be planted.

<sup>1</sup> Senart (IA, 18 302) explains *lunash* = Pāli *kenasam* and Skt. *kēna-sut*; cf. Childers, *Pāli Dictionary*, s. v. *asut*. For *su* = *sut* see above, p. 99, n. 14.

<sup>2</sup> With the optative *ānāmayehān* cf. [pa]ti[pāday]chān and ālabhechān in the Dhauī separate edict I, B, and *yehān* in four versions of the rock-edict VI, L.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 35, n. 12.

<sup>4</sup> Bühler translated: 'Sermons on the sacred law I will order to be preached'. With the meaning which I assign to *sāvāpayāmi*, cf. *iyān sāvāne sāvāpīte* at Brahmagiri (I. 5), for which the Siddāpura edict (I. 11) reads [iya]n sāvāne sāvīte, and the Rūpnāth edict (I. 3) *sāvāne kuh*. These three records and the Sahasrāmī, Bairāt, Maskī, and Jātinga-Rāmeśvara rock-inscriptions are actual specimens of the *dhamma-sāvānāni* to which Aśoka is alluding here.

<sup>5</sup> See above, p. 120, n. 2.

<sup>6</sup> See above, p. 95, n. 4.

<sup>7</sup> With the locative *bahūne* Bühler (EI, 2. 270, n. 68) compared *punāvāsane* in the pillar-edict V, II 16 and 18, which, however, might be a dative.

<sup>8</sup> See above, p. 124, n. 1.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. the Dhauī separate edict I, l. 12.

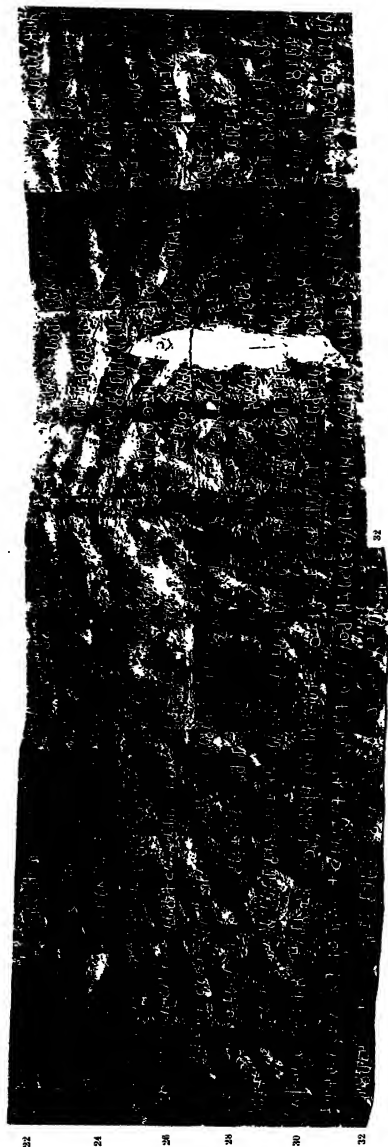
<sup>10</sup> *anuvakhamāne* is a nominative singular absolute. See above, p. 96, n. 11, and Luders, SPAW, 1913. 1013.

<sup>11</sup> As noted by Bühler (ZDMG, 46. 90), this is a reference to the pillars bearing the six first edicts.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. the rock-edict II, D.

<sup>13</sup> In *āmbā-vatīkā* and *adha-[loś]ikya* (below, section S) the *k* of the two affixes, *-kā* and *-ika*, is palatalized through the influence of the preceding vowel *a*, as frequently at Kāśī; see there *nātīkyā*, *pālantīkyā*, &c. The form *āmbā-vatīkā* occurs in the Queen's pillar-edict, l. 3. The first member of this compound, *āmbā* (for the Sanskrit masculine *āmra*), seems to be used as feminine; cf. *āmbā-bhātī* (= *āmrikā-bhātī*) at Junnar (ASWI, 4. 97, No. 26). The second member, *vatīkā*, is the regular Prākṛit equivalent of Skt. *\*vṛtikā* (= *vṛth*, 'a hedge'), while its usual Sanskrit synonym, *vātīkā*, presupposes the form *\*vartukā*; cf. Wackernagel's *Altind. Grammatik*, I, p. 168.

# DELHI-TOPRA PILLAR; CIRCULAR INSCRIPTION



SCUL. INDIAN



(S) And (at intervals) of eight *kōs*<sup>1</sup> wells were caused to be dug by me, and flights of steps (for descending into the water)<sup>2</sup> were caused to be built.

(T) Numerous drinking-places<sup>3</sup> were caused to be established by me, here and there, for the enjoyment of cattle and men.

(U) [But] this so-called enjoyment (is) [of little consequence]<sup>4</sup>

(V) For with various comforts have the people been blessed both by former kings and by myself.

(W) But by me this has been done for the following purpose:<sup>5</sup> that they might conform to that practice of morality.

(X) *Dēvānāshpriya Priyadarśin* speaks thus.

(Y) Those<sup>6</sup> my *Aśākāmātras* of morality too are occupied<sup>7</sup> with affairs of many kinds which are beneficial to ascetics as well as to householders, and they are occupied also with all *ṛc*ts.

<sup>1</sup> Fleet (JRAS, 1906, 401 ff.) showed that *adha* here represents Skt. *ashtan*, and not *ardha*. According to Hsuen-Tsiang, Bāna, and Kauṭilya (JRAS, 1912 239), one *yōjana* = eight *kōs* = nine miles was considered a day's march of an army, while it would have been unnecessarily lavish and unpractical to sink wells and build rest-houses at distances of but little more than half a mile.

<sup>2</sup> Bühler read *nīśudhiyā*, which he rendered by 'rest-houses', connecting it with *nishulyā* (from Skt. *nishidati*) in the Nāgārjuna Hill cave-inscriptions; cf. also *Arahata-nisidhiyā-samīpe* in the Hāthigumphā inscription of Khāravēla, l. 15. Luders (SPAW, 1914, 852) compares with it the Ardhamāgadhī *sedhi* = Skt. *\*śishkti*. As *sedhi* is synonymous with Skt. *śrīṣṭi*, he attributes to *nīśudhiyā* the sense of Skt. *nīśayanti*, 'a ladder, a flight of steps'. This meaning would fit the text admirably, but the actual reading of the pillar is *nīśus[dha]yā*, which would correspond to Skt. *\*nīśustakā*. For the change of *śi* to *nī* see Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 74, and for *dh* = original *sh* cf. *adha* = *ashta* at the beginning of section S.

<sup>3</sup> With *āpāna* cf. *prapā* in the Nāsik cave-inscription No. 10, l. 3 (EI, 8 78), and in the Palitānā plates of Śūnādhitya (EI, 11, 18, text l. 12). I cannot refrain from quoting the following description from F. Drew's charming work, *The Northern Barrier of India* (London, 1877), p. 99: 'At this time of the year the ground is dry, and all the way from Akhnūr the road has been hot and thirst-bringing. A good charitable custom of the Hindūs, brings relief to the traveller. On many a spot in the hottest part, perhaps at the summit of one of the steep rises of the uneven road, will be found a hut where cool water kept in clean porous vessels is at the service of any who may ask for it. The man in charge is probably a Brahman, so that people of every caste can take water from his hands, he may have been placed there by some well-to-do Hindū, whose piety prompts him to this good work. It is the Brahman's business to bring the water from the nearest stream, which may be a long walk off, and distribute it to wayfarers. When the rains come, and water is to be found in every pool and little stream, the establishment will be no longer kept up.' The same charitable arrangement is evidently alluded to in the text of Aśoka's pillar-edict. The Hindūs are wonderfully conservative; e.g. the bullock-cart and the carrying-pole (Hindi *bahāngī*, Dravidian *kāvāḍi*) figured at Bharaut (Cunningham's *Stupa of Bharkur*, plate 57, 41, fig. 1; 42, fig. 7, 45, fig. 5; 46, fig. 8) do not differ from those one sees at the present day.

<sup>4</sup> A similar phrase occurs in the Kālsī and Shāhbāzgarhi edict XIII, V, and below, section KK.

<sup>5</sup> For *atthā* = *athāya* see above, p. 22, n. 3. Although in the dialect of the pillar-edict Skt. *artha* is generally represented by *atha*, the form *atthā* (with dental *th*) occurs also in section OO of the edict VII. Michelson's explanation of *etadathā* (IF, 23, 248 f.) appears to me 'too bold' as he confesses himself.

<sup>6</sup> The pronoun *te* seems to refer to section P, above.

<sup>7</sup> Franke (VOJ, 9, 349 f.) has pointed out that *vijāpāṭṭse*, which occurs twice in this section and once in CC, below, is the Prakṛit equivalent of the Vedic nominative plural in *-āsah*. Cf. above, p. 87, n. 3.

(Z) Some (*Mahāmātras*) were ordered by me to busy themselves<sup>1</sup> with the affairs of the *Samgha*,<sup>2</sup> likewise others were ordered by me to busy themselves also with the Brāhmanas (and) Ājivikas,<sup>3</sup> others were ordered by me to busy themselves also with the Nirgranthas;<sup>4</sup> others were ordered by me to busy themselves also with various (other) sects; (thus) different *Mahāmātras* (are busying themselves) specially with different (congregations).<sup>5</sup>

(AA) But my *Mahāmātras* of morality are occupied with these (congregations) as well as with all other sects.

(BB) King Dēvānāthpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(CC) Both these and many other chief (officers)<sup>6</sup> are occupied with the delivery of the gifts of myself as well as of the queens, and among my whole harem [they are reporting] in divers ways different worthy recipients of charity<sup>7</sup> both here<sup>8</sup> and in the provinces

(DD) And others<sup>9</sup> were ordered by me to busy themselves also with the delivery of the gifts of (my) sons and of other queens' sons,<sup>10</sup> in order (to promote) noble deeds of morality (and) the practice of morality.

(EE) For noble deeds of morality and the practice of morality (consist in) this, that (morality), viz.<sup>11</sup> compassion, liberality, truthfulness, purity, gentleness, and goodness, will thus be promoted among men.

(FF) King Dēvānāthpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(GG) Whatsoever good deeds have been performed by me, those the people have imitated, and to those they are conforming.

(HH) Thereby they have been made to progress and will (be made to) progress in obedience to mother and father, in obedience to elders, in courtesy to the aged, in courtesy to Brāhmanas and Śramanas, to the poor and distressed, (and) even to slaves and servants.

<sup>1</sup> Literally: 'it has been made by me that these will be occupied'. In the subsequent sentences I have translated *me* by 'others'.

<sup>2</sup> i.e. the Buddhist clergy.

<sup>3</sup> For the Ājivika sect see my last note on the first Barābar Hill cave-inscription.

<sup>4</sup> i.e. the Jaina monks.

<sup>5</sup> As remarked by Senart (IA, 18. 305), the officers mentioned in this section are distinct from the *Dharma-mahāmātras* of sections Y and AA.

<sup>6</sup> As at Shāhbāgarhi (XIII, 8) and Mānsehrā (XIII, 9), *mukha* corresponds to Skt. *mukhya*. Michelson (IF, 23. 263 f.) prefers to identify it with Skt. *mukha*, because in *mukhya* (= Skt. *mukhya*, Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VI, l. 9) the group *khy* is not assimilated. But Skt. *mukha* is always neuter, and the masculine *mukha* seems to be a fiction of the Kōśas. Thomas renders *bahukā mukhā* by 'many departments', see JRAS, 1915. 99.

<sup>7</sup> Kern and Bühler (EI, 2. 274) explained *tathāyatanā[ś]ni* by *tushty-āyatanāni*, 'sources of contentment', i.e. 'opportunities for charity'. I adopt this suggestion, but prefer to take *āyatanā* as a synonym of *pātra* or *śrīṭha*, and follow Luders (SPAW, 1914. 853) in considering the first member of the compound to be *tushta* in the sense of *tushti*.

<sup>8</sup> viz. in Pataliputra. Cf. above, p. 33, n. 10.

<sup>9</sup> Literally: 'these'. Cf. above, n. 1.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. the Kālī edict V, M, where Aśoka mentions the harems of his brothers, sisters, and other relatives.

<sup>11</sup> See above, p. 120, n. 7. Before *yā tyani* we may have to supply *dhaname*, which includes the virtues that are enumerated after it, cf. the pillar-edict II, C. I differ here slightly from Luders, SPAW, 1914. 854.

(II) King *Dēvaṇāśhpriya Priyadarśin* speaks thus.

(JJ) Now this progress of morality among men has been promoted (by me) only in two ways, (viz.) by moral restrictions and by conversion.<sup>1</sup>

(KK) But among these (two), those moral restrictions are of little consequence; by conversion, however, (morality is promoted) more considerably.

(LL) Now moral restrictions indeed are these, that I have ordered this, (that) certain animals are inviolable.<sup>2</sup>

(MM) But there are also many other moral restrictions which have been imposed by me.

(NN) By conversion, however, the progress of morality among men has been promoted more considerably, (because it leads) to abstention from hurting living beings (and) to abstention from killing animals.

(OO) Now for the following purpose has this been ordered, that it may last as long as (my) sons and great-grandsons (shall reign and) as long as the moon and the sun (shall shine),<sup>3</sup> and in order that (men) may conform to it.

(PP) For if one conforms to this,<sup>4</sup> (happiness) in this (world) and in the other (world) will be attained.

(QQ) This rescript on morality was caused to be written by me (when I had been) anointed twenty-seven years.

(RR) Concerning this, *Dēvaṇāśhpriya* says.<sup>5</sup>

(SS) This rescript on morality must be engraved there, where either stone pillars or stone slabs are (available), in order that<sup>6</sup> this may be of long duration.

## II. THE DELHI-MIRATH PILLAR

### FIRST PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-MIRATH

1 ..... नं धमेन विधाने

2 धमे

1 ..... [naṁ] dhammen[a] v[i]dh[āne]

2 dha[me].....

### SECOND PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-MIRATH

1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेचं आ .. (B) धमे साधु कियं ..... मे ति

2 (C) अयासिनवे बहु कयाने दया दाने सबे सोचये (D) चक्षुदाना पि मे

<sup>1</sup> Literally: 'by inducing to meditate'. Cf. above, p. 69, n. 4. Thomas (JRAS, 1916. 122) has shown that in Buddhist Sanskrit works *nidhyapṭi* has the meaning 'reflection'.

<sup>2</sup> See the pillar-edict V.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *puta-papotiḥ chandama-sūryakṣe* on the Sārichī pillar, C, *ā-chandama-shūlyani* in the three Nāgārjunī Hill cave-inscriptions (IA, 20. 364 f.), and *ā-chandrārkaṁ* in Sanskrit inscriptions.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 97, n. 3.

<sup>5</sup> This section and the next one may have to be placed before section OO, see above, p. 133, n. 6.

<sup>6</sup> *ena* is used in the same way in the Dhauī separate edict I, Y, and II, I and M

- ३ बहुविधे दिने (B) दुपदचतुपदेसु पक्षिवालिचलेसु विविधे मे अनु-  
 ४ गहे कटे आ पानदाखिनाये (F) अन्नानि पि च मे बहुनि कयानानि  
 ५ कटानि (G) एताये मे अठाये इयं धम्मलिपि लिखायिता . . . .  
 ६ अनुपदिपजंतू चिलंधितिका च होतू ति (H) ये च . . . . .  
 ७ सति से सुकटं कटती ति

- 1 (A) De[vā]n[a]m̐piye Piyadasi lāja<sup>1</sup> [hevaṃ ā] . . (B) dh[am̐]me s[ā]dh[u] k[iya]m  
 . . . . [m]e ti  
 2 (C) a[pā]śinave bahu kayāne dayā dāne sache sochaye (D) [chakhu-dā]nā<sup>2</sup> [pi me]  
 3 bahuvidhe dirhne (E) du[pa]da-ch[a]tu[pa]desu pakhi-vālichale[su viv]i[dhe me anu]-  
 4 gahe kaṭe ā pāna-dākhināye (F) a[m̐]nāni pi cha me bah[ūni kayānāni]  
 5 kaṭāni (G) etāye me aṭhāye iyaṃ dhamma-lipi lī[khāpita] . . . .  
 6 anupaṭipajantū chil[am̐-th]itika cha hotū ti (H) ye [cha] . . . . .  
 7 [sa]ti se sukaṭaṃ ka[chha]ti ti

## THIRD PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-MIRATH

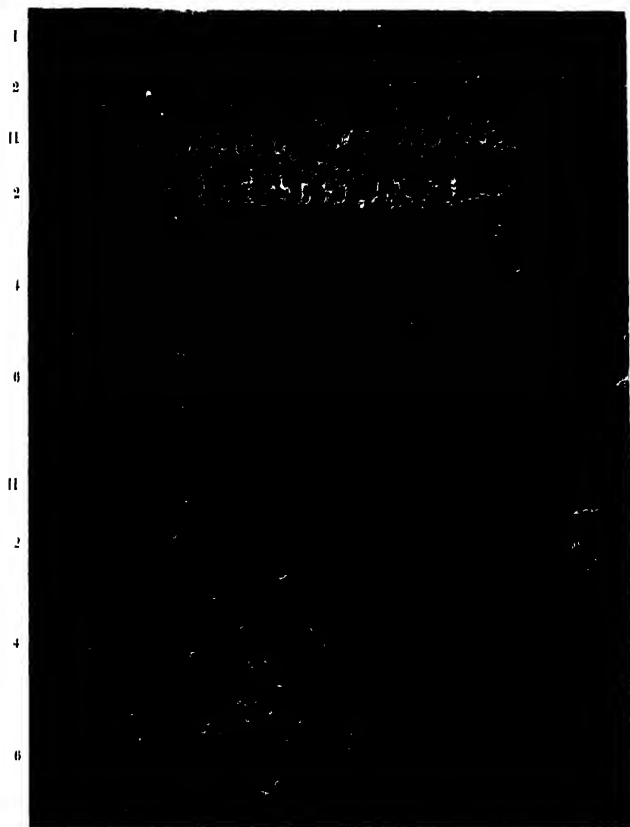
- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आहा (B) कयानमेव दे . . . . .  
 2 कयाने कटे ती (C) नो मिना पापं देखति इयं मे पाये कटे ति इयं व  
 3 आसिनवे नामा ति (D) दुपदिवेसे चु खो एसा (E) हेवं चु खो एस देखिये  
 4 (F) इमानि आसिनवगामीनि नाम अष चंडिये निदूलिये कोधे  
 5 माने इस्या कालनेन व हकं मा पलिभससिंसं (G) . . . . बाढं  
 6 देखिये (H) इयं मे हितिकाये इयं मे पालतिकाये

- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lāja<sup>3</sup> hevaṃ āhā (B) kayānaṃm[eva de] . . . . .  
 2 kayāne kaṭe ti<sup>4</sup> (C) no min[ā] pāpaṃ dekhati iyaṃ me pāp[e<sup>5</sup> kaṭe ti iyaṃ va]  
 3 āsinave nāmā ti (D) [du]pāṭivekhe chu kho esā (E) hevaṃ chu kho [esa<sup>6</sup> de]khiye  
 4 (F) imāni āsinav[a-gāmīni] nāma atha chaṇḍ[i]ye nī[thū]lī[y]e k[o]dhe  
 5 māne isyā kālānena [va] hakaṃ mā palibha[sayī[sā]rṇ (G) . . . . bā[ḍhaṃ]  
 6 dekhīye (H) iyaṃ me [hi]dat[i]kāye iyaṃ me pālatikāye

## FOURTH PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-MIRATH

- 1 . . . . .  
 2 . . . . . व चरंति आलापयितवे  
 3 . . . . . तु अस्वये होति  
 4 विय . . . . . लिहटवे हेवं ममा  
 5 लज्जूक . . . . . ये (J) येन एते अभीता

<sup>1</sup> lāja Buhler.<sup>3</sup> lāja Buhler.<sup>6</sup> . . . . Buhler.<sup>2</sup> -[dā]nāṃ Buhler.<sup>4</sup> . . Buhler.<sup>5</sup> pāpaṃ Buhler.



SCALE ONE FOOT





- 6 अस्वच सं ..... पयतयेवू ति एतेन मे  
 7 लजृकानं ..... अतपतिये कटे  
 8 (E) इक्षितवि ..... हालसमता च सिया  
 9 दंडसम ..... मे आबुति बंधनबधानं  
 10 मुनिसानं ..... बधानं तिनि दिवसानि मे  
 11 योते दिने (M) ..... पयिसंति जीविताये तानं  
 12 नासंतं वा नि ..... ति पालतिकं  
 13 उपवासं वा क ..... हेवं निलुपसि पि कालसि  
 14 पालतं आलाधये ..... वदति विविधे धंमचलने  
 15 संयमे दान .....

- 1 .....  
 2 ..... [ka]<sup>1</sup> chaghamti [ā]lādha[y]i[tave]  
 3 ..... tu asvathē<sup>2</sup> [ho]ti  
 4 vi[ya] ..... [l]i[ha]tave hev[ar]m mam]ā  
 5 [la]jūk[a]<sup>3</sup> ..... ye (J) yen[a] ete a[bh]itā  
 6 asvatha sarh ..... [pa]vataye[v]u ti [c]te[na] me  
 7 [lay]ū[kā]n[ar]h ..... ata-patiye ka[cc]  
 8 (E) ichhitavi ..... [h]āla-samatā ch[a] siyā  
 9 dādhā-sa[ma] ..... [me] āvuti [ba]rādha-na[-badh]ānam  
 10 munisa[nar]h ..... vadhānam timni di[va]sāni [m]c  
 11 y[o]te dimne (M) ..... payisa[r]h ti j[i]v[i]tāye tāna[r]h  
 12 nāsantarh [v]ā ni ..... ti pālaticarh  
 13 u[pa]vāsam vā k[a] ..... heva[r]m niludhasi pi [k]ālasi  
 14 pā[la]tarh ālādha[ye] ..... vadhati vividhe dhamma-chal[a]nc  
 15 sarhyame dā[na] .....

## FIFTH PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-MIRATH

- 1 ..... योतके पि च कानि  
 2 ..... के (D) वधिकुण्टे नो कटविये (E) तुसे सजीवे  
 3 ..... तविये (F) दावे अनठाये वा विहिसाये वा नो  
 4 झपेतविये (G) जीवेन जीवे नो पुसितविये (H) तीसु चातंमासीसु  
 5 तिसावं पुनमासिबं तिनि दिवसानि चाबुदसं पनडसं  
 6 पटिपदा ध्रुवाये च अनुपोसधं महे अवधिये नो पि  
 7 विकेतविये (I) एतानि येव दिवसानि नागवनसि केवटभोगसि  
 8 यानि अंजानि पि जीवनिक्कयानि नो हंतवियानि

<sup>1</sup> [ajūkā] Bühler.<sup>2</sup> asva[the] Bühler.<sup>3</sup> [ajūkā] Bühler.

- 9 (J) अठमिपसाये चावुदसाये पंनइसाये तिसाये  
 10 पुनावसुने तीसु चार्तुमासीसु सुदिवसाये गोने  
 11 नो नीलखितविये अजके एक्के सुकले ए वा पि  
 12 अने नीलखितविति नो नीलखितविये (K) तिसाये पुनावसुने  
 13 चार्तुमासिये चार्तुमासिपसाये अस्वसा गोनसा लखने  
 14 नो . . . . विये (L) यावसुवीसतिवसअभिसितेन मे एताये  
 15 अंतलिवाये पंनवीसति बंधनमोखानि कटानि

- 1 . . . . . [potake<sup>1</sup> pi cha] k[ā]n[i]  
 2 . . . . . ke (D) [vadhji-kukuṭe no kaṭaviye (E) tuse saji[ve]  
 3 . . . . . ta[v]iye (F) dāve [a]naṭhāye vā vihiṣāye vā no  
 4 [jhāpe]ta[vi],e (G) ji[v]ena j[iv]e no pusi[ta]viye (H) tisu chātarmāsīsu<sup>2</sup>  
 5 [t]isāya[rh] pu[mna]mā[si]ya[rh] tiriñi divasāni chāvudasaṃ paṃnadāsam  
 6 p[a]ṭipadā dh[r]uvāye<sup>3</sup> cha anuposathaṃ machhe avadhiye no pi  
 7 viketa[v]iye (I) etān[i] yeva divasāni n[ā]ga-van[a]si kevaṭa-bhogasi  
 8 y[āni] aṃnāni pi jiṃva-nikāyān[i] no [ha]ntaviyāni<sup>4</sup>  
 9 (J) aṭham[i-pakhā]ye<sup>5</sup> [chā]vudasāye paṃ[na]kāsāye tisāye  
 10 punāvasune tisu chāturmāsīsu sudivasāye gone  
 11 no nilakhitavi[y]e ajake elake<sup>6</sup> sūkale e vā pi  
 12 aṃ[n]e ni[lā]khi[ya]ti [no] nilakhitaviye (K) tisāye punāvasun[e]  
 13 chāturmāsīye chātu[rh]māsi-pakhāye asvasā gonasā lakhane  
 14 no . . . . [v]iye (L) yā[va]-saḍuvisati-[va]sa-abhiṣitena me etāye  
 15 a[m]talikāye paṃnavisati baṃdhana-mokhāni kaṭāni

## SIXTH PILLAR-EDICT. DELHI-MIRATH

- . . . . .  
 1 . . . . . उपगमने से मे मोक्षमते (G) सडु . . . . .  
 2 . . . . . तिसतेन मे इयं धम्मलिपि लि . . . . .  
 1 . . . . . upagamane se me mokhya-mate (G) saḍu . . . . .  
 2 . . . . . isitena me iyaṃ dhamma-li[pi] li . . . . .

<sup>1</sup> On Fleet's plate (IA, 19. 144), portions of the preceding word *avadhiyā* are also visible.

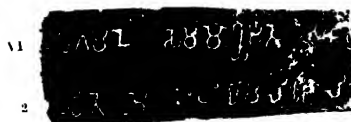
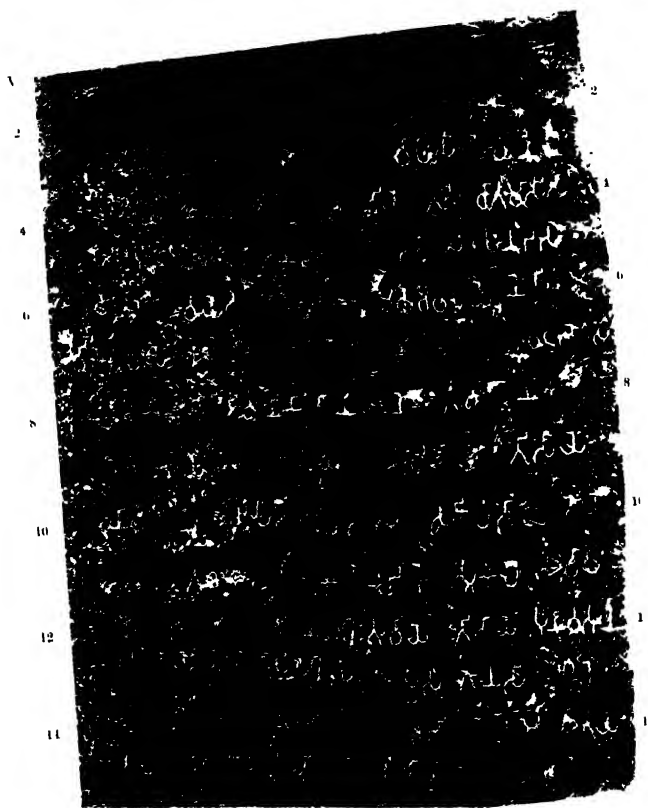
<sup>2</sup> Read *chātum*.

<sup>3</sup> *dhuvāye* Buhler. Cf. above, p. 2, n. 1.

<sup>4</sup> *ṃāni* Buhler.

<sup>5</sup> *aṭham[i]*- Buhler.

<sup>6</sup> *elake* Buhler; but see Lüders, JRAS, 1911. 1088.





## III. THE LAURIYA ARARAJ-PILLAR

## FIRST PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-ARARAJ

*A.—East Face of Pillar.*

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) सडुवीसतिवसाभिसितेन मे इयं धंमल्लिपि
- 2 लिखापित (C) हितपालते दुसंपटिपादये अन्नत अगाय धंमकामताय अगाय पलीखाय
- 3 अगाय सुसुसाय अगेन भयेन अगेन उसाहेन (D) एस चु खो मम अनुसथिय धंमापेख
- 4 धंमकामता च सुवे सुवे वडित वडिसति चेव (E) पुलिसा पि मे उक्सा च मेवया च मझिमा च अनुविधीयंति
- 5 संपटिपादयंति च अलं चपलं समादपयितवे (F) हेमेव अंतमहामाता पि (G) एसा हि विधि या इयं धंमेन पालन
- 6 धंमेन विधाने धंमेन सुखीयन धंमेन गोती ति

- 1 (A) *Dovānaṃpiye Piyadasi lāja hevam āha* (B) *saḍuvīsati-vasābhisitena me iyaṃ dhamma-li[p]*
- 2 *likhāpita* (C) *hidata-pālate dusaṃpaṭipādaye amnata agāya dhamma-kāmatāya agāya palīkhay[a]*
- 3 *agāya susūsāya agena bhayena agena usāhena* (D) *esa chu kho mama anusathiya dhammāpekha*<sup>1</sup>
- 4 *dhamma-kāmatā cha suve suve vaḍhita*<sup>2</sup> *vaḍhisati cheva* (E) *pulisā pi me ukasā cha gevayā cha majhimā cha anuvīdhiyaṃti*
- 5 *saṃpaṭipādayaṃti cha alam chapalaṃ samādapayitave* (F) *hemeva amta-mahāmātā pi* (G) *esā hi vidhi yā iyaṃ dhammena pālana*
- 6 *dhammena vidhāne dhammena sukh[i]yana dhammena goti ti*

## SECOND PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-ARARAJ

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) धंमे साधु कियं चु धंमे ति (C) अपासिनवे बहु कयाने दय दाने सवे
- 2 सोचेये ति (D) चखुदाने पि मे बहुविधे दिने (E) दुपदचतुपदेसु पखिवाल्लिचलेसु विविधे मे अनुगहे कटे

<sup>1</sup> *dhammāpekha* Buhler.<sup>2</sup> *vaḍhita* Buhler.

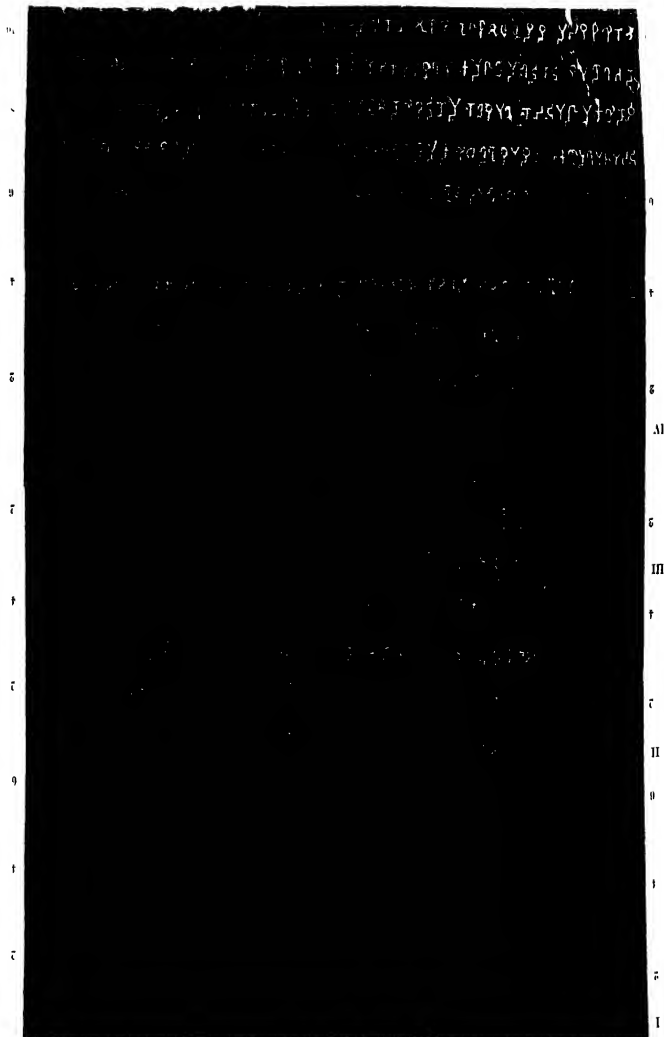
- 3 आ पानदक्षिनाये (F) अन्नानि पि च मे बहूनि कयानानि कटानि (G) एताये मे  
कटाये इयं धम्मलिपि लिखापित हेवं  
4 अनुपटिपजंतु चिलंपितीका च होतू ति (H) ये च हेवं संपटिपजिसति से सुकटं  
कच्छति ति
- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiya Piyadasi lāja hevaṃ āha (B) dhamme sādhu kiyam chu  
dhamme ti (C) apāsinave bahu kayāne daya dāne sacche  
2 socheye ti (D) chakhu-dāne pi me bahuvidhe diṃhe (E) dupada-chatupadesu pakhi-  
vālichalesu vividhe me anugahe kaṭe  
3 ā pāna-dakhiṇāye (F) a[m]hānāni pi cha me bahūni kayānāni kaṭāni (G) etāye me  
aṭhāye iyaṃ dhama-lipi likhāpita hevaṃ  
4 anupaṭipajantū chilam-pitīkā cha hotū ti (H) ye cha hevaṃ sampaṭipajisati se  
sukatam kachhati ti

## THIRD PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-ARARAJ

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) कयानमेव देखति इयं मे कयाने कटे  
ति (C) नो मिन पापं देखति इयं मे पापे कटे ति  
2 इयं व आसिनवे नामा ति (D) दुपटिवेखे चु खो एस (E) हेवं चु खो एस देखिये  
(F) इमानि आसिनवगामीनि नामा ति अथ चंडिये  
3 निठूलिये कोधे माने इस्य कालनेन व हकं मा पलिभसयिसं ति (G) एस बाढं  
देखिये (H) इयं मे हितिकीये इयंमन मे पालतिकीये ति
- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiya Piyadasi lāja hevaṃ āha (B) kayāpammeva dekhamti iyaṃ me  
kayāne kaṭe ti (C) no mina pāpam dekhamti iyaṃ me pāpe kaṭe ti  
2 iyaṃ va āsinave nāmā ti (D) dupaṭivekhe chu kho esa (E) hevaṃ chu kho esa  
dekhiye (F) imāni āsinava-gāmīni nāmā ti atha chaṇḍiye  
3 niṭhaliye kodhe māne isya kālanena va hakaṃ mā palibhasayisaṃ ti (G) esa bādham  
dekhiye (H) iyaṃ me hīdatikāye iyaṃmana me pālātikāye ti

## FOURTH PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-ARARAJ

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) सहुवीसतिवसाभिस्सितेन मे इयं  
धम्मलिपि लिखापित (C) लज्जूका मे बहूसु पानसत्तसहसेसु  
2 जनसि आयात (D) तेसं ये अभिहाले व दंडे व अतपितये मे कटे किंति लज्जूक  
अस्वच अभीत वंमानि पवतयेवू ति जनस जानपदस  
3 हितसुखं उपदहेवु अनुगहिनेवु च (E) सुखीयनदुखीयनं जानिसंति धंमयुतेन च  
वियोवदिसंति जनं जानपदं किंति हितं च  
4 पालतं च आलापयेवु (F) लज्जूका पि लपंति पटिचलितवे मं (G) पुलिसानि  
पि मे छंदनानि पटिचलिसंति (H) ते पि च कानि वियोवदिसंति येन मं







- 5 लज्जक चरंति आलाधयेवू (I) अथा हि पजं वियताये धातिये निसिजितु  
अस्वये होति वियत धाति चपति मे पजं मुखं पलिहटवे ति  
6 हेवं मम लज्जक कट जानपदस हितसुखाये (J) येन एते अमीत अस्वचा संतं  
अहिमन कमानि पवतयेवू ति एतेन मे लज्जकानं अभिहाले व  
7 दंडे व अतपतिये कटे (K) इद्धितविजे हि एस किंति वियोहालसमता च सिय  
दंडसमता च (L) आवा इते पि च मे आवुति बंधनवधानं  
8 मुनिसानं तीलितदंडानं पतवधानं तिंनि दिवसानि मे योते दिंने (M) नातिक्का  
व कानि निरूपयिसंति जीविताये तानं नासंतं व  
9 निरूपयितवे दानं दाहंति पालतिक्कं उपवासं व कक्कंति (N) इक्का हि मे हेवं  
निलुधसि पि कालसि पालतं आलाधयेवू ति  
10 (O) जनस च वदति विविधे धम्मचलने समये दानसंविभागे ति  
1 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyaḍasi lāja hevaṃ āha (B) saḍḍuvisati-vasābhāṭṭena me  
iyaṃ dhamma-lipi likhapita (C) lajūka me bahūsu pana-sata-sahasasu  
2 janasi āyata (D) tesam ye abhihāle va d[ā]ṇḍe va ata-patiye me kaṇe kiṃti lajūka  
asvatha abhita kaṃmāni pavatayevū ti janasa jānapadasa  
3 hita-sukhaṃ upadahevu anugahincevu cha (E) sukhiyana-dukhiyanaṃ jānisamtu  
dhamma-yutena cha viyovadisamti janam jānapadam kiṃti hidatam cha  
4 pālataṃ cha ālādhayevu (F) lajūka pi laghamti paṭichalitave maṃ (G) pulisāni pi  
me chhamdamānāni paṭichalisamti (H) te pi cha kāni viyovadisamti yena mam  
5 lajūka chaghamti ālādhayitave (I) athā hi pajam viyatāye dhātīye nisijitu asvathā  
hoti viyata dhāti chaghati me paṃjaṃ<sup>1</sup> sukhaṃ palihaṭave ti  
6 hevaṃ mama lajūka kaṇa jānapadasa hita-sukhāye (J) yena etc abhita asvathā  
saṃtaṃ achhimana<sup>2</sup> kaṃmāni pavatayevū ti etena me lajūkānaṃ abhihāle va  
7 dāṇḍe va ata-patiye kaṇe (K) ichhitaviye hi esa kiṃti viyohāla-samatā cha siya  
dāṇḍa-samatā cha (L) āvā ite pi cha me āvuti baṇḍhana-badhānaṃ  
8 munisā[na]ṃ tilita-dāṇḍānaṃ pata-vadhānaṃ tiṇṇi divasāni me yote diṇṇe (M)  
nātukā va kāni nijhapayasamti jivitāye tānaṃ nāsaṃtaṃ va  
9 nijhapay[ita]ve dānaṃ dāhamti pālataṃ upavāsaṃ va kachhamti (N) ichhā hi me  
hevaṃ niludhasi pi kālasi pālataṃ ālādhayevū ti  
10 (O) janasa cha va[dha]ti vividhe dha[m]ma-chalane sayame dāna-saṃvibhāge ti

## FIFTH PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-ARARAJ

## B.—West Face of Pillar.

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) सडुवीसतिवसभिहितस मे इमानि  
पि जातानि अवध्यानि  
2 कटानि सेवच सुके सालिक्क अलुने चक्काके हंसे नदीमुखे गेलाटे जतूक  
3 अंबाकपिलिक्क दुट्ठि अनठिकमळे वेदवेमळे गंगाप्पुट्टके संकुजमळे कफटसेयके

<sup>1</sup> Read *pajam*.<sup>2</sup> Read *avimana*.

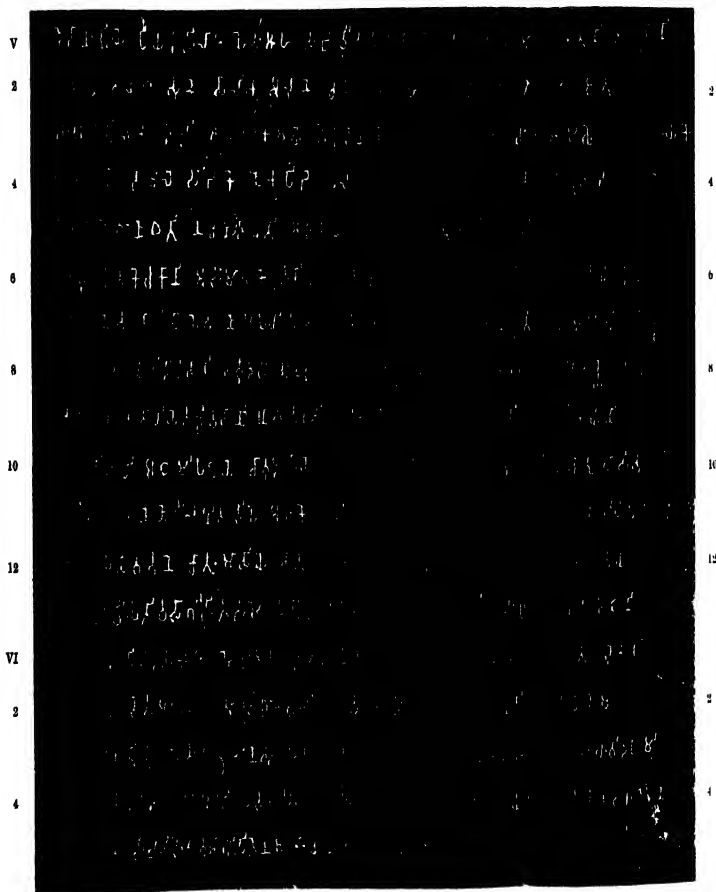
- 4 पंनससे सिमले संडेके ओकपिडे पलसते सेतकपोते गामकपोते सवे चतुपदे  
 5 ये पटिपोगं नो एति नो च खादियति (C) अजका नानि एडका च सूकली च  
 गभिनी च पायमीना च  
 6 अवध पोतके च कानि आसंमासिके (D) वधिकुकुटे नो कटविचे (E) तुसे सजीवे  
 नो ज्ञापयितविचे (F) दावे  
 7 अनठाये च विहिसाये च नो ज्ञापयितविचे (G) जीवेन जीवे नो पुसितविचे (H)  
 तीसु चातुमासीसु तिस्यं  
 8 पुंनमासियं तिनि दिवसानि चावुदसं पंनठसं पटिपदं धुवाये च अनुपोसचं  
 महे अवधे नो पि  
 9 विकेतविचे (I) एतानि येव दिवसानि नागवनसि केवटभोगसि यानि अंनानि  
 पि जीवनिक्कायानि  
 10 नो हंतवियानि (J) अठमिपसाये चावुदसाये पंनडसाये तिसाये पुनावसुने तीसु  
 चातुमासीसु  
 11 सुदिवसाये गोने नो नीलखितविचे अजके एठके सूकले ए वा पि अंने  
 नीलखियति नो नीलखितविचे  
 12 (K) तिसाये पुनावसुने चातुमासिये चातुमासिपसाये अत्तस गोन्स लखने  
 नो कटविचे  
 13 (L) यावसडुवीसतिवसाभिसितस मे एताये अंतलिक्काये पंनवीसति वंधन-  
 मोखानि कटानि

- 1 (A) Devānaṁpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṁ āha (B) saḍḍuvisati-vasābhāsitaṁ me  
 imāni pi jātāni avadhyāni  
 2 kaṭāni seyatha suke sālika alune chakavāko haṁse naṁdīmukhe gelāṭe jatūka  
 3 ambā-kapilika duli<sup>1</sup> anaṭhika-machhe vedaveyake Gaṁgā-puṇṇake saṁkuja-machhe  
 kaphaṭa-seyake  
 4 paṁna-sase simale saṁdake okapiṁde palasate seta-kapote gāma-kapote sava  
 chatupade  
 5 ye paṭipogaṁ<sup>2</sup> no eti no cha khādiy[ā]ti (C) ajakā nāni eḍakā cha sūkali cha  
 gabhinī va pāyamīnā va  
 6 avadhya potake cha kāni āsammāsike (D) vadhi-kukūṭe no kaṭaviye (E) tuse sajiṇe  
 no jhāpayitaviye (F) dāve  
 7 anaṭhāye va vihiṣāye va no jhāpayitaviye (G) jīvena jīve no pusitaviye (H) tisu  
 chātummāsīsū tisyāṁ  
 8 puṇnamāsīyaṁ tinnī divasāni chāvudasaṁ paṁnaḍasaṁ<sup>3</sup> paṭipadaṁ dhuvāye cha  
 anuposathaṁ machhe avadhye no pi  
 9 vīketaviye (I) etāni yeva divasāni nāga-vanasi kevaṭa-bhogasi yāni amnāni pi  
 jīva-nik[ā]yāni

<sup>1</sup> *dudī* Bühler; but see his *Ind. Pal.*, § 16, C, 41, and Lüders in *JRAS*, 1911, 1087.

<sup>2</sup> Read *paṭibhogaṁ*.

<sup>3</sup> *paṁnaḍasaṁ* Bühler.





- 10 no haṁtaviyāni (J) aṭhami-pakhāye chāvudasaṃye paṇṇaḍasaṃye tisāye punāvasune  
tisu chātummāsīsu  
11 sudivasāye gone no nilakhitaviye ajake eḷake<sup>1</sup> sūkale e vā pi aṁne nilakhiyati no  
nilakhitaviye  
12 (K) tisāye punāvasune chātummāsīye chātummāsī-pakhāye asvasa gonasa lakhane  
no kaṭaviye  
13 (L) yāva-saḍḍuvisati-vasābbhisitassa me etāye aṁtalikāye paṇṇavisati baṁdhana-  
moghāni kaṭāni

## SIXTH PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-ARARAJ

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदत्ति लाज हेवं आह (B) दुवाडसवसाभिसितेन मे धंमलिपि  
लिखापित लोकस  
2 हितसुखाये से तं अपहट तं तं धंमवदि पापोव (C) हेवं लोकस हितसुखे ति  
पटिवेखामि  
3 अथा इयं नात्तिसु हेवं पयासंनेसु हेव अपकत्तेसु किंमं कानि सुखं आवहामी ति  
तथा च विदहामि  
4 (D) हेमेव सवनिक्कायेसु पटिवेखामि (E) संवपासंदा पि मे पूजित विविधाय  
पूजाय (F) ए च्चु इयं अतन पचूपगमने  
5 से मे मुखसुते (G) सदुवीसत्तिवसाभिसितेन मे इयं धंमलिपि लिखापित  
1 (A) Devānaṁpiye Piyaḍasi lāja hevaṁ āha (B) duvā[ḍa]sa-vasābbhisitena me  
dhamma-lipi likhāpita lokasa  
2 hita-sukhāye se taṁ apahaṭa taṁ taṁ dhamma-vadhi pāpova (C) hevaṁ lokasa  
hita-sukhe ti paṭivekhāmi  
3 athā iyaṁ nātisu hevaṁ patyāsamnesu hevaṁ apakaṭṭhesu kiṁmaṁ kāni sukhaṁ  
āvahāmi ti tathā cha vidahāmi  
4 (D) hemeva sava-nikāyesu paṭivekhāmi (E) sava-pāsamdā pi me pūjita vividhāya  
pūjāya (F) e chu iyaṁ atana pachūpagamane  
5 se me mukhya-mute<sup>2</sup> (G) saḍḍuvisati-vasābbhisitena me iyaṁ dhamma-lipi likhāpita

## IV. THE LAURIYA-NANDANGARH PILLAR

## FIRST PILLAR-EDICT · LAURIYA-NANDANGARH

## A.—East Face of Pillar.

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदत्ति लाज हेवं आह (B) सदुवीसत्तिवसाभिसितेन मे इयं  
2 धंमलिपि लिखापित (C) हितपालते दुसंपटिपादये अनंत अगाय धंमकामताय  
3 अगाय पत्तीसाय अगाय सुसुसाय अगेन भयेन अगेन उसाहेन (D) एस च्चु  
सो मम

<sup>1</sup> eḷake Buhler.<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 35, n. 10.

- 4 अनुसन्धिं धंमायेस्स धंमकामता च सुवे सुवे वडित वडिसति चेव (B) पुलिसा  
पि मे
- 5 उक्सा च गेवया च मग्गिमा च अनुविधीयंति संपटिपादयंति च अलं अपलं  
समादपयितवे
- 6 (F) हेमेव अंतमहामाता पि (G) एसा हि विधि या इयं धंमेन पालन धंमेन  
विधाने धंमेन सुखीयन
- 7 धंमेन गोती ति
- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiya Piyadasi lāja hevaṃ ā[ha] (B) saḍḍuvisati-vasābhisitena me  
iyam
- 2 dhamma-lipi likhāpita (C) hūdata-pālate dusaṃpaṭipādaye amnata agāya dhamma-  
kāmatāya
- 3 agāya palikhāya agāya susūsāya aṇa bhayena aṇa usāhena (D) esa chu  
kho mama
- 4 anusathiya dhammāpekha dhamma-kāmatā cha suve suve vadhita vadhisati cheva  
(E) pulisā pi me
- 5 ukasā cha gevayā cha majhimā cha anuvīdhīyaṃti saṃpaṭipādayaṃti cha alaṃ  
chapaṃ samādapayitave
- 6 (F) hemeva aṃta-mahāmātā pi (G) esā hi vidhi yā iyaṃ dhammena pālana dhammena  
vidhāne dhammena sukhīyana
- 7 dhammena gotī ti

## SECOND PILLAR-EDICT · LAURIYA-NANDANGARH

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) धंमे साधु किय चु धंमे ति (C)  
अपासिनवे बहु कयाने
- 2 दय दाने सचे सोचेये ति (D) चक्षुदाने पि मे बहुविधे दिने (E) दुपदचतुपदेसु पक्षि-  
वाल्लिचलेसु विविधे मे अनुगहे कटे आ पानदक्षिनाये (F) अंनानि पि च मे  
बहूनि कयानानि
- 4 कटानि (G) एताये मे अठाये इयं धंमलिपि लिखापित हेवं अनुपटिपजंतु  
चिलंपितीका च होतू ति
- 5 (H) ये च हेवं संपटिपजिसति से सुकटं कटति
- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiya Piyadasi lāja hevaṃ āha (B) dhamme sādhu kiya<sup>1</sup> chu dhamme  
ti (C) apāsinave bahu kayāne
- 2 daya dāne sache socheye ti (D) chakhu-dāne pi me bahuvīdhe diṇne (E) dupada-  
chatupadesu pakhi-
- 3 vālīchalesu vīvidhe me anugahe kaṭe ā pāna-dakhiṇāye (F) amnāni pi cha me bahūni  
kayānāni

<sup>1</sup> *kiyam* Bühler.

- 4 kaṭaṇi (G) eṭāye me aṭhāye iyaṁ dhamma-lipi likhāpita hevaṁ anupaṭipajarntu  
chilaṁ-thitā cha hoti ti  
5 (H) ye cha hevaṁ sampaṭipajisati se sukataṁ kachhati

## THIRD PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-NANDANGARH

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) कयानंमेव देखंति इयं मे कयाने कटे  
ति (C) नो मिन पापं  
2 देखंति इयं मे पापे कटे ति इयं व आसिनवे नामा ति (D) दुपटिवेसे चु खो एस  
(E) हेवं चु खो एस देखिये  
3 (F) इमानि आसिनवगामीनि नामा ति अथ चंडिये निदूलिये कोधे माने इस्स  
कालनेन व इहं  
4 मा पलिभसयिसं ति (G) एस बाढं देखिये (H) इयं मे हितिकाये इयमन मे  
पालतिकाये ति

- 1 (A) Devānaṁpiye Piyaḍasi lāja hevaṁ āha (B) kayānaṁmeva dekhantī iyaṁ me  
kayāne kaṭe ti (C) no mīna pāpaṁ  
2 dekhantī iyaṁ me pāpe kaṭe ti iyaṁ va āsinave nāmā ti (D) dupaṭivekhe chu kho  
esa (E) hevaṁ chu kho esa dekhiye  
3 (F) imāni āsinava-gāminī<sup>1</sup> nāmā ti atha chaṇḍiye nīḍhūliye kodhe māne issa  
kālanena va hakaṁ  
4 mā palibhasayasam ti (G) esa bāḍhaṁ dekhiye (H) iyaṁ me hitikāye iyammana  
me pālatikāye ti

## FOURTH PILLAR-EDICT LAURIYA-NANDANGARH

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) सडुवीसतिवसाभिसितेन मे इयं  
धम्मलिपि लिखापित (C) लज्जूका मे  
2 बहूसु पानसतसहसेसु जनसि आयात (D) तेसं ये अभिहाले व देहे व अतपतिये  
मे कटे किंति लज्जूक अस्वथ  
3 अभीत कमानि पवतयेवू ति जनस जानपदस हितसुखं उपदहेवू अनुगहिनेवु च  
(E) सुखीयनदुखीयनं  
4 जानिसंति धम्मयुतेन च वियोवदिसंति जनं जानपदं किंति हितं च पालतं च  
आलापयेवू ति (F) लज्जूका पि लपंति  
5 पटिचलितवे मं (G) पुलिसानि पि मे इदंनानि पटिचलिसंति (H) ते पि  
च कानि वियोवदिसंति येन मं लज्जूक चपंति आलापयितवे

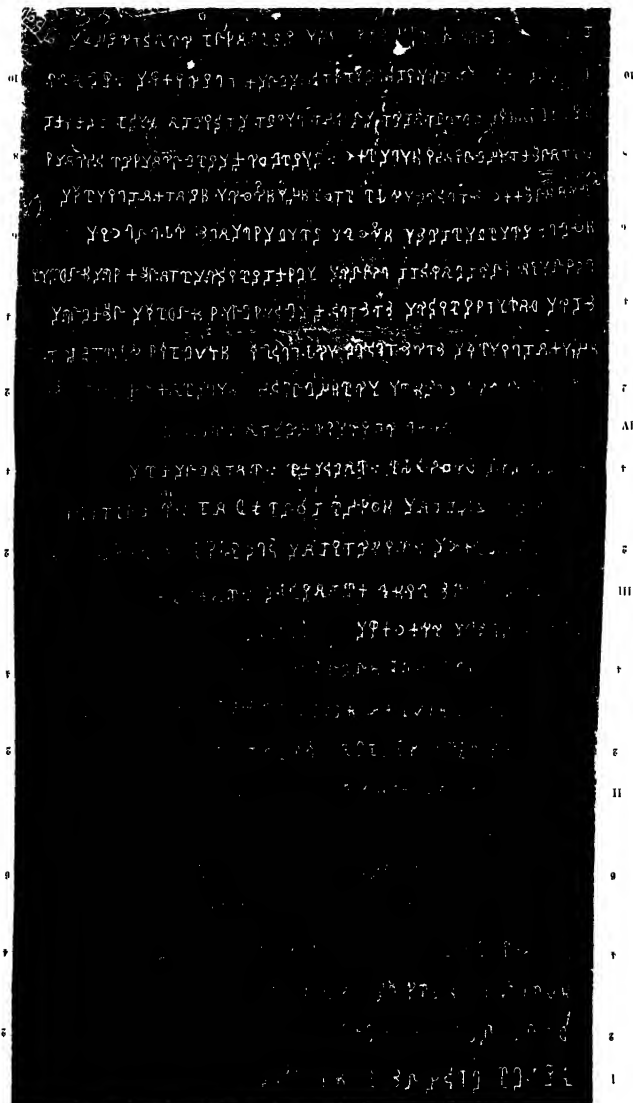
<sup>1</sup> āsinave Buhler.



- 6 (I) अथा हि पञं वियताये धातिये निसिञ्जितु अस्वये होति वियत धाति चपति  
मे पञं सुखं पलिहदवे ति
- 7 हेवं मम लज्जक कट जानपदस हितसुखाये (J) येन एते अभीत अस्वया संतं  
अविमन बंमानि पवतयेवू ति
- 8 एतेन मे लज्जकानं अभिहाले व दंडे व अतपतिवे कटे (K) इक्षितविये हि एस  
किंति वियोहालसमता च सिय दंडसमता च
- 9 (L) आवा इते पि च मे आवुति बंधनवधानं मुनिसानं तीलितदंडानं पतवधानं  
तिंनि दिवसानि मे योते दिंने (M) नातिका व कानि
- 10 निरूपयिसंति जीवितये तानं नासंतं व निरूपयितवे दानं दाहंति पालतिकं  
उपवासं व कटंति (N) इच्छा हि मे हेवं
- 11 निलुपसि पि कालसि पालतं आलाभयेवू ति (O) जनस च वदति विविधे  
धंमचलने सयमे दानसविभागे ति

- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasī lāja hevaṃ āha (B) saḍḍuvisati-vasābhisaṭṭena me  
iyaṃ dhamma-lipi likhāpita (C) lajūkā me
- 2 bahūsu pāna-sata-sahasasu janasī āyata (D) tesam ye abhihāle va daṃḍe va  
ata-patiye me kaṭe kimti lajūka asvatha
- 3 abhita kaṃmāni pavatayevū ti janasa jānapadasa hita-sukhaṃ upadahevū  
anugahinevū cha (E) sukhiyana-dukhiyanam
- 4 jānisaṃti dhamma-yutena cha viyovadisanti janam jānapadam kimti hidatam cha  
pālatam cha ālādhayevū ti (F) lajūkā pi laghaṃti
- 5 paṭichalītavē mam (G) pulisaṃti pi me cchamdamnāni paṭichalisanti (H) te pi  
cha kāni viyovadisanti yena maṃ lajūka chaghaṃti ālādhayitave
- 6 (I) athā hi paṇaṃ viyatāye dhātīye nisijitu asvathe hoti viyata dhāti chaghati me  
paṇaṃ sukhaṃ palihaṭṭave ti
- 7 hevaṃ mama lajūka kaṭa jānapadasa hita-sukhāye (J) yena etc abhita asvathā  
saṃtam avimāna kaṃmāni pavatayevū ti
- 8 etena me lajūkānaṃ [a]bhihāle va daṃḍe va ata-patiye kaṭe (K) ichhitaviye hi esa  
kimti viyohāla-samatā cha siya daṃḍa-samatā cha
- 9 (L) āvā ite pi cha me āvuti baṃdhana-badhānaṃ munisaṇaṃ tilita-daṃḍānaṃ  
pata-vadhānaṃ tiṃni divasāni me [yo]te diṃne (M) nātikā va kāni
- 10 nijhapayisanti jivitāye tānaṃ nāsaṃtaṃ va nijhapayī[tav]e dānaṃ dāhamti  
pālatikaṃ upavāsaṃ va kachhamti (N) icchā hi me hevaṃ
- 11 niludhasi pi [kālasī] pālatam ālādhayevū tī [ ] (O) janasa cha vadhati vividhe  
dhamma-chalane sayame dāna-savibhāge ti







## FIFTH PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-NANDANGARH

B.—West Face of Pillar.

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) सहुवीसतिवसाभिसितस मे  
इमानि पि
- 2 जातानि अवध्यानि कटानि सेयथा सुके सालिक अलुने चकवाके हंसे  
3 नंदीमुखे गेलटे जतूक अंबाकपिलिक दुळि अनठिकमळे वेदवेयके  
4 गंगापुपुटके संकुजमळे कफटसेयके पंनससे सिमले संडके ओकपिंहे  
5 पलससे सेतकपोते गामकपोते सवे चतुपदे ये पटिभोगं नो एति न च खादियति  
6 (C) अजका नानि एडका च सूकली च गभिनी व पायमीना व अवध पोतके  
च कानि
- 7 आसंमासिके (D) वधिकुवुटे नो कटविये (E) तुसे सजीवे नो रूपयितविये (F)  
दावे अनठाये व
- 8 विहिसाये व नो रूपयितविये (G) जीवेन जीवे नो पुसितविये (H) तीसु  
चातुंमासीसु तिसियं
- 9 पुंनमासियं तिंनि दिवसानि चावुदसं पंनळसं पटिपदं धुवाये च अनुपोसचं  
मळे अवधे
- 10 नो पि विरुत्तविये (I) एतानि येव दिवसानि नागवनसि केवटभोगसि यानि  
अंनानि पि
- 11 जीवनिक्कायानि नो हंतवियानि (J) अठमिपसाये चावुदसाये पंनळसाये  
तिसाये पुनावसुने
- 12 तीसु चातुंमासीसु सुदिवसाये गोने नो नीलखितविये अजके एळके सूकले ए  
वा पि अने
- 13 नीलखियति नो नीलखितविये (K) तिसाये पुनावसुने चातुंमासिये चातुंमासि-  
पसाये अस्वस गोमस
- 14 लखने नो कटविये (L) यावसहुवीसतिवसाभिसितेन मे एताये अंतलिक्काये  
पंनवीसति
- 15 बंधनमोखानि कटानि

- 1 (A) Devānampiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṃ āha (B) saḍḍuvisati-vasābhīsitas me  
imāni pi
- 2 jātāni avadhyāni kaṭāni seyath[ā] suke sālika alune chakavāke haṃse  
3 naṃdimukhe gelāte jatūka ambā-kapilika duḷi<sup>1</sup> anaṭhika-machhe vedaveyake  
4 Gaṃgā-puṇṇaṭake saṃkuja-machhe kaphaṭa-seyake paṃna-sase simale saṃḍake  
okaṇḍake

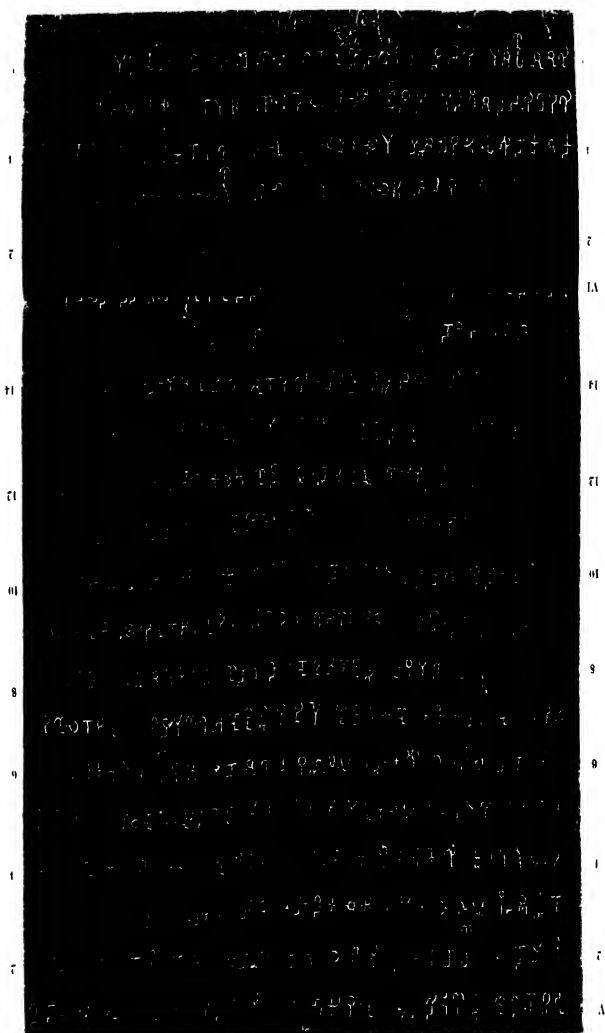
<sup>1</sup> *duḍi* Bühler; but see his *Ind. Pal.*, § 16, C, 41, and Lüders in *JRAS*, 1911. 1087

- 5 palasate seta-kapote gāma-kapote save chatupade ye paṭibhogam̐ no eti na cha khādiyati  
 6 (C) ajakā nāni edakā cha sūkālī cha gabhinī va pāyamīnā va avadhya potake cha kāni  
 7 āsarmāsike (D) vadhi-kukuṭe no kaṭaviye (E) tuse sajīve no jhāpayitaviye (F) dāve anaphāye va  
 8 vihisāye va no jhāpayitaviye (G) jīvena jīve no pusitaviye (H) tisu chāturmāsīsu tisiyam̐  
 9 putnamāsīyam̐ tīrni divasāni chāvudasaṃ paṃnaḷasaṃ<sup>1</sup> paṭipadam̐ dhuvāye cha anuposathaṃ machhe avadhye  
 10 no pi viketaviye (I) etāni yeva divasāni nāga-vanasi kevaṭa-bhogasi yāni aṃnāni pi  
 11 jīva-nikāyāni no haṃtaviyāni (J) aṭhami-pakhāye chāvudasaṃ paṃnaḷasaṃ<sup>2</sup> tisaṃ punāvāsune  
 12 tisu chāturmāsīsu sudivasāye gone no nilakhitaviye ajake eḷake<sup>3</sup> sūkale e vā pi aṃne  
 13 nilakhīyati no nilakhitaviye (K) tisaṃ punāvāsune chāturmāsīye chāturmāsī-pakhāye asvasa gonasa  
 14 lakhane no kaṭaviye (L) yāva-saḍḍuvisati-vasābbhisitena me etāye aṃtalikāye paṃnavīsati  
 15 baṃdhana-mokhāni kaṭāni

## SIXTH PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-NANDANGARH

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) दुवाळसवसाभिसितेन मे धंमलिपि लिखापित  
 लिखापित  
 2 लोक्कस हितसुखाये से तं अपहट तं तं धंमवडि पापोव (C) हेवं लोक्कस  
 3 हितसुखे ति पटिवेस्सामि कखा इयं नात्तिमु हेवं पयासनेसु हेवं अपफठेसु  
 4 किंमं कानि सुखं आवहामी ति तथा च विदहामि (D) हेमेव सवनिक्खयेसु पटिवेस्सामि  
 5 (E) सवपासंदा पि मे पूजित विविधाय पूजाय (F) ए च इयं कतन पचूपगमने  
 6 से मे मोक्षिमुते (G) सदुवीसतितवसाभिसितेन मे इयं धंमलिपि लिखापित  
 1 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṃ āha (B) duvāḷa[s-a-va]sābbhisitena<sup>4</sup> me dhamma-lipi likhāpita  
 2 lokasa hita-sukhāye se tam apahaṭa tam taṃ dhamma-vadhi pāpova (C) hevaṃ lokasa  
 3 hita-sukhe ti paṭivekhami athā iyaṃ nātisu hevaṃ patyāsarnnesu hevaṃ apakaṭhesu  
 4 kiṃmaṃ kāni sukhaṃ āvahāmi ti tathā cha vidahāmi (D) hemeva sava-nikāyesu paṭivekhami  
 5 (E) sava-pāsaṃdā pi me pūjita vividhāya pūjāya (F) e chu iyaṃ atana pachūpa-gamane  
 6 se me mokhya-mute (G) saḍḍuvisati-va[s]ābbhisitena me iyaṃ dhamma-lipi likhāpita

<sup>1</sup> paṃnaḷasaṃ Bühler.<sup>2</sup> paṃnaḷasaṃ Bühler.<sup>3</sup> eḷake Bühler.<sup>4</sup> duvāḷasa- Bühler.







## V. THE RAMPURVA PILLAR

## FIRST PILLAR-EDICT: RAMPURVA

## A.—North Face of Pillar.

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेव आह (B) सद्बुवीसतिवसाभिसितेन मे इयं  
धंमलिपि लिखापित (C) हिदतपालते
- 2 दुसंपटिपादये अंनत अगाय धंमकामताय अगाय पलीसाय अगाय सुसुसाय  
अगेन भयेन अगेन उसाहेन
- 3 (D) एस चु खो मम अनुसथिय धंमापेख धंमकामता च सुवे सुवे वडित वडिसति  
चेव (E) पुलिसा पि मे उक्ता च
- 4 गेवया च मग्गिमा च अनुविधीयंति संपटिपादयंति च अलं चपलं समादपयितवे  
(F) हेमेव अंतमहामाता पि (G) एसा हि विधि
- 5 या इयं धंमेन पालन धंमेन विधाने धंमेन सुखीयन धंमेन गोती ति
- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiye Pijyadasī lāja heva<sup>1</sup> āha (B) saḍḍuvīsati-vasābhīsitaṃ me  
iyaṃ dhamma-lipi likhāpita (C) hidata-pālate
- 2 dusampaṭipādaye amnata agāya dhamma-kāmatāya agāya palikhāya agāya susūsāya  
agena bhayena agena usāhena
- 3 (D) esa chu kho mama anusathiya dhammāpekha dhamma-kāmatā cha suve suve  
vadhita vadhisaṭi cheva (E) pulisā pi me ukasā cha
- 4 geveyā cha majhimā cha anuvīdhīyaṃti saṃpaṭipādayaṃti cha alaṃ chapalaṃ  
samādapayitave (F) hemeva amta-mahāmātā pi (G) esā hi vidhi
- 5 yā iyaṃ dhammena pālana dhammena vidhāne dha[m]m[e]ṇa sukhīyana dhammena  
goti ti

## SECOND PILLAR-EDICT: RAMPURVA

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) धंमे साधु कियं चु धंमे ति (C)  
अपासिनवे बहु कयाने दय दाने सचे सोचेये ति (D) चसुदाने पि मे
- 2 बहुविधे दिंने (E) दुपदचतुपदेसु पण्णित्तिल्लेसु विविधे मे अनुगहे कटे आ  
पानदस्सिनाये (F) अन्नानि पि च मे बहूनि कयानानि कटानि
- 3 (G) एताये मे अठाये इयं धंमलिपि लिखापित हेवं अनुपटिपजंतु चिलंधितीका  
च होतू ति (H) ये च हेवं संपटिपजिसति से सुकटं ककती ति
- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasī lāja hevaṃ āha (B) dhamme sādhū kiyaṃ chu  
dhamme ti (C) apasinaṃve bahu kayāṇe daya dāṇe sache socheye ti (D) chakhu-  
dāṇe pi me

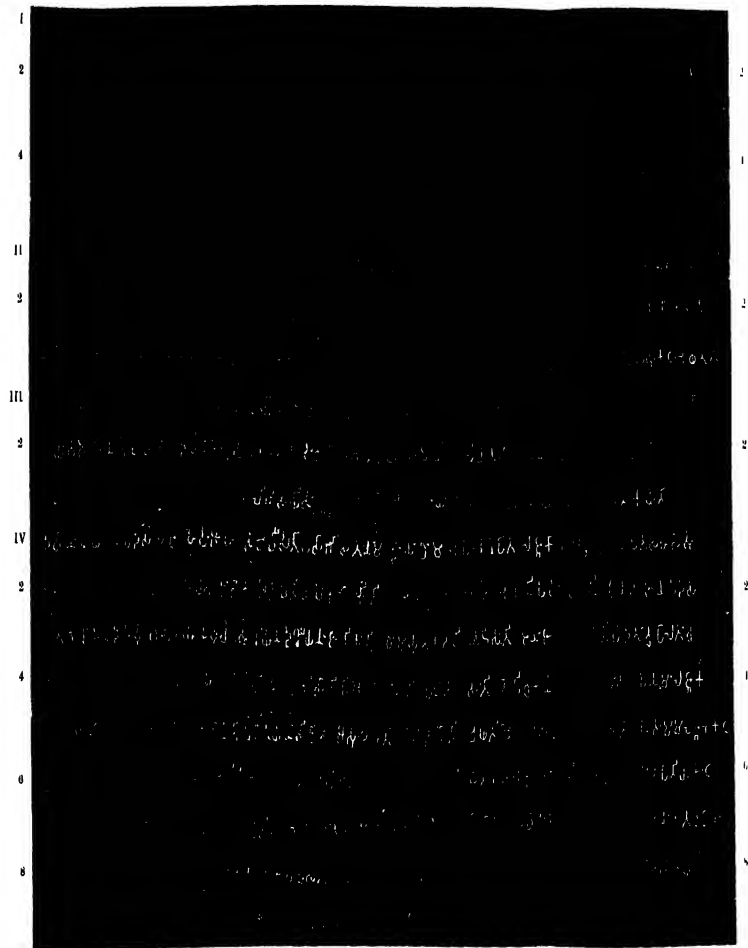
- 2 bahuvidhe dīṃne (E) dupada-chatupadesu pakhi-vālichalesu vividhe me anugahe kaṭe a pāna-dakhiṇāye (F) aṃnāni pi cha me bahūni kayānāni kaṭāni  
 3 (G) etāye me aṣṭāye iyaṃ dharma-lipi likhāpita hevaṃ anupaṭipajamtu chilara-  
 thitikā cha hoti ti (H) ye cha hevaṃ saṃpaṭipajisati se sukaṭaṃ kachhatī ti

## THIRD PILLAR-EDICT: RAMPURVA

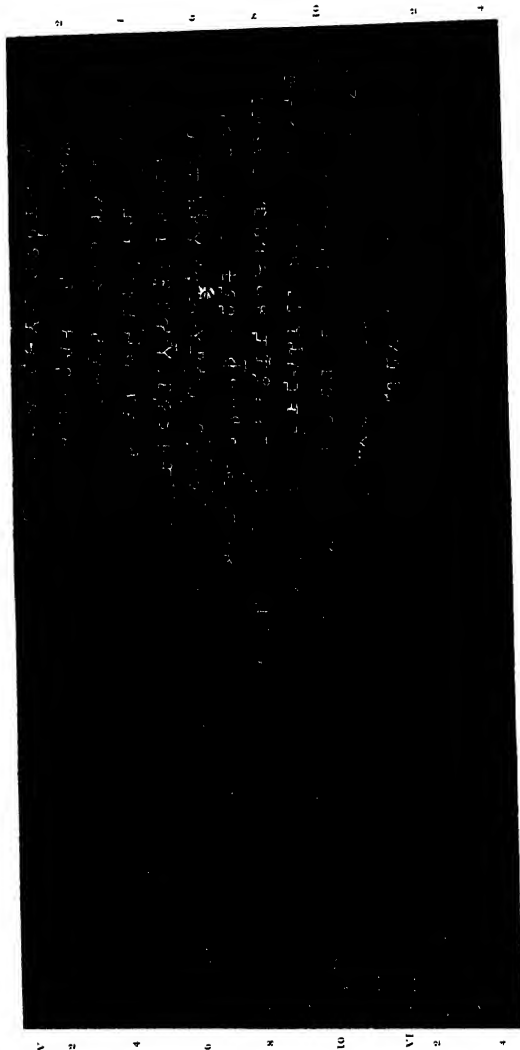
- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) कयानंमेव देखंति इयं मे कयाने  
 कटे ति (C) नो मिन पापं देखंति इयं मे पापे कटे ति  
 2 इयं व आसिनवे नामा ति (D) दुपटिवेसे चु खो एस (E) हेवं चु खो एस देखिये  
 (F) इमानि आसिनवगामीनि नामा ति अष चंडिये निठूलिये  
 3 कोपे माने इस्य कालनेन व हकं मा पलिभसयिसं (G) एस बाढं देखिये (H) इयं  
 मे हितिकाये इयंमन मे पालतिकाये ति  
 1 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṃ āha (B) kayānaṃmeva dekhamti iyaṃ me  
 kayāne kaṭe ti (C) no mina pāpaṃ dekhamti iyaṃ me pāpe kaṭe ti  
 2 iyaṃ va āsinave nāmā ti (D) dupaṭivekhe chu kho esa (E) hevaṃ chu kho esa  
 dekhiye (F) imāni āsinava-gāmīni nāmā ti atha chaṇḍiye niṭhūliye  
 3 kodhe māne isya kālanena va hakaṃ mā palibhasayisaṃ (G) esa bādhaṃ dekhiye  
 (H) iyaṃ me hidatikāye iyaṃmana me pālatikāye ti

## FOURTH PILLAR-EDICT: RAMPURVA

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) सहुवीसतिवसाभिसितेन मे इयं  
 धंमलपि लिखापित (C) लजूका मे बहूसु पानसतसइसेसु  
 2 जनसि आयात (D) तेसं ये अभिहले व दहे व अतपतिये मे कटे किंति लजूक  
 अस्वष अभीत कंमानि पवतयेवू ति जनस जानपदस  
 3 हितसुखं उपदहेवु अनुगहिनेवु च (E) सुखीयनदुखीयनं जानिसंति धंमयुतेन च  
 वियोवदिसंति जनं जानपदं किंति हितं च पालतं च  
 4 आलापयेवू ति (F) लजूका पि लपंति पटिचलितवे मं (G) पुत्तिसानि पि मे  
 छंदनानि पटिचलिसंति (H) ते पि च कानि वियोवदिसंति येन मं लजूक  
 5 चरंति आलापयितवे (I) अषा हि पजं विवताये धातिये निसिजितु अस्वषे  
 होति विवत धाति चरति मे पजं सुखं पलिहटवे ति हेवं मम लजूक कट  
 6 जानपदस हितसुखाये (J) येन एते अभीत अस्वषा संतं अबिमन कंमानि पवतयेवू  
 ति एतेन मे लजूकानं अभिहाले व दहे व अतपतिये कटे  
 7 (K) इच्छितविये हि एस किंति वियोवालसमता च सिय दंसमता च  
 (L) आवा इते पि च मे आवुति वंधनवधानं मुनिसामं तीलितदंडानं  
 पतवधानं







Scale One-sixth

- 8 तिनि दिवसानि मे योते दिने (M) नातिका व कानि निरुपयिसिंति जीविताये  
तानं नासंतं व निरुपयितये दामं दाहंति पालतिकं उपवासं व कञ्चति  
9 (N) इहा हि मे हेवं निलुधसि पि कालसि पालतं आलाधयेवू ति (O) जनस  
च वदति विविधे धमचलने सयमे दानसविभागे ति

- 1 (A) Devānampiye Piyadasi lāja hevam āha (B) saduvisati-vasābhisitena me  
iyam dhamma-lipi likhāpita (C) lajūka me bahūsu pāna-sata-sahasasu  
2 janasi āyata (D) tesam ye abhihale<sup>1</sup> va damde va ata-patiye me kate kinti lajūka  
asvatha abhita kamināni pavatayevū ti janasa jānapadasa  
3 hita-sukham upadahevu anugahincvu cha (E) sukhiyana-dukhiyanam jānisamti  
dhamma-yutena cha viyovadisamti janam jānapadam kinti hidatam cha  
pālataṃ cha  
4 alādhayevū ti (F) lajūka pi laghamti patichalitave mam (G) pulisāni pi me  
chhamdam<sup>2</sup> āni pañchalisaṃti (H) te pi cha kāni viyovadisamti yena mam  
lajūka  
5 chaghamti alādhayitave (I) athā hi pajam viyatāye dhātiye nisijtu asvathe hoti  
viyata dhātu chaghati me pajam sukham palihāṭave ti hevaṃ mama lajūka  
kata  
6 jānapadasa hita-sukhāye (J) yena ete abhita asvathā samtam avimāna kamināni  
pavatayevū ti etena me lajūkānam abhihale va damde va ata-patiye kate  
7 (K) ichhitaviye hi esa k[im]ti<sup>4</sup> viyohāla-samata<sup>4</sup> cha siya damda-samata cha (L) āvā  
ite pi cha me āvuti baddhana-baddhānam munisaṃnam ulita-damdanam  
pata-vadhānam  
8 timni divasāni me [y]ote dimne (M) nātuka va kāni nihapayisamti jivitāye tanam  
nasamtaṃ va nihapayitave dānam dāhamti pālataṃ upavāsam va karahamti  
9 (N) ichhā hi me hevaṃ niludhasi pi kālasi palatam alādhayevu ti (O) janasa cha  
valhati vividhe dhamma-chalane sayame dāna-savibhāge ti

## FIFTH PILLAR-EDICT. RAMPURVA

B.—South Face of Pillar.

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) सदुवीसतिवसाभिसितेन मे इमानि  
पि ज्ञातानि अविधानि कदानि सेयथ  
2 सुके सालिक अलुने चकुवाके हंसे नंदीमुखे गेलाटे जतूक अंवाकपिलिक दुळि  
अनठिकमळे वेदवेयके  
3 गंगापुपुटके संजुजमळे कफटसेयके पंनससे सिमले संडके ओकपिडे पलसते  
सेतकपोते  
4 गामकपोते सवे चतुपदे ये पटिभोगं नो एति न च खादियति (C) अजका नानि  
एकका च सूकली च गभिनी व

<sup>1</sup> Read *abhihāl*.<sup>2</sup> *ka* Buhler

- 8 तिंनि दिवसानि मे योते दिने (M) नातिका व कानि निरुपयिसंति जीविताये  
तानं नासंतं व निरुपयितवे दानं दाहंति पालतिकं उपवासं व कच्छंति  
9 (N) इहा हि मे हेवं निलुपसि पि कालसि पालतं आलापयेवू ति (O) जनस  
च वदति विविधे धम्मचलने सयमे दानसविभागे ति

- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyaḍasi lāja hevaṃ āha (B) saḍḍuvisati-vasābhissitena me  
iyam dhamma-lipi lakkhāpita (C) lajūkā me bahūsu pana-sata-saha-sesu  
2 janasi āyata (D) tesam ye abhihale<sup>1</sup> va damile va ata-patiye me kate kimti lajūka  
asvatha abhita kammāni pavatayevū ti janasa jānapadasa  
3 hita-sukham upadahevu anugahinevu cha (E) sukhiyana-dukkhiyanam janisamti  
dhamma-yutena cha viyovadisamti janam janapadam kimti hūdatam cha  
pālatam cha  
4 ālādhayevū ti (F) lajūkā pi laghamti paṭṭichalitave mam (G) pulisāni pi me  
chhamdamnāni paṭṭichalisamti (H) te pi cha kāni viyovadisamti yena man  
lajūka  
5 chaghamti ālādhayitave (I) athā hi pajam viyatāye dhātiye nisijitu asvathe hoti  
viyata dhātu chaghatu me pajam sukham palihatave ti hevaṃ mama lajūka  
kata  
6 jānapadasa hita-sukhāye (J) yena ete abhita asvathā samtam avimāna kammāni  
pavatayevū ti etena me lajūkānam abhihale va damile va ata-patiye kate  
7 (K) ichhitaviye hi esa ki[m]ti<sup>2</sup> viyohāla-samata cha siya damda-samata cha (L) ava  
ite pi cha me āvuti bhamdhana-badhānam munisānam ulita-damdanam  
pata-vadhānam  
8 tinnī divasani me [y]ote diṃne (M) natikā va kāni nijhapayisamti jivitāye tanam  
nāsantam va nijhapayitave dānam dāhamti pālatikam upavasam va kachhamti  
9 (N) ichhā hi me hevaṃ niludhasi pi kalasi pālatam ālādhayevū ti (O) janasa cha  
vadhatu vividhe dhamma-chalane sayame dāna-savibhāge ti

## FIFTH PILLAR-EDICT. RAMPURVA

B—South Face of Pillar.

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) सडुवीसतिवसाभिसितेन मे इमानि  
पि जातानि अक्खयानि कटानि सेयथ  
2 सुके सालिक अल्लुने चक्काके हंसे नंदीमुखे गेल्लाटे जतूक अंवाकपिलिक दुळि  
अनटिकमळे वेदवेयके  
3 गंगापुपुटके संकुजमळे कफटसेयके पंससे सिमले संडके ओकपिडे पलसते  
सेतकपोते  
4 गामकपोते सवे चतुपदे ये पटिभोगं नो एति न च खादियति (C) अजका नानि  
एकका च सूकली च गर्भिनी व

<sup>1</sup> Read *abhihālā*.<sup>2</sup> *kiti* Buhler

- 5 पायमीना व अवध्य पोतके च कानि आसंमासिके (D) वधिकुकुटे नो कटविये  
(E) तुसे सजीवे नो ज्ञापयितविये
- 6 (F) दावे अनठाये व विहिंसाये व नो ज्ञापयितविये (G) जीवेन जीवे नो  
पुसितविये (H) तीसु चातुंमासीसु तिस्रं पुंनमासियं
- 7 तिंनि दिवसानि चाबुदसं पंनइसं पटिपदं धुवाये च अनुपोसथं मके अवध्ये नो  
पि विकेतविये (I) एतानि येव
- 8 दिवसानि नागवनसि केवटभोगसि यानि ज्ञानानि पि जीवनिक्कायानि नो  
हंतवियानि (J) अरुमिपसाये चाबुदसाये
- 9 पंनइसाये तिसाये पुनावसुने तीसु चातुंमासीसु सुदिवसाये गोने नो निलक्षितविये  
अजके एकके सुकाले
- 10 ए वा पि ज्ञंने नीलखियति नो नीलक्षितविये (K) तिसाये पुनावसुने चातुंमासिये  
चातुंमासिपसाये अस्वस गोनस
- 11 लखने नो कटविये (L) यावसहुवीसतिवसाभिसित्तेन मे एताये अंतलिक्काये  
पंनवीसति बंधनमोक्षानि कटानि

- 1 (A) Devānāthpiya Piyadasī lāja hevaṃ āha (B) saḍḍuvisati-[va]sābhisitena me  
imani pi jātāni avadhyāni kaṭāni seyatha
- 2 suke sālīka alune chakavāke haṃse namdimukhe geḷāṭe jatūka ambā-kapilīka duli  
anathika-machhe vcdaveyake
- 3 Gaṃgā-puṇṇaṭake samkuja-machhe kaphaṭa-seyake paṃna-sase simale samdake  
okapimile palasate seta-kapote
- 4 gama-kapote sava chatupade ye paṭibhogam no eti na cha khāḍiyati (C) ajakā nāni  
elakā cha sūkālī cha gabhinī va
- 5 pāyaminā va avadhya potake cha kāni āsammāsike (D) vadhi-kukūṭe no kaṭaviye  
(E) tuṣe sajiṇe no jhāpayitaviye
- 6 (F) dāve anathāye va vihiṣāye va no jhāpayitaviye (G) jīvena jīve no pusitaviye  
(H) tīsu chātummāsīsīsu tisyam pumnamāsīyam
- 7 timni divasāni chāvudasam paṃnadasam paṭipadam dhuvāye cha anuposatham  
machhe avadhye no pi viketaviye (I) etāni yeva
- 8 divasāni nāga-vanasi kevaṭa-bhogasi yāni amnāni pi jīva-nikāyāni no haṃtavīyāni  
(J) athami-pakhaye chāvudasaṃ
- 9 paṃnadasāye tisāye puṇāvasune tīsu chātummāsīsīsu sudivasāye gone no  
nilakhitaviye ajake clake sūkale
- 10 e vā pi amne nilakhīyati no nilakhitaviye (K) tisāye puṇāvasune chātummāsīye  
chātummāsī-pakhāye asvasa gonasa
- 11 lakhane no kaṭaviye (L) yāva-saḍḍuvisati-vasābhisitena me etāye amṭalikāye  
paṃnavasati bāmdhana-mokhāni kaṭāni



## SIXTH PILLAR-EDICT RAMPURVA

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) दुवादसवसाभिस्सितेन मे धंमलिपि लिखापित लोकस हितमुत्ताये से तं अपहट
- 2 तं तं धंमवडि पापोव (C) हेवं लोकस हितमुखे ति पटिवेस्सामि अथ इयं नात्तिमु हेवं पत्थासंनेसु हेवं अपकठेसु किंमं वानि
- 3 सुखं आवहामी ति तथा च विदहामी (D) हेमेव सबनिकायेसु पटिवेस्सामि (E) सवपासंदा पि मे पूजित विविधाय पूजाय (F) ए च उयं
- 4 अतन पचूपगमने से मे मोख्यमुते (G) सदुवीसतिवसाभिस्सितेन मे इयं धंमलिपि लिखापित

- 1 (A) *Devānaṃpiye Piyadasī lāja* hevaṃ āha (B) *duvādasa-vasābhisitena me dhamma-lipi likhāpita lokasa hita-sukhāye se tam apahata*
- 2 *tam tam dhamma-vadhi pāpova* (C) *hevaṃ lok[ā]sa hita-sukhe ti paṭivekhami atha*
- 3 *iyam nāttisu hevaṃ patyāsamnesu hevaṃ apakathesu kimmam vāni*
- 4 *sukham āvahāmi ti tatha cha vidahāmi* (D) *hemeva sava-n[ī]kāyesu paṭivekhami* (E) *sava-pāsamlā pi me pūjita vividhāya pūjāya* (F) *e chu iyaṃ*
- 4 *atana pachūpagamane se me mokhya-mute* (G) *saduvīsati[ī]-vasābhisitena me iyaṃ dhamma-lipi likhāpita*

## VI. THE ALLAHABAD-KOSAM PILLAR

## A. THE SIX FIRST PILLAR-EDICTS

## FIRST PILLAR-EDICT ALLAHABAD-KOSAM

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसी लाजा हेवं आहा (B) सदुवीसतिवसाभिस्सितेन मे इयं धंमलिपि लिखापिता (C) हिदत्तालते दुसंपटिपादये
- 2 अतत अगाय धंमकामताय अगाय पलीखाय अगाय सुसूसाया अगेन भयेन अगेन उसाहेन (D) एस च खो मम अनुसथिया
- 3 धंमापेस्सा धंमकामता च सुवे सुवे वडिता वडिसति चेवा (E) पुल्लिसा पि मे उक्सा च गेवया च मझिमा च अनुविधीयंति संपटिपादयंति च
- 4 अलं चपलं समादपयितवे (F) हेमेव अंतमहामाता पि (G) एसा हि विधि या इयं धंमेन पालना धंमेन विधाने धंमेन सुखीयना धंमेन गुति ति च

- 1 (A) *Devānaṃpiye Piyadasī lāja* hevaṃ āha (B) *saduvīsati-vasābhisitena me iyaṃ dhamma-lipi likhāpitā* (C) *hidata-pālate dusaṃpati[ā]da[y]e*
- 2 *amhata agāya dhamma-kāmataya agāya palikhāya agaya sususāya agena bhayena*
- 4 *a[g]jena usāhena* (D) *esa chu kho mama anusathi[y]ā*

- 3 dhammāpekḥā dhamma-kāmatā cha suve suve vaḍḍhitā vaḍḍhisati ch[e]vā (E) pulisā  
pi me ukasā cha gevayā cha majhimā cha anuvīdhiyamti sampaṭipādayamti cha  
4 alam chapalam samādapayitave (F) heṇimeva<sup>1</sup> aṇṭa-mahāmātā pi (G) esā hi vidhi  
yā [i]yam dhammena pālanā dhammena vidhāne dhammena sukhīyanā  
dhammena [gut]i [ti<sup>a</sup> cha]<sup>a</sup>

## SECOND PILLAR-EDICT ALLAHABAD-KOSAM

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसी लाजा हेवं आहा (B) धंमे साधु कियं चु धंमे ति (C)  
अपासिनवे बहु कयाने दया दाने सचे सोचये (D) चक्षुदाने पि मे  
2 बहुविधे दिने (E) दुपदचतुपदेसु पखिवालचलेसु विविधे मे अनुगहे कटे आ  
पानदखिनाये (F) अन्नानि पि च मे बहूनि कयानानि कटानि  
3 (G) एताये मे अताये इयं धम्मलिपि लिखापिता हेवं अनुपटिपजंतु चिलदितिका  
च होतू ति (H) ये च हेवं संपटिपजिसति से सुकटं कच्छती ति

- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiyo Piyadasī lājā hevaṃ āhā (B) dhamme sādhu kiyam chu  
dhamme ti (C) apāsīnave bahu kayāne dayā dāne sache sochaye (D) chakhu-dāne  
pi me  
2 bahuvīdhe diṇhe (E) dupada-chatupadesu<sup>a</sup> pakhi-vālichalesu vivīdhe me anugāhe  
kaṭe ā pāna-dakḥināye (F) annāni pi cha me bahūni<sup>a</sup> kayānāni kaṭāni  
3 (G) etāye me athāye iyaṃ dhamma-lipi likhāpitā hevaṃ anupāṭipajamtu chila-  
thitikā cha hotū ti (H) ye cha hevaṃ sampaṭipajisati se sukaṭam kachchati ti

## THIRD PILLAR-EDICT ALLAHABAD-KOSAM

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसी लाजा हेवं आहा (B) कयानमेव देखति इयं मे कयाने  
कटे ति (C) नो मिन पापकं देखति इयं मे पापके कटे ति इयं वा आसिनवे  
नामा ति

- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiyo Piyadasī lājā hevaṃ āhā (B) kayānameva dekhati iyaṃ me  
kayāne kate ti (C) no mina pāpakam dekhati iyaṃ me pāpake kaṭe ti iyaṃ va  
āsīnave nāmā ti

<sup>1</sup> *heṇimeva* Bühler

<sup>2</sup> As remarked by Fleet (IA, 13 310, note), the vowel *i* is attached before, not after the *t*.  
*chu* Bühler

<sup>4</sup> The apparent Anusvāra after *da* of *dupada-* is probably accidental.

<sup>5</sup> *bahūni* Bühler.





## FOURTH PILLAR-EDICT ALLAHABAD-KOSAM

- 1 ..... कानं अभिहाले वा दंडे वा अतपतिये कटे (K) इच्छित्तविये हि  
 एस किंति  
 2 ..... लसमता च सिया दंडसमता च (L) आव इते पि च मे आवुति  
 बंधनवधानं मुनिसानं तीलीतदंडानं पतवधानं तिनि दिवसानि योते दिंने  
 3 (M) ..... का व कानि निरूपयिसंति जीविताये तानं नासंतं वा निरूपयिता  
 दानं दाहंति पालतिकं उपवासं वा कंहेति  
 4 (N) ..... हि मे हेवं निलुधसि पि कालसि पालतं आलाधयेवु (O) जनस च  
 वढति विविधे धमचलने सयमे दानसविभागे

- 1 ... . [kānaṃ abhihāle vā dāṇḍe vā ata-pa-] [i]y[e kaṭe] (K) [i]cch[i]t[i] [a]v[i]y[ ]  
 h[i] e]s[a] k[i]m[i]t[i]<sup>1</sup>  
 2 la-sama[ṭṭa cha<sup>2</sup> siya dā[m]kha-samatā cha (L) āva ite pi cha me avuti  
 bandhana-baddhānam munisānam tilīta-dandānam pata-vadhānam tinnī divasāni  
 yote dinnē  
 3 (M) ... . [k]a vā kāni nirūpayisanti jīvītāye tānaṃ nasantam vā nirūpayitā dānaṃ  
 dāhaṃti palatikaṃ upavāsam vā [ka]chha[m]ti  
 4 (N) . [h]i me hevaṃ niludhasi pi kālasī palatam ālādhayev[u] (O) janasa cha  
 vadhati vividhe dhamma-chalane sayame dana savibhāge

## FIFTH PILLAR-EDICT. ALLAHABAD-KOSAM

- 1 (A) ..... पिये पियदसी लाजा हेवं आहा (B) सडुवीसतिवसाभिसितेन मे  
 इमानि जातानि अवधियानि कटानि सेयष सुके सालिका अलुने चक्काके  
 2 ..... नंदीमुखे गेलाटे जतूका अवाकिपिलिका दुडी अनठिकमछे वेदवेयके  
 गंगापुपुठके संकुजमछे कफट ..... के पनससे सिमले संड ..  
 3 ..... तक्कोते गामकपोते सवे चतुपदे ये पटिभोगं नो .....  
 ना ..... पायसी ..  
 4 ..... सजीवे नो भ्राप .....  
 5 ..... नि चाबुदसं पंचद .....  
 6 ..... नि .....  
 7 .....  
 8 लखने नो कटविये (L) या .....

<sup>1</sup> Buhler omitted this line.<sup>2</sup> cha Buhler

a, a Buhler

- 1 (A) . . . . . [p]iye Piyadaśi lāḥa hevaṃ āhā (B) saḍḍuvisati-vaśābhāsitaṃ me  
imāni jātāni avadhiyāni kaṭāni seyyatha suke sālīkā alune chaka[v]āke  
2 . . . . . [namdi]m[u]khe gelāṭe jatūk[ā]<sup>1</sup> ambā-kipilīkā dudi<sup>2</sup> anathika-machhe<sup>3</sup>  
vedaveyake Gamgā-p[u]p[u]take saṃkuja-machhe kaphaṭa . . . . . k[e] p[a]mna-  
sase simale saṃḍa . .  
3 . . . . . [ta]-kapote gāma-kapote sa[v]e chatu[pa]de ye paṭ[i]bhogam [no]  
. . . . . nā . . . . . [p]ā[ya]mī . .  
4 . . . . . sajive no jhā[pa] . . . . .  
5 . . . . . [n]i chā[v]u[da]sam [pa]mcha[da] . . . . .  
6 . . . . . [n]i . . . . .  
7 . . . . .  
8 [lakha]n[e no kataviye] (L) [y]ā . . . . .

## SIXTH PILLAR-EDICT. ALLAHABAD-KOSAM

- 1 (A) . . . . . पिये पियदसी ला . . . . . तं . . . . . दि पा . . . .  
(C) हेवं लोकस  
2 हितसुखे ति पटिवेखामि अथ इयं . . . . . वं पत्थासंनेसु हेवं अपकठेसु  
किमं कानि . . . . . विदहामि (D) हेवंमेव सव . . . . . कायेसु  
पटिवेखामि  
3 (E) सवपासंदा पि मे पूजिता विविधाय पूजाया (F) ए च इयं अतना पचुपगमने  
से मे मुख्यमुते (G) . . . . . लिपी लिखापिता ति

- 1 (A) . . . . . [p]iye [P]iyada[s]i l[ā] . . . . . t[am] . . . . . [dh]i [pā] . .  
(C) heva[m] lokasa  
2 hita-sukhe ti paṭivekhāmi atha [iya]m . . . . . [va]m [paty]āsa[m]ne[su] heva[m]  
apaka[th]e[su] kimam [k]ā[ni] . . . . . [v]i[dah]āmi (D) hevaṃmeva [sa]va  
. . . . . [k]āyesu paṭivekhāmi  
3 (E) [sa]va-pāsaṃdā pi me pūjitā vividhāya [pū]jāyā (F) e chu iy[a]m atana  
pachupagamane se me mukhya-mute (G) . . . . . lipi<sup>4</sup> likhāpitā ti

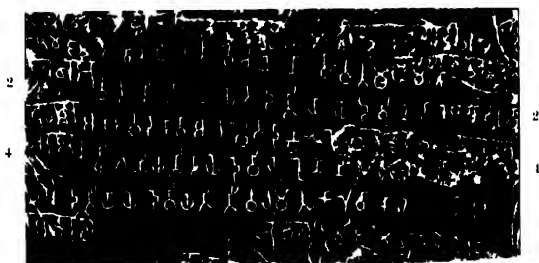
## B. QUEEN'S PILLAR-EDICT. ALLAHABAD-KOSAM

- 1 (A) देवानंपियया वचनेना सवत महमता  
2 वतविया (B) ए हेता दुत्तियाये देवीये दाने  
3 अंबावडिक्का वा जालमे व दानगहे व ए वा पि अने  
4 कीळि गनीयति ताये देविये ये नानि (C) हेवं . . . . . न . .  
5 दुत्तियाये देविये ति तीवलमाहु कालुवाकिये

<sup>1</sup> jatūke Bühler.<sup>2</sup> dadṛ Bühler.<sup>3</sup> anathika- Bühler.<sup>4</sup> lips Duhler.



QUEEN'S EDICT



KAUSAMBI EDICT





- 1 (A) **Devānāṃpiyaśā** v[a]chanenā savata mahamatā<sup>1</sup>
- 2 vataviyā (B) e hetā<sup>2</sup> dutiyāye deviye dāne
- 3 aṃbā-vaḍikā vā ālame va dāna-[ga]h[e] [va<sup>3</sup> e vā pi a]jñne
- 4 kichhi ganiyati tāye deviye she nāni (C) [he]vam . [na]...<sup>4</sup>
- 5 dutiyāye deviye ti **Tivala**-mātu **Kāluvākīye**

# TRANSLATION

(A) At the word of **Dōvānāṃpriya**, the *Mahāmātrās* everywhere have to be told (this).

(B) What gifts (have been made) here by the second queen, (viz.) either mango groves,<sup>5</sup> or gardens, or alms-houses, or whatever else, these<sup>6</sup> (shall) be registered<sup>7</sup> (in the name) of that queen

(C) This (is) [the request] of the second queen, the mother of **Tivala**,<sup>8</sup> the **Kāluvākī**.<sup>9</sup>

## C. KAUSAMBI PILLAR-EDICT: ALLAHABAD-KOSAM

- 1 (A) देवानंप्रिये आनपयति (B) कोसंबियं महामात
- 2 ..... समगे कटे (D) संघसि नो लहिये
- 3 ..... संघं भासति भिक्षु वा भिक्षुनि वा से पि चा
- 4 औदातानि दुसानि सनंधापयितु अनावससि आवासयिये

- 1 (A) [Devānaṃ\*]p[ri]ye ānapayati (B) **Kosambiyam**<sup>10</sup> mahām[ā]trā<sup>11</sup>
- 2 . . . . . [sa]ma[ṛ]ṣe ka[t]c (D) sa[m]gh[a]si no<sup>12</sup> l[ā]hiye<sup>13</sup>
- 3 . . . . . [saṃghaṃ bhā]khatī<sup>14</sup> bhikṣ[u] v[ā]<sup>15</sup> bhikṣ[ū]ni<sup>16</sup> vā [se pi] cha
- 4 [o\*]dāt[ā]ni<sup>17</sup> duśāni [sa]nāndhāpayitu a[nava]saśi<sup>18</sup> āv[ā]saiyi[t]<sup>19</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *mahāmātrā* Senart and Bühler.

<sup>2</sup> *hetā* Senart and Bühler.

<sup>3</sup> *vā* Bühler.

<sup>4</sup> Restore perhaps *ṛṇati* (= Skt *vijāpṇi*), see JRAS, 1911. 1113.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. above, p. 134, n. 13.

<sup>6</sup> For the pronoun *nāni* see above, p. 127, n. 10.

<sup>7</sup> With *ganiyati* cf. *ganana* or *gaṇanā* in the rock-edict III, E.

<sup>8</sup> Bühler (IA, 19. 124) noted that Tivara occurs (a thousand years after Aśoka) as the name of a king of Kūsala; see Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 293, and EI, 7. 103.

<sup>9</sup> As stated by Bühler (IA, 19. 123), this is probably the name of the queen's family, and it may be connected with the Vedic *gōtṛa* of the Kāśas.

<sup>10</sup> *ōḍya* Bühler and Boyer.

<sup>11</sup> *mahāmātrā* Bühler and Boyer

<sup>12</sup> *nā* Bühler and Boyer.

<sup>13</sup> *chi ye* Bühler.

<sup>14</sup> *bhikṣati* Bühler and Boyer

<sup>15</sup> *vā* Bühler.

<sup>16</sup> *bhikṣu* Bühler.

<sup>17</sup> [p]aḥā Boyer, Bühler and Boyer add *o* at the end of the line.

<sup>18</sup> The syllable *dā* is missing in my materials, but is visible on the plate in IA, 19. 127.

<sup>19</sup> *ana[p]sa* Bühler, *ānāvasasi* Boyer

<sup>20</sup> *avā* Boyer

## TRANSLATION

(A) [Dēvānām]priya commands (thus).

(B) 'The *Mahāmātras* at Kōsambī' . . . . .

(C) . . . . . is made united.<sup>2</sup>

(D) . . . . . should not be received<sup>3</sup> into the *Samgha*.

(E) And also that monk or nun [who] shall break up the *Samgha*,<sup>4</sup> should be caused to put on white robes<sup>5</sup> and to reside<sup>6</sup> in a non-residence.<sup>7</sup>

## THIRD PART: MINOR PILLAR-INSCRIPTIONS

## I. THE SAMCHI PILLAR

२ ' ' या भेत ' ' (C) ' ' चे ' ' ' ' मगे कटे

३ भिक्षुनं च भिक्षुनीनं चा ति पुतप-

४ पोतिके चंदमसूरियिके (D) ये संघं

५ भासति भिक्षु वा भिक्षुनि वा औदाता-

६ नि दुस्तानि सनंथापयितु अनावा-

७ ससि वासापेतविये (E) इद्धा हि मे किं-

८ ति संघे समगे चिलथितिके सिया ति

१ . . . . .

२ . [y]ā<sup>8</sup> bhe[ta] . . (C) . . [gh]e<sup>10</sup> . . . mage<sup>11</sup> kate

३ [bhi\*]khūna[hi] cha<sup>12</sup> bhi[khun]inam ch[a]<sup>13</sup> ti [p]uta-pa-

<sup>1</sup> This ancient city (*Kaṣāmbī* in Sanskrit) corresponds to the modern Kosam, see Fleet's *Gupta Insers*, p. 2, and EI, II, 141.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the Sāmchi pillar, C.

<sup>3</sup> *lahiye* may be derived from the root *labh*; cf. the gerundive *āvāsaiye* in l. 4 of this inscription, and in l. 5 of the Sāmāth pillar. Boyer (JA (10), 10. 121) connects *lahiye* with the root *rah*.

<sup>4</sup> Venus (JPASB, 3. 3) has identified *bhākhats* with Skt. *bhāṅks'ya*.

<sup>5</sup> Boyer (p. 130) quotes a passage from Buddhaghōṣa's *Samantapāsādikā*, in which Aśoka is stated to have given white robes (*setakāni vatthāni*) to the heretical monks whom he expelled; see *Vinaya-pitaka*, ed. by Oldenberg, vol. III, p. 312, with which Bigandet's *Life or Legend of Gaudama* (4th ed., 2. 139) agrees, and cf. *Dīpavamsa*, VII, 53, and *Mahāvamsa*, V, 270. The proper colour of the robes of a Buddhist monk is yellow.

<sup>6</sup> *āvāsaiye* is a gerundive formed from the causative *āvāsati*, and corresponds to Skt. *āvāśya*. Snart (CR, 1907. 28) appears to consider it an optative passive.

<sup>7</sup> i.e. a residence unfit for members of the *Samgha*. Venus (JPASB, 3. 3) quoted Buddhaghōṣa's explanation of the term *anāvāsa*; see SBE, 17. 388, n. 1.

<sup>8</sup> *y[am]* Buhler.

<sup>9</sup> *bhe[ta]* Boyer. Restore perhaps *bhetave*, as on the Sāmāth pillar, l. 3.

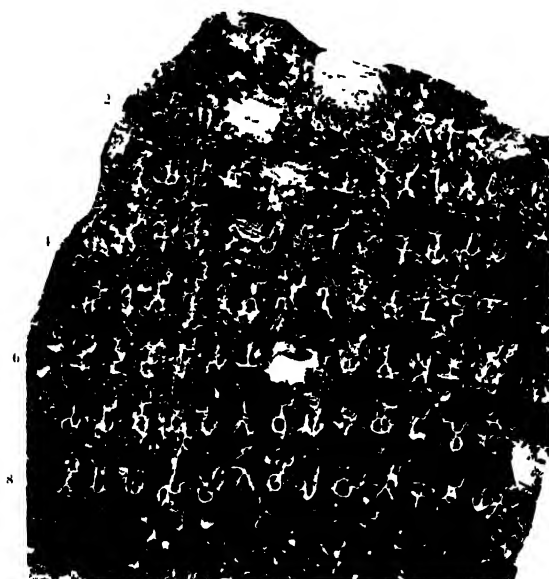
<sup>10</sup> The syllable *ghe* is almost certain, restore *sanghe*.

<sup>11</sup> Restore *sumage*, as in l. 8.

<sup>12</sup> [rā] Buhler.

<sup>13</sup> [rā] Buhler, *cha* Boyer

SAMICHI PILLAR-INSCRIPTION



SCALE ONE-THIRD



- 4 [po\*]tike chaṁ[da]m[a-sū]n[ī]ke<sup>1</sup> (D) ye saṁgham  
 5 bh[ā]khati<sup>2</sup> bhikhu<sup>3</sup> vā bhikhuni vā odatā-  
 6 ni du-ān[ī] sanam[dhāpay]itu anā[vā]-  
 7 sasi vā[sā]petaviy[e] (E) ichhā hi me kim-  
 8 tī saṁghe samage<sup>4</sup> chila-thitike siyā ti

## TRANSLATION

(A) . . . . .

(B) . . . . . [cannot] be divided.<sup>5</sup>

(C) The *Samgha* both of monks and of nuns is made united as long as (my) sons and great-grandsons (shall reign, and) as long as the moon and the sun (shall shine) "

(D) The monk or nun who shall break up the *Samgha*, must be caused to put on white robes an ' to reside in a non-residence "

(E) For my desire is that the *Samgha* may be united<sup>6</sup> (and) of long duration

## II. THE SARNATH PILLAR

1 (A) देवा . . . . .

2 ए ल . . . . .

3 घाट . . . . . ये केनपि संघे भेतवे (D) ए चूं खो

4 भिक्षू वा भिक्षुनि वा संघं भासति से ओदातानि दुसानि संनंदापयिष्या  
 आनावाससि

5 आवासयिष्ये (E) हेवं इयं सासने भिक्षुसंघसि च भिक्षुनिसंघसि च विन-  
 पयितविष्ये

6 (F) हेवं देवानपिष्ये आहा (G) हेदिसा च इका लिपी तुफाकंतिकं हुवाति  
 संसलनसि निखिता

7 इकं च लिपिं हेदिसमेव उपासकानंतिकं निखिपाय (H) ते पि च उपासका  
 अनुपोसथं यावु

8 एतमेव सासनं विस्वंसयितवे अनुपोसथं च धुवाये इकिके महामाते पोसथाये

<sup>1</sup> See JRAS, 1911 167 f

<sup>2</sup> *bhokhati* Buhki and Boyer

<sup>3</sup> *bhikhū* Boyer

<sup>4</sup> *saṁghasa mge* Buhler and Boyer, see JRAS, 1911. 168

<sup>5</sup> Cf the Sarnath pillar, C

<sup>6</sup> Cf *putā-papoti* *chandama-sulyike* *hotu ti* in the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, l 31 Other instances of the Prakrit affix *-ika* are *vadhamika* and *vejayika* in two Pallava inscriptions and in the Kondanudi plates. See EI, I 6, text l 9. 6. 87, text l 5 f, 6 317, text l 8 f

<sup>7</sup> With this section cf above, p. 160, n 4. 5. 7

<sup>8</sup> Cf *saṁaggo* is *saṁgho* . *phāsu vharati* in the *Paṭimokkha*, JRAS, 1876 75, § 10, *saṁgha saṁghassa sāmaggi sāmaggānañ tapo sukho* in the *Dhammapada*, vers. 194, *saṁgho saṁaggo hutvāna tadākaṁ uposatham* in the *Mahāvastu*, V, 274

- 9 याति एतमेव सासनं विस्वसयितवे आजानितवे च (I) आवते च तुफाकं  
आहाले
- 10 सबत विवासयाच तुफे एतेन विर्यजनेन (J) हेमेव सवेसु कोटविषवेसु एतेन
- 11 विर्यजनेन विवासापयाचा
- 1 (A) Devā<sup>1</sup> . . . . .
- 2 c l . . . . .
- 3 Pāṭa<sup>2</sup> . . . . . ye<sup>3</sup> kenapi saṃghe bhetave (D) e chum kho
- 4 [bhikh]ū [vā bhikh]uni vā saṃghaṃ bh[ākha]t[i]<sup>4</sup> s[c] odātāni dus[ān]i  
[sa]mnamdhāpayiā ānāvāsasi<sup>5</sup>
- 5 āvāsaiye (E) hevaṃ iyaṃ sāsane bhikhu-saṃghasi cha bhikhuni-saṃghasi cha  
vimnapayitaviye
- 6 (F) hevaṃ Devānāmpīye āhā (G) hedisā cha ikā lipi tuphākamtikam huvāti  
samsalanasi nikhitā
- 7 ikam cha lipim hedisameva upāsakānamtikam nikipāṭha (H) te pi cha upāsakā  
anuposatham yāvu
- 8 ctameva sāsanaṃ visvaṃsayitave anuposatham cha dhuvāye ikike mahāmat  
posathāye
- 9 yātu ctameva sāsanaṃ visvaṃsayitave ājānitave cha (I) dvate cha tuphākam  
āhāle
- 10 savata vivāsayaṭha tuphe ctana viyaṃjanena (J) hemeva savesu kota-viśhavesu<sup>6</sup>  
ctena
- 11 viyaṃjanena vivāsapaṇyāthā

## TRANSLATION

(A) Devā[nāmpriya] . . . . .

(B) . . . . . Pāṭa[liputra]<sup>7</sup> . . . . .

(C) . . . . the *Samgha* [cannot] be divided by any one.<sup>8</sup>

(D) But indeed that monk or nun who shall break up the *Samgha*, should be caused to put on<sup>9</sup> white robes and to reside<sup>10</sup> in a non-residence.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>1</sup> These are the two first syllables of the title *Devānāmpriya*.

<sup>2</sup> These are probably the two first syllables of the name *Pātaliputra*.

<sup>3</sup> Boyer ingeniously restores *na sakiye*.

<sup>4</sup> The correct reading of this word is due to Venis. Vogel and Senart read *bhikkhatī*, and Boyer *bhokhatī*.

<sup>5</sup> The Sāmchī and Kauśāmbī edicts read *ānāvāsasi*.

<sup>6</sup> Venis justly remarked that the second syllable of this word differs from *sa*, and is probably meant for *cha*.

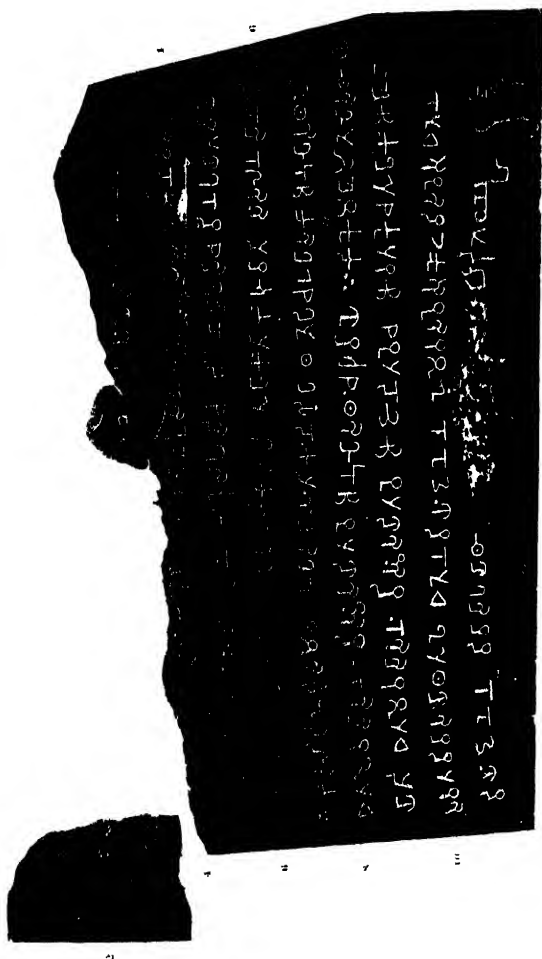
<sup>7</sup> This is the ancient name of the city of Patnā, the capital of Chandragupta and Aśoka. It is mentioned also in the Guṇār edict V, M. The Sāmchī edict was probably addressed by the king to the *Mahāmātras* at Pātaliputra, as the Kauśāmbī edict to the *Mahāmātras* at Kauśāmbī.

<sup>8</sup> With *saṃghe bhetave* cf. *saṃghaṃ bhundati*, 'to cause divisions among the priesthood', in Childers' *Pāli Dictionary*, s. v. *bhundati*; *saṃghaṃ bhunditvā* in the *Jātaka*, vol. IV, p. 200, l. 6. *saṃgaṃsa saṃghavaṃ bhuddiya* in the *Pāṭiṇokkha*, JRAS, 1876, 75, § 10; *Buddha-vachanaṃ bhundimu* in the *Dīpaṃsa*, VII, 54.

<sup>9</sup> [va]mnamdhāpayiā, instead of which the Sāmchī and Kauśāmbī edicts read *samamdhāpayitu*, corresponds to Skt. *samudāya*, cf. Senart, CR, 1907, 28.

<sup>10</sup> For *āvāsaiye* see above, p. 160, n. 6.

<sup>11</sup> See above, p. 160, n. 7.







(E) Thus this edict must be submitted both to the *Saṅgha* of monks and to the *Saṅgha* of nuns.

(F) Thus speaks **Dēvaṇāmpriya** :

(G) Let one copy of this (edict)<sup>1</sup> remain<sup>2</sup> with you<sup>3</sup> deposited<sup>4</sup> in (your) office,<sup>5</sup> and<sup>6</sup> deposit ye another copy of this very (edict) with the lay-worshippers.

(H) These lay-worshippers may come on every fast-day (*posatha*)<sup>7</sup> in order to be inspired with confidence in this very edict,<sup>8</sup> and invariably on every fast-day,<sup>9</sup> every *Mahāmātra* (will) come to the fast-day (service) in order to be inspired with confidence in this very edict and to understand (it)<sup>10</sup>

(I) And as far as your district<sup>11</sup> (extends), dispatch ye (an officer)<sup>12</sup> everywhere according to the letter of this (edict)<sup>13</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Literally 'one writing of this description'

<sup>2</sup> Senart (C.R. 1907-30) explains *huvāti* as a subjunctive.

<sup>3</sup> As remarked by Vogel (B.I. 8 170), *tuphākamtikāni* stands for *tuphākam amtikam*, and *upāsakanāmtikam* in l. 7 for *upāsakanāni amtikam*. Cf. E. Müller's *Pāli Grammar*, p. 64, and Gelger's *Pāl.*, § 71.

<sup>4</sup> Venis (J.P.A.S.B. 3, 2) translated *ni-kship* by 'inserting'. Cf. the *Ragharavāṇī*, VII, 65, where Mallinātha explains *nikshipita* by *lakkhita*, and *nikkhatta-vannam* in the *Sākaṇṭala*, ed. by Cappeller, p. 32, l. 16. But as the word *nikhita* is placed after *samvatanasi*, and *nikshipatha* in the next sentence after *upāsakanāmtikāni*, it is more natural to take *ni-kship* in the sense of 'depositing'.

<sup>5</sup> Senart (C.R. 1907-30 II) is probably right in considering *samvatanasi* (= Skt. *samvatan*) the designation of some locality. Venis (J.P.A.S.B. 3, 4) translated it by 'place of assembly'.

<sup>6</sup> As remarked by Senart (C.R. 1907-30), the double *cha* in *hitasā cha ikā hpi and ikam cha lipim hutasameva* co-ordinates the two sentences. The same is the case in the next section, where the *cha* after *te pi* corresponds to the *cha* after *anuposatham* in l. 8. Cf. also above, p. 47, n. 9.

<sup>7</sup> In the form *posatha*, which occurs also in the *Jātaka* (ZDMG, 48 63), the initial *u* of Skt. *upāposatha* has been dropped. Cf. *posaha* in Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 141, and the artificial form *pōshudha* (Bohtlingk's two dictionaries, s.v.) in the language of the Northern Buddhists.

<sup>8</sup> With *vivassajayate* cf. *asvāsā* [n]jā in the Jaugada separate edict II, section J.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. above, p. 128, n. 3.

<sup>10</sup> Sections E to H do not add anything new to the king's order, of which two other specimens are preserved at Sāheli and Allahabad, but provide merely for the proper circulation of the edict among all the parties concerned. Thus the king tries to ensure (1) by communicating his edict to the monks and nuns, whom it chiefly concerns, and (2) by ordering that one copy of it should be retained by the *Mahāmātrās* and another by the lay-worshippers, to be studied by both of them respectively at the fast-day services. The two last sections of the inscription contain further provisions for ensuring a still wider circulation to the king's edict. The preceding paragraphs had arranged for its publicity among the citizens of Pataliputra. In sections I and J the king orders the *Mahāmātrās* of Pataliputra to make it known in the district surrounding Pataliputra and in the jungle tracts beyond this district.

<sup>11</sup> Kern pointed out that *āhāla* (spelt *ahāla* at Rūpnāth) corresponds to the well-known territorial term *ahāra*, 'a district', see B.I. 8. 170. The meaning 'food' is excluded here, because the words *tuphākam āhāl* are contrasted with *savasi kola-vaharesu* in the next section. For other ancient inscriptions in which the word *āhāra*, 'a district', occurs, see Liders' *List of Pāli Inscriptions* (E.I. 10, Appendix), p. 214, s. v.

<sup>12</sup> As Thomas states (JA (10), 15 517), the usual Pāli equivalent of *avāsati* is *vippavāsati*, see Childers, *Pāli Dictionary*, s.v. The verb *vivāyati* (*vivasati* in the Rūpnāth edict, l. 5) is the causative, and *vivasāpayati* in section J a double causative, of *avāsati*. Venis (J.P.A.S.B. 3, 2) translated *vivasāyati* by 'making known', but this meaning is not supported by other instances. Thomas (JRAS, 1915 112) renders it by 'expelling'. But it would be hazardous to assign to it a different meaning from *vivasatavya* at Rūpnāth. I supply the missing object of the verb from the first separate rock-edict (Dhaulī, Z-CC, Jaugada, AA DD), viz. *mahāmātram*.

<sup>13</sup> Literally, 'by this letter'. The word *vyañjana* is used in Buddhist literature in the sense of

(J) In the same way cause (your subordinates) to dispatch (an officer) according to the letter of this (edict) in all the territories (surrounding) forts.<sup>1</sup>

### III. THE RUMMINDEI PILLAR

- 1 (A) देवानपियेन पियदसिन लाजिन वीसतिवसाभिहितेन
- 2 अतन आगाच महीयिते हिद बुधे जाते सक्कमुनी ति
- 3 (B) सिला विगढभी चा कालापित सिलाचभे च उसपापिते
- 4 हिद भगवं जाते ति (C) लुमिनिगामे उवलिके बदे
- 5 अठभागिये च

- 1 (A) Devāna(pī)ya Piyadasina lājina visati-vasābhisitena
- 2 atana āgācha mahiyite hida Budhe jāte Sakṣamuni ti
- 3 (B) silā viḡaḡabhi chā kālāpita silā-thabhe cha usapāpīte
- 4 hida Bhagavañ jāte ti (C) Lurhmini-gāme ubalike baḡe
- 5 aṭha-bhāgiye cha

### TRANSLATION

(A) When king *Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin* had been anointed twenty years, he came himself and worshipped (this spot), because the Buddha *Sākyamuni* was born here.<sup>2</sup>

(B) (He) both caused to be made a stone bearing a horse (?)<sup>3</sup> and caused a stone pillar to be set up, (in order to show) that the Blessed one was born here.<sup>4</sup>

'letter' as opposed to 'sense' (*attha*), see Childers, *Pāli Dictionary*, s. v. *vyāñjanam*. In the rock-edict III, E, it is coupled with *hetu*, 'reason'. A number of Pāli sentences in which it occurs, were collected by the late Dr. Neumann (ZDMG, 67. 345 f.), who rendered it by 'specification'. Senart (CR, 1907. 36) translates: 'with the text of my instructions', i.e. he takes the instrumentals *etena* *vyāñjana* in the sense of the sociative; cf. Speyer's *Sanskrit Syntax* (Leyden, 1886), § 59.

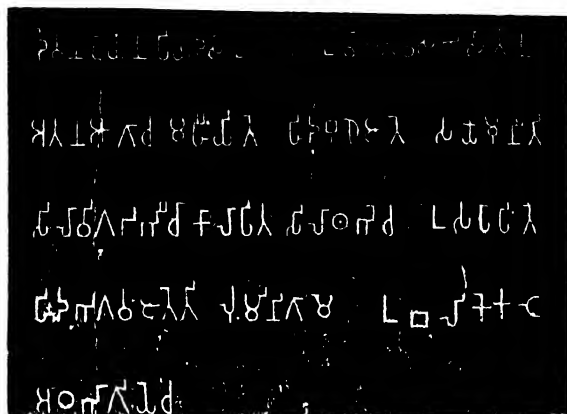
<sup>1</sup> This seems to refer to outlying jungle tracts (perhaps in the Nepalese Tarāi) which were not fully pacified, but were held by means of military posts, such as the 'forests' mentioned in the Shāhbāzgarhi edict XIII, M.

<sup>2</sup> In the *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta* (JRS, 1876. 241), the Buddha himself is reported to have said 'āgamissanti kha Ānanda saddhā bhikkhu-bhikkhunyo upāsaka-upāsikyo idha Tathāgato jāto ti.' In accordance with this quotation I connect the words from *hida* to *ti* with section A, while Fleet (JRS, 1908. 486) joined them to B.

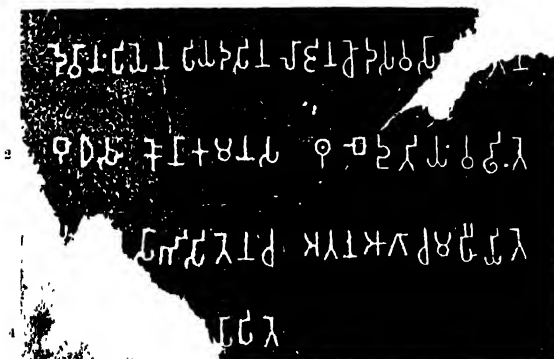
<sup>3</sup> This is Charpentier's explanation of the obscure and much-discussed word *viḡaḡabhi*, see IA, 43. 19 f. The syllable *-bhi* might certainly represent Skt. *-bhrit*; but, that *viḡada* means 'a horse', remains to be proved by more substantial evidence. Sir R. Bhandarkar (JBBRAS, 20. 366, n. 14) and Fleet (JRS, 1908. 477, 823) joined *bhikhā* into one word, and explained it by Skt. *\*bhittikā*, 'a wall'. As, according to Pischel's *Grammatik*, §§ 49, 219, *viḡada* is an Ardhmagadhi form of Skt. *vikṛita*, *silā-viḡada bhikhā* might mean 'a (brick) wall decorated with stone'. But, as Charpentier (IA, 43. 17) remarks, the change of *\*bhittikā* to *bhikhā* 'is wholly improbable from a linguistic point of view, as consonants were not dropped to such an extent at that early stage of Prākṛit dialects'.

<sup>4</sup> With the words *hida Bhagavañ jāte* cf. *Dvayāvadāna*, p. 389: 'asmin mahārāja piadeśe Bhagavañ jātak.'

RUMMINDEI PILLAR-INSCRIPTION



NIGALI SAGAR PILLAR-INSCRIPTION





(C) (He) made the village of Lumbini<sup>1</sup> free of taxes,<sup>2</sup> and paying (only) an eighth share (of the produce)<sup>3</sup>

#### IV. THE NIGALI SAGAR PILLAR

1 (A) देवानंप्रियेन प्रियदसिन लाजिन चोदसवसाभिसितेन

2 बुधस कोनाकमनस घुवे दुतियं वदिते

3 (B) ..... साभिसितेन च अतन आगाच महीयिते

4 ..... पापिते

1 (A) Devānāmpriyena Piyadasina lājina chodasa-vasā[bb]h[si]t[e]n[a]

2 Budhassa Kōṇākamanassa thube dutiyam vadhite

3 (B) . . . sabbhissitena<sup>4</sup> cha atana āgācha mahīyite

4 . . . . . pāpīte<sup>5</sup>

#### TRANSLATION

(A) When king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin had been anointed fourteen years, he enlarged the *Stūpa* of the Buddha Kōṇākamana<sup>6</sup> to the double (of its original size).<sup>7</sup>

(B) And when he had been anointed [twenty] years, he came himself and worshipped (this spot) [and] caused [a stone pillar to be set up].

<sup>1</sup> In the *Nidānakathā* (*Jātaka*, vol. I, pp. 52 and 54), the site of the Buddha's birth is called Lumbini-vana. For other forms of the name see Charpentier in IA, 43. 18. The word Lumbini survives in the modern designation Rummindēi, see V. A. Smith in IA, 34. 1.

<sup>2</sup> For *ubhika* = Skt. \**udbhika* see Barth, *Journal des Savants*, 1897, p. 73, n. 2, Buhler, EI, 5. 5, Fleet, JRAS, 1908. 478 f., Sir Charles Lyall, id. 850 f., and Thomas (id. 1909. 466 f.), who quotes the similar term *nehchhulka* from the *Kāutilya*.

<sup>3</sup> The *Dīpāvadāna* (p. 390) reports that Aśoka spent at Lumbini-vana 100,000 (gold pieces). In accordance with this legend, Barth (loc. cit.), Buhler (I-I 5. 5), and Neumann (ZDMG, 68. 721 f.) took *atha* = Skt. *an tha* and translated *atha-bhāgā* by 'partaking of riches'. Fleet (JRAS, 1908. 479 f.) explained *atha-bhāgā* by Skt. *ashta-bhāga*, 'an eighth share', which the king is permitted by Manu (VII, 130) to levy on grains. In the *Antiliya* (p. 116, l. 2 from bottom) *chaturtha-paucha bhāgika* is actually used with the meaning 'paying a fourth or a fifth share (of the produce)'. I therefore agree with Thomas (JRAS, 1914. 391 f.) in believing that *-bhāgika* must mean 'paying a share', and not, as Fleet thought, 'entitled to a share'. In the case of the village of Lumbini, bureaucracy prevailed against charity. For the affix *-iya* (= Skt. *-ila*) see above, p. 124, n. 4.

<sup>4</sup> Buhler restored *siṣati-vasābhissitana*, as on the Rummindēi pillar, l. 1.

<sup>5</sup> Buhler restored *siṣati-thubhi cha usapāpīte* on the strength of l. 3 of the same inscription.

<sup>6</sup> This mythical Buddha is called Kōṇāgamana by the Southern Buddhists (*Kōṇāgamaṇa* at Bharaut, IA, 21. 229, No. 3c), and Kanakamuni or Kōṇakamuni by the Northern ones, see Kern's *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 64.

<sup>7</sup> With *dutiyam vadhite* cf. *diyadhiyam vadhisati* (or *vadhisati*) at Sāhasvām, section I, and in the corresponding sections of the other minor rock-edicts. Previous translators rendered *dutiyam* by 'for the second time'.

## FOURTH PART: MINOR ROCK-INSCRIPTIONS

## I. THE RUPNATH ROCK-INSCRIPTION

- 1 (A) देवानंमिये हेवं आहा (B) सातिरकेकानि अदधितयानि व य सुमि प्रकास  
सके (C) नो चु बाढि पकते (D) सातिलेके चु छवछरे य सुमि हकं  
सघ उपेते
- 2 बाढि च पकते (E) या इमाय कालाय जंबुद्विपसि अमिसा देवा हुसु ते  
दानि मिसा कटा (F) पकमसि हि एस फले (G) नो च एसा महतता  
पापोतवे खुदकेन
- 3 पि पकममिनेना सकिये पिपुले पा स्वगे आरोधेवे (H) एतिय अठाय च  
सावने कटे खुदका च उडाला च पकमतु ति अता पि च जानंतु इय  
पकरा व
- 4 किति चिरदितिके सिया (I) इय हि अठे वढि वढिसिति विपुल च वढिसिति  
अपलधियेना दियदिय वढिसत (J) इय च अठे पवतिसु लेखापेत वालत  
(K) हध च अयि
- 5 सालाठमे सिलाठमसि लाखापेतवय त (L) एतिना च वयजनेना यावतक  
तुपक अहाले सवर विवसेतवाय ति (M) अ्युतेना सावने कटे (N) २००  
५० ई स-
- 6 त विवासा त

- 1 (A) Devānarāṁpiye heva[m] āhā (B) sāti[ra]kekāni<sup>1</sup> adhati[y]āni va<sup>2</sup> ya sumi  
prakāsa [Sa]k[e]<sup>3</sup> (C) no chu bādhi pakate (D) sātileke chu ohhavaohhare<sup>4</sup>  
ya sumi haka[m] sagh[a] up[e]te
- 2 bāḍhi ch[a]<sup>5</sup> pakate (E) yā<sup>6</sup> [i]māya kālāya Jambudvīpasi amisā devā husu te dani  
m[i]s[ā] kaṭā (F) pakamasi<sup>7</sup> hi [e]sa phale (G) no cha eśa mahatata i[ā]potave  
khudakena<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> sāti[re]kāni Senart and Bühler, read *sātrekāni*.

<sup>2</sup> This seems to be an abbreviation for *vasāni*, which is the reading of the Bauṭī, Brahmagiri, and Śiddhāpura rock-inscriptions.

<sup>3</sup> The first *akshara* of *prakāsa* looks like *pā*; but cf. above, p. 9, l. 10. There is a vacant space after this word. Bühler read *pākā* (which he considered a mistake for *haka*, i. e. *hakam*) [*sava*]ke. The reading [Sa]k[e] was suggested to me by the new Maski rock-inscription, which reads *Bu[dha]-Sake*.

<sup>4</sup> As the Brahmagiri and Śiddhāpura versions prove, this is a clerical mistake for *savaohhare*, see IA, 37 23, and JRAS, 1910. 145 f.

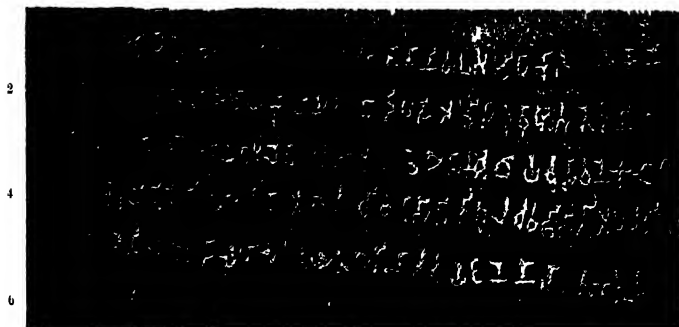
<sup>5</sup> chu Bühler.

<sup>6</sup> y[i] Bühler.

<sup>7</sup> Three other versions of this edict read *pakamasa*.

<sup>8</sup> Senart and Bühler add the two syllables *hi ka*. I believe these are in reality meaningless scratches, beyond the proper area of the inscription.

LEFT HALF



RIGHT HALF







- 3 pi pa[ka]mam[i]nenā<sup>1</sup> sakiye pipule<sup>2</sup> pā<sup>3</sup> svage ārodheve<sup>4</sup> (H) etiya athāya cha  
sāvane kate kh[u]lakā cha udālā cha pakamatu<sup>5</sup> ti ata pi cha janantu iya<sup>6</sup>  
paka[rā<sup>7</sup> va]
- 4 kiti chira-thitke siyā<sup>8</sup> (I) iya hī athe vadhi vadhisiti vipula cha vadhisiti apaladhiyenā  
diyadhiya vadhisata<sup>9</sup> (J) iya cha athe pavati[u] lekhaṭeta vāṭata (K) hadha<sup>10</sup>  
cha athi
- 5 silā-ṭh[abh]e<sup>10</sup> silā-tha[m]līhasi lakhāṭetavaya<sup>11</sup> ta<sup>12</sup> (L) etinā cha vāyajanena  
yāvataka tupaka<sup>13</sup> ahāle savara<sup>14</sup> vivasetavā[ya]<sup>15</sup> ti (M) vy[u]ṭhenā sāvane  
kate (N) 200 50 6 sa-
- 6 ta vivāsā<sup>16</sup> ta<sup>17</sup>

## TRANSLATION

(A) *Dēvānāmpriya* speaks thus

(B) **Two and a half years<sup>17</sup> and somewhat more** (have passed) since I am  
openly a *Śākya*.<sup>18</sup>

(C) But (I had)<sup>19</sup> not been very zealous.<sup>20</sup>

(D) **But a year and somewhat more** (has passed) since I have visited<sup>21</sup> the  
*Saṃgha*<sup>22</sup> and have been very zealous

<sup>1</sup> *pariṇamminena* Buhler

<sup>4</sup> Read *ripule*

<sup>2</sup> Read *pi*, which is the reading of Senart and Buhler.

<sup>3</sup> *ārodhave* Buhler; read *ārodhe[ta]ve*.

<sup>5</sup> *pakamantu* Senart and Buhler

<sup>6</sup> *iyam* Senart and Buhler

<sup>7</sup> Senart proposes to read *pakame*; cf. the Śiddhāpura and Sahasām rock-inscriptions

<sup>8</sup> Read *vadhisiti*.

<sup>9</sup> Buhler and Senart correct *hadha*. Instead of it, the context seems to require *yata* (= *skt yatra*), but this change would be so violent that it cannot be seriously entertained

<sup>10</sup> Read *silā*, which is the reading of Senart and Buhler, -*ṭhubb* Buhler

<sup>11</sup> Read *lakhā*<sup>2</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Read *ti*.

<sup>13</sup> Read perhaps *tuphākam*, as on the Sānāth pillar, l. 9

<sup>14</sup> Read *savata*, as on the Sānāth pillar, l. 10

<sup>15</sup> *vyaya* Senart, *vy[u]ṭ* Buhler, read *vivāsetavaye* and cf. *vivāsayātha* at Sānāth, l. 10

<sup>16</sup> Read *ti*.

<sup>17</sup> As was first remarked by Oldenberg (*Tinaya pitaka*, Introduction, p. xxviii, note and ZDMG, 35 474, note), *adhatiya* is the Pali *adhattiya*, 'two and a half'

<sup>18</sup> Instead of this, the Sahasām, Banāt, and Siddhāpura versions read *upāsaka*, 'a lay-worshipper', but the Marāṭhi version reads *Bu[ḍha]-Śake*. On the Rummindī pillar the Buddha himself receives his well-known epithet *Śākyamuni*. Varāhamihna uses the tribal name *Śākya* in the sense of 'a Buddhist', see Böhtlingk and Roth's Dictionary, s. v. In the *Kāṭhīya* the word *Śākya* has the same meaning, see Shama Sastrī's Translation, p. 251, n. 2. As Professor Jolly kindly informs me the Munich MS. reads *यक्षाजीवकादीन्*, which is meant for *याक्षाजीवकादीन्*, the *edho prince* (p. 199, l. 3 f.) has *यक्षाः । जीवकादीन्*

<sup>19</sup> The word *hasam* is inserted in the Mysore versions

<sup>20</sup> The Mysore versions add 'for one year'. Thomas (JA (10), 15 515 f.) and Sylvain Lévy (id. 17. 121 f.) take *pakamati* in the sense of 'travelling about'. But the various readings of the Sahasām and Banāt edicts suggest that *pakamati* has to be understood as a synonym of *pala kamati*, 'to exert one's self, to be zealous', see Fleet's remarks in JRS, 1909 993, and cf. the rock-edict VI, L and N, and X, C and E. In section G the participle *pa[ka]mam[i]nenā* (Rupnath) or *palaṇamminena* (Sahasām) corresponds to *dhama-yuṭ[ta]*, 'devoted to morality', at Miskī, l. 1

<sup>21</sup> Buhler translated *up[re]ṭe* by 'entered', see IA, 6. 156, and I I, 3. 140. I adopt Senart's very cautious rendering, which is more natural and supported by Buddhist tradition, see IA, 27 234

<sup>22</sup> i.e. the Buddhist clergy

(E) Those gods who during that time had been unmingled (with men)<sup>1</sup> in Jambudvīpa,<sup>2</sup> have now been made (by me) mingled (with them).<sup>3</sup>

(F) For this is the fruit of zeal.

(G) And this cannot be reached by (persons of) high rank<sup>4</sup> (alone), (but) even a lowly (person) is able to attain even the great heaven if he is zealous.<sup>5</sup>

(H) And for the following purpose has (this) proclamation been issued,<sup>6</sup> (that) both the lowly and the exalted may be zealous, and (that) even (my) borderers<sup>7</sup> may know (it), (and) that this same zeal may be of long duration.

(I) For, this matter<sup>8</sup> will (be made by me to) progress,<sup>9</sup> and will (be made to) progress considerably, it will (be made to) progress to at least one and a half.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Sylvain Lévi (JA (10), 17. 124 f) first showed that *misā* represents Skt. *miśrāś*, but his translation of *devā* by 'kings' is inadmissible. The word *deva* is not used anywhere else in the Aśoka edicts except in the title *Devānāmpriya*, where it certainly does not mean 'a king', for which the word *rājā* is regularly employed; see JRAS, 1911, 1174. Senart (JA (11), 7. 438 ff.) still upholds Buhler's view that *misā* stands for Skt. *miśrāś*, which is represented by *misā* in Pali, in Ardhamāgadhī (Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 78), and in the Calcutta-Bairāt rock-inscription, l. 6. Granted that this explanation might account for the curious compounds *misān-deva* and *aiṇumisān-deva* at Bahasrām,—the nasalized final occurring also in the Ardhamāgadhī form *misān*,—it would create two serious difficulties: (1) the compound *miśbhūtā* at Maski would offend against the *Yatitika* on Pāṇini, VII, 4, 32, which prohibits the change of the final *ā* of indeclinables to *i* (cf. *Mahābhāṣya* on I, 1, 41), and (2) it forces Senart (loc. cit., p. 441) to render the words *misā devaḥ*, 'mingled with the gods', in the Mysore edicts, by 'out éte (réduits à l'apparence comme) fausement (mis au nombre) des dieux', and to consider the instrumental *devaḥ* an ablative partitive (?).

<sup>2</sup> i.e. in India.

<sup>3</sup> As I have shown in JRAS, 1913, 652 f., this enigmatical sentence can be explained by comparing a similar, but more explicit statement in the fourth rock-edict. It refers to certain religious shows at which Aśoka had exhibited to his subjects in *effigie* the gods whose abodes they would be able to reach by the zealous practice of *Dharma*. The word *devā* corresponds to *devayānānāpānā* in the Girār edict IV, B.

<sup>4</sup> As the Brahmagiri version suggests, *mahātata* corresponds to Skt. *mahātmatvāt*.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. the parallel passage in the rock-edict X, E.

<sup>6</sup> Fleet (JRAS, 1909 1014) and Thomas (JA (10), 15. 510) were of opinion that the few following words 'let both the lowly and the exalted be zealous' represent the text of an address delivered by Aśoka himself on a previous occasion, and quoted succinctly by him here. But a glance at the parallel passages collected by Thomas himself on the next page (511) will suffice to show that Senart was right in believing that the following words are rather referred to by *etiya athāya*, and that here, as well as in section M, the word 'proclamation' refers to the whole of the Rūpnāth edict itself.

<sup>7</sup> According to the Kāśī and Shāhbāgarhi rock-edict XIII, Q, these borderers were Antiochus II of Syria and four other Greek kings (in the west), and the Chōḍas and Pāṇḍyas in the south. Cf. also the rock-edict II, A, and V, J.

<sup>8</sup> i.e. apparently the subject-matter or contents of Aśoka's proclamation, viz. the Buddhist propaganda; see section J.

<sup>9</sup> With *vadhū* [in\*] *vadhusitā* cf. *dhainma-vadhū vadhusitā* in the Delhi-Tōpī pillar-edict VII, JJ and NN.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. above, p. 165, n. 7.

(J) And cause ye this matter<sup>1</sup> to be engraved on rocks where an occasion presents itself.<sup>2</sup>

(K) And (wherever) there are stone pillars here,<sup>3</sup> it must be caused to be engraved on stone pillars.<sup>4</sup>

(L) And according to the letter of this (proclamation)<sup>5</sup> (you) must dispatch (an officer)<sup>6</sup> everywhere, as far as your district<sup>7</sup> (extends).

(M) (This) proclamation was issued by (me) on tour.<sup>8</sup>

(N) 256 (nights)<sup>9</sup> (had then been) spent on tour.<sup>10</sup>

## II. THE SAHASRAM ROCK-INSCRIPTION

- 1 (A) देवानापिये हेवं आ ..... ियानि सवखलानि । अं उपासके  
सुमि । (C) न चु बाढं पलक्कते  
2 (D) सवखले साधिके । अं ..... ते (E) एतेन च अंतलेन । जंबुदीपसि ।  
अमिसंदेवा । संत

<sup>1</sup> Instead of the nominative *ya cha athe* we should have expected the accusative *ima cha atham*, as at Sahasrām, I 7. The nominative would be in its proper place if we adopt Smart's conjecture *lekṣāpetavyi ti* for *lekṣāpeta vāḥata*, but this change is so extensive that it must be pronounced doubtful.

<sup>2</sup> Literally 'in consequence of an occasion' (*evāntah*), see JRAS, 1911 1116

<sup>3</sup> viz. 'in my territory'. Cf. above, p. 2, n. 3.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the Delhi-Tōpra pillar-edict VII SS

<sup>5</sup> See above, p. 163, n. 13

<sup>6</sup> See above, p. 163, n. 12. Fleet (JRAS, 1911, 1106) translated *vivasati* by 'spending a night in worship'. I have shown that this meaning is rendered improbable by the context of the corresponding passage of the Sārnāth edict, see JRAS, 1912 1053 ff

<sup>7</sup> Cf. above, p. 163, n. 11

<sup>8</sup> Cf. the rock-edict VIII. For the two terms *vyūtha* and *vivāsa*, which have greatly exercised all earlier interpreters, see now Thomas, JA (10), 15 512 ff. The instrumental *vyūtham*, which depends on *sāvane katv*, must refer to Aśoka himself, because the preceding text of the proclamation shows the latter to have been the edict of a king to his officers, who are addressed in the second person plural (*tupaka*, I 5); see JRAS, 1909 729. I therefore follow Thomas (IA, 37 22) in supplying *mayā*.

<sup>9</sup> The three figures '256' were explained by Bühler as a date after the *Nirvāṇa* of the Buddha. Other scholars interpreted them in different ways (see Fleet, JRAS, 1908 817), until in 1910 (JA (10), 15, 507 ff.) Thomas showed that the Sahasrām version of the Rūpnāth edict combines with them the word *lāti* = Skt. *rātri*, 'a night'. On the (redundant) word *sata*, 'a hundred', see Thomas, *ibid.*, p. 521, and Fleet, JRAS, 1911, 1104, n. 2. Since the publication of Thomas' discovery of the word *lāti* at Sahasrām, the '256 nights' have been discussed by Fleet (JRAS, 1910 1301 ff., 1911, 1091 ff., and 1913, 655 ff.), Sylvain Lévi (JA (10), 17, 119 ff.), D R Bhundarkar (IA, 41, 170 ff.), Neumann (translation of the *Dīgha-nikāya*, 2 225 f, and *R. Accademia dei Lincei, Rendiconti*, 22, 695 ff.), Thomas himself (JRAS, 1916, 113 ff.), and Senart (JA (11), 7 434 f), who takes *lāti* = Skt. *rati*, as at Kāśī, VIII, F.

<sup>10</sup> In JRAS, 1910, 1309, I interpreted the word *vivāsā*, which corresponds to *vyūthā* at Sahasrām, as an ablative singular. But it seems more natural to follow Thomas, who considers it a nominative plural.

- 3 मुनिसा मिसदेव कटा । (F) पल ..... इयं फले (G) नो ..... यं  
महताता व चकिये पावतवे । खुदकेन पि पल-
- 4 कममीनेना विपुले पि सुअग .. किये आला ..... वे । (H) से एतावे  
अठावे इयं सावाने । खुदका च उडाला चा प-
- 5 लकमंतु अता पि च जानंतु । चिलठितीके च पलाकमे होतु । (I) इयं च अठे  
वडिसति । विपुलं पि च वडिसति
- 6 दियाडियं अवलधियेना दियडियं वडिसति । (J) इयं च सवने विवुथेन (K) दुवे  
सपंना लाति-
- 7 सता विवुथा ति २०० ५० ६ (L) इम च अठं पवतेसु लिखापयाथा (M) य ..  
वा अ-
- 8 पि हेता सिलाथंभा तत पि लिखापयथ ति

- 1 (A) Devānāmpīye he[vaṃ] [[a]]<sup>1</sup> . . . . . [[iyāni savaohhalā]]ni | a]m  
upāsake sumi | (C) na chu bādham [palaka]m[te]  
2 (D) sav[a]johale<sup>2</sup> sādhi[ke] [[i am]] . . . . . [[te]] (E) [cte][na cha aṃta]]ena |  
Jambudīpasi | ammisam-[de]vā<sup>3</sup> | samta<sup>4</sup>  
3 munisā [m]isam-deva [[kaṭā | (F) pala]] . . . . . [[iyam phale (G) [n]u]] . . .  
[[yam]] mahatāḥ va chakiye pāv[a]t[ve] | khudakena pi pala-  
4 kamamīnenā vipule pi s[u]g . . . [k]ye<sup>5</sup> [[ā][lā]] . . . . . [[ve]] [i] (H) se etāye  
ath[ā]ye iyaṃ sāvāne<sup>6</sup> | khudakā cha uḍālā chā pa-  
5 [la]kamamtu amṭā pi ch[a] jānamtu | chila-ṭhiṭ[ke],<sup>7</sup> cha p[a][ā]kame<sup>8</sup> hotu | (I)  
iya[m] cha [aṭhe] vadhisati | vipulam pi cha vadhisati  
6 diyādhiyaṃ aval[a]dhiyenā diy[a]dhiyam vadhisati | (J) iyaṃ [[cha savane]]  
[v]ivuthena (K) duve sapāṇnā lāti-  
7 satā vivuthā ti 200 50 6 (L) ima cha aṭham pavatesu [[i][ikhā]]pāyātha (M)  
ya . .<sup>9</sup> [vā] a-  
8 th[ī] heta silā-tham[bh]ā tata pi<sup>10</sup> [likhāpayatha t]i

<sup>1</sup> The letters enclosed in double brackets are now broken away, but are still visible on an old photograph of the rock which I owe to the kindness of Sir John Marshall.

<sup>2</sup> The top of *va* is damaged by a slanting cross-line, and there happens to be a faint vertical stroke behind it which gave rise to the imaginary syllable *vi* in Cunningham's copy. A later idea of Bühler's (IA, 22. 499), the group *dva*, is equally non-existent; as stated by Fleet (JRAS, 1910 147), it is already impossible because the *da* would then have to stand on the level of the line, but not above it, and the *va* would have to be entered below, but not on the level of the line. These tedious details have to be noted here because the fanciful reading *sadvachhale*, combined with the actual blunder *chhavachhale* at Rūpnāth, is the starting-point of a (now exploded) theory which has obscured the chronology of Aśoka's inscriptions for a long time.

<sup>3</sup> Read *amissai-*.

<sup>4</sup> *sam[tā]* Bühler.

<sup>5</sup> Restore *suage chakiye*.

<sup>6</sup> Read *sāvane*.

<sup>7</sup> *-[ṭh]ṭh*. Bühler.

<sup>8</sup> Restore *yata*.

<sup>9</sup> *palakame* Senart and Bühler.

<sup>10</sup> The syllable *pi* was entered above the line.



FROM MR. BEGLAR'S PHOTOGRAPH



FROM AN INSCRIBED TABLET

SCALE ONE-FOURTH



## TRANSLATION

- (A) *Dēvaṇāṣṭripriya* [speaks] thus.  
 (B) . . . . . years since I am a lay-worshipper (*upāsaka*)  
 (C) But (I had) not been very zealous.  
 (D) A year and somewhat more (has passed) since . . . . .  
 (E) And men in *Jambudvīpa*, being during that time unmingled with the gods, have (now) been made (by me) mingled with the gods.  
 (F) [For] this is the fruit [of zeal].  
 (G) . . . . . cannot<sup>1</sup> be reached by (persons of) high rank alone, (but) even a lowly (person) is able to attain even the great heaven if he is zealous.  
 (H) Now, for the following purpose (has) this proclamation (been issued), (that) both the lowly and the exalted may be zealous, and (that) even (my) borderers may know (it), and (that this) zeal may be of long duration.  
 (I) And this matter will (be made by me to) progress, and will (be made to) progress even considerably; it will (be made to) progress to one and a half, to at least one and a half.  
 (J) And this proclamation (was issued by me) on tour  
 (K) Two hundred and fifty-six nights (had then been) spent on tour,<sup>2</sup>—(in figures) 256.<sup>3</sup>  
 (L) And cause ye this matter to be engraved on rocks.  
 (M) And where there are stone pillars here (in my dominions), there also cause (it) to be engraved.

## III. THE BAIRAT ROCK-INSCRIPTION

- 1 (A) देवानांपिये आह (B) सानि . . . . .  
 2 वसानि य हर्क उपासके (C) नो चु बाढं . . . . .  
 3 अं ममया सये उपयाते बाढ च . . . . .  
 4 जंबुद्विपसि अमिसा न देवेहि . . . . . मि . . . . . कमस एस . . ले  
 5 (G) नो हि एसे महत्तनेव चकिये . . . . . कममिनेना  
 6 विपुले पि ऋगे चप्ये आलायेतवे (H) . . . . . का च उढाला चा  
 पलकमहु ति

<sup>1</sup> For *chak*, a variant of the root *śak*, see above, p. 97, n. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Thomas (JA (10), 15, 520, note) compares the word *vinuthā* (corresponding to *vināśā* at Rūpnāth) with *vinuṣṭham*, a division of time which is mentioned in the *Kāntilya*, p. 60, l. 3 from bottom. His suggestion that the latter may have the sense of *νυχθήμερον*, 'a night and a day', is perhaps correct. At any rate, in Aśoka's time both *vinutha* and *vināśa* apparently meant 'a civil day spent in travelling, an absence of twenty-four hours from headquarters'.

<sup>3</sup> The actual purport of this important passage was cleared up by Thomas (JA (10), 15, 520), who discovered in it the word *lāti*, 'a night', which had escaped the attention of his predecessors for thirty-three years. He pointed out, at the same time, that *pannū* is a recognized Prākṛit form of *pañchāśat*, and that expressions like *duḥ śatpañchāśe rātri-lāte* are used in archaic Sanskrit as well. Cf. *ekam rātriṃ vippavasati*, 'to spend a night away from home', in Childers' *Pāli Dictionary*, p. 581.

- 7 अंता पि च जानंतु ति चिल्लित ..... लं पि वडिसति .....  
 8 दियदियं वडिसति .....  
 1 (A) Devānāmpīye āh[ā] (B) a[ā]ti .....  
 2 vāsān[i] ya hakaṁ<sup>1</sup> upāsake (C) [no chu] bādhaṁ .....  
 3 aṁ mamayā saghe<sup>2</sup> [u]payāte [bā]dha cha .....  
 4 Jambudīpasi<sup>3</sup> amisā<sup>4</sup> na devehi ..... [m]i ..... [ka]masa csa ... [e]  
 5 (G) [no] hi e[s]e ma[hā]taneva chakiye ..... kamaminenā  
 6 vipule pi śvage [cha]kye [ā]lādheta[v]e (H) ..... kā cha [u]l[ā]ā chā<sup>5</sup>  
     [pala]kamatu [t]i  
 7 [aṁ]tā pi cha jānamtu ti [ch]īla-ṭhit ..... laṁ pi vaḍhisati .....  
 8 diyaḍhiyaṁ vaḍhi[sā]ti .....

#### IV. THE CALCUTTA-BAIRAT ROCK-INSCRIPTION

- 1 (A) प्रियदसि लाजा मागधे संघं अभिवादेतूनं आहा अपावापतं च फासु-  
     विहालतं चा  
 2 (B) विदिते वे भते आवतके हमा बुपसि धंमसि संघसी ति गालवे चं प्रसादे च  
     (C) ए केचि भंते  
 3 भगवता बुधेन भासिते सर्वे से सुभासिते वा (D) ए चु खो भंते हमियाये दिसेया  
     हेचं सधंमे  
 4 चिल्लित्तीके होसती ति अलहामि हकं तं वातवे (E) इमानि भंते धंम-  
     पलियायानि विनयसमुक्से  
 5 अलियवसाणि अनगतभयानि सुनिगाषा मोनेयसूते उपतिसपसिने ए चा  
     लाधुली-  
 6 वादे मुसावादं अपिगिष्य भगवता बुधेन भासिते एतानि भंते धंमपलियायानि  
     इहामि  
 7 किंति बहुके भिस्सुपाये चा भिस्सुनिये चा अभिस्सिं सुनेयु चा उपपालयेयू चा  
 8 (F) हेवंमेवा उपासका चा उपासिका चा (G) एतेनि भंते इमं लिखापयामि  
     अभिप्रेतं मे जानंतु ति

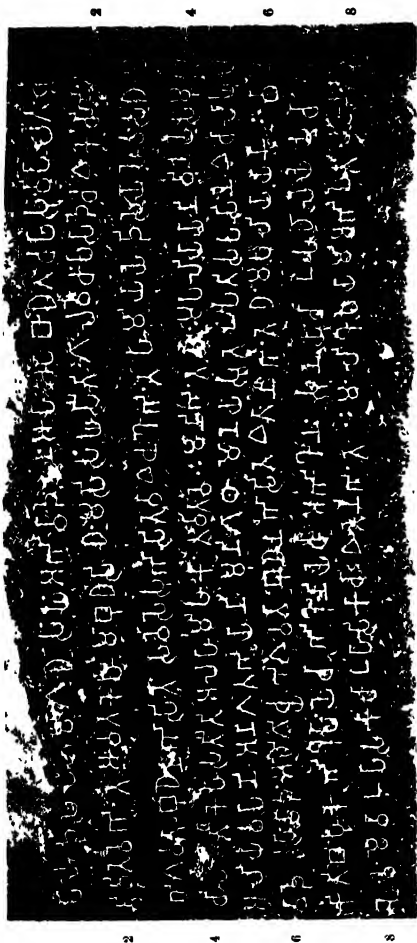
- 1 (A) Pr[i]yadas[i]<sup>1</sup> l[ā]jā Māgadho<sup>2</sup> saṁghaṁ abhivāde[tū]naṁ<sup>3</sup> āhā ap[ā]bādhatam  
     cha phāsu-vihālatam chā  
 2 (B) vidite v[e] bharite āvatake h[a]mā Budhasi dhammasi saṁghasi ti gālave<sup>4</sup>  
     chaṁ prasāde<sup>5</sup> cha (C) e kechi<sup>6</sup> bhamte

<sup>1</sup> haka Bühler.<sup>2</sup> sa[m]ghe Bühler.<sup>3</sup> dipasi Bühler.<sup>4</sup> The syllable *ms* was entered above the line.<sup>5</sup> cha Bühler.<sup>6</sup> Piya<sup>6</sup> Senart.<sup>7</sup> Māgadham Senart; but the *e* of *dhe* is quite distinct, and what has been taken for an Anusvāra is in reality a horizontal dash.<sup>8</sup> abhivādananā Senart; but see J.R.A.S., 1909, 727.<sup>9</sup> galave Senart.<sup>10</sup> pasāde Senart.<sup>11</sup> keṁchi Senart.





INSCRIPTION



# SECRET (N1-FOUO) RTII

- 3 bhagavatā **Budhe[na]** bhāsīte sarve<sup>1</sup> se subhāsīte vā (D) e chu kho bhamte  
hamiyāye diseyā hevañ sadhamme  
4 chil[a-ṭhi]tike hosati ti alahāmi hakañ ta[m] v[ā]tave<sup>2</sup> (E) imāni bham[ā]mma-  
paliyāyāni Vinaya-samukase  
5 Aliya-vasāñ<sup>3</sup> Anāgata-bhayāni Muni-gāthā Moneya-sūte Upatissa-pasine e chā  
Laghulo-  
6 vāde musā-vādañ adhigichya<sup>4</sup> bhagavatā **Budhena** bhasite etāni<sup>5</sup> bhamte  
dhamma-paliyāyāni icchāmi  
7 kinti bahu<sup>6</sup> e bhikhu-[p]āye chā bhikhuniye<sup>7</sup> ch[ā] abhikhinam sun[e]yu<sup>8</sup> chā  
upadhā[a]leye<sup>9</sup> chā  
8 (F) hevañmevā upāsakā chā upāsikā chā (G) eteni<sup>10</sup> bhamte imam likhā[pa]lyāmi  
abhipretam<sup>11</sup> me jānamtū<sup>12</sup> ti

## TRANSLATION

(A) The *Māgadha* king *Priyadarśin*,<sup>13</sup> having saluted the *Saṅgha*,<sup>14</sup> hopes they are both well and comfortable.<sup>15</sup>

(B) It is known to you, Sirs, how great is my reverence and faith in the *Buddha*, the *Dharma*,<sup>16</sup> (and) the *Saṅgha*.<sup>17</sup>

(C) Whatsoever, Sirs, has been spoken by the blessed *Buddha*, all that is quite well spoken.

(D) But, Sirs, what would indeed appear to me<sup>18</sup> (to be referred to by the words of the scripture) 'thus the true *Dharma* will be of long duration',<sup>19</sup> that I feel bound to declare.

(E) The following expositions of the *Dharma*, Sirs, (viz.) (1) the *Vinaya-samukasa*, (2) the *Aliya-vasas*,<sup>20</sup> (3) the *Anāgata-bhaya*s, (4) the *Muni-gāthās*, (5) the *Moneya sūta*,

<sup>1</sup> sarve Senart.

<sup>2</sup> vatave Senart

<sup>3</sup> -vasāni Senart.

<sup>4</sup> This word is quite distinct, and the reading *adhigadhyā* proposed by Michelson (IF, 27, 194 f) is impossible.

<sup>5</sup> etāna Senart.

<sup>6</sup> bhikkhunte Senart.

<sup>7</sup> sunayn Senart

<sup>8</sup> upādāleyeyu Senart.

<sup>9</sup> Read etenā.

<sup>10</sup> abhikhetam Senart, but the horizontal stroke attached to *pa* is probably intended for *r* (cf. *aparakaranamhi* in the Girnār edict XII, l. 3).

<sup>11</sup> ma jānamitā Senart

<sup>12</sup> Cf. e.g. *rājā Māgadho Seniya Bimbisāro* in the *Vinaya-pitaka* (passim), *rājā Māgadho Ajātasattu* at the beginning of the *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta* (JRAS, 1875, 49), and *ājā Pasenajī Kosalo* in a Bharaut inscription (IA, 21, 232, No. 58).

<sup>13</sup> i.e. the Buddhist clergy.

<sup>14</sup> Literally, 'pronounced both (their) being in good health and (their) being (in the enjoyment) of pleasant life'. Cf. at the beginning of the *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta* 'appābādham appataukam lahetthānāni balāni phāsū-vihārañi pucchha', and see Neumann's translations of the *Majjhima-nikāya* (2, 617, note) and *Dīgha-nikāya* (2, 216, n. 3).

<sup>15</sup> i.e. the Buddhist doctrine

<sup>16</sup> These are the so-called 'three jewels', see Childers' *Pāli Dictionary*, s.v. *ratanam*

<sup>17</sup> Kern (IA, 5, 257) explained *diseyā* as the optative of the Pāli *dissati* = Skt. *drīṣyati*, cf. JRAS, 1909, 726.

<sup>18</sup> As suggested by the late Professor Hardy (JRAS, 1901, 314), these words seem to contain a quotation from the Buddhist scriptures.

<sup>19</sup> *vasa* is a defective spelling for *vaṁsa*, see IA, 41, 39.

(6) the *Upatisa-pasina*, and (7) the *Lāghulovāda* which was spoken by the blessed Buddha concerning falsehood,<sup>1</sup>—I desire, Sirs, that many groups of monks and (many) nuns may repeatedly listen to these expositions of the *Dharma*, and may reflect (on them).

(F) In the same way both laymen and laywomen (should act).

(G) For the following (purpose), Sirs, am I causing this to be written, (viz.) in order that they may know my intention.

## V. THE MASKI ROCK-INSCRIPTION

- 1 (A) देवानंपियस असोक्स ..... अदति-
- 2 .. नि ववानि । अं सुमि बुधसके (C) ..... तिरे .....
- 3 .. मि संघं उपगते उठ ..... मि उपगते (D) पुरे जंबु-
- 4 .... सि ये अमिसा देवा हुसु ते दानि मिसिभूता (E) इय अठे सुद-
- 5 केन पि धमयुतेन सके अधिगतये (F) न हेवं दक्षितविये उडा-
- 6 लके व इम अधिगच्छेया ति (G) सुदके च उडालके च वत-
- 7 विया हेवं वे कलंतं भदके सेअ ..... तिगे च वडि-
- 8 सिति चा दियदियं हेवं ति

- 1 (A) Dev[a]na[m]piyasa Asok[a]sa .....<sup>a</sup> [a]d[h]a[t]i-
- 2 .. ni<sup>a</sup> vashā[ni] | am<sup>a</sup> sum[i] Bu[dha]-Śake<sup>a</sup> (C) ..... [t]ire .....
- 3 .. [m]i<sup>a</sup> [s]aṅgha[m] u[pa]gate [uṭh] ..... m[i] u[pa]gate<sup>a</sup> (D) pure Jambu-
- 4 .... a[t] ye amisā devā husu te [dā]n[i] misibhūta<sup>a</sup> (E) iya a[the khu]da-

<sup>1</sup> For identifications of these texts see Oldenberg, *Vinaya-pitaka*, Introduction, p. xl, n. 1; Sylvain Lévi, JA (9), 7. 475 ff.; Neumann, VOJ, II. 159 f.; Rhys Davids, JRAS, 1898. 639 f.; Oldenberg, ZDMG, 52. 634 ff.; Bloch, Id., 63. 325 ff. As the late lamented Mr. V. A. Smith kindly informed me, No 1, *Vinaya-samukasa*, is identified by A. J. Edmunds (*Buddhist Bibliography*, San Francisco, 1904) with Buddha's First Sermon. According to Dharmananda Kocambi (IA, 41. 40), Nos 2 and 3 occur in the *Aṅguttara-nikāya*, Nos. 4-6 in the *Sutta-nipāta*, and No. 7 in the *Majjhima-nikāya*.

<sup>a</sup> Senart fills up this break by *vachanena adhiṭṭhāni*. As the instrumental *vachanena* would require a verb, for which there is no room on the stone, I suggest reading *sāvane* (or *sāsane*) (B) *adhiṭṭhāni*.

<sup>a</sup> Restore *adhakāyāni*.

<sup>a</sup> *vasāni* [ya]m an Krishna Sastri.

<sup>a</sup> *bun[ā]śake* K.S. The point after *bu* does resemble an Anusvāra, but it stands on a higher level than the other Anusvāras of this inscription. Besides, an Anusvāra would make no sense here. Krishna Sastri remarks that 'the letter *śa* appears to have been corrected from some other', and Senart (JA (11), 7. 428) suggests that the writer may have wavered between *upāsake* and *Budhupāsake*. I agree with him in believing that the writer originally wanted to write *upāsake*, which is the reading of Sahasrām, Bāhrāt, and Śiddhāpura. On second thoughts he changed *upā* to *Budha* and added *Śake*, which corresponds to [Sa]k[ṣ]e at Rūpnāth. The abnormal shape of the *dha* of *Budha* is due to its having been corrected from *pā*.

<sup>a</sup> Restore *sāttreka an sumi* and, before these three words, perhaps *sarivachhara*.

<sup>a</sup> Restore perhaps *ubhānān cha sumi upagate*, which would convey the same meaning as the corresponding passage at Brahmagiri: *bādham cha me pakāṭhe*. Krishna Sastri and Senart restore *bādham cha sumi upagate*.

<sup>a</sup> Restore *Jambūdpāsi*. Of the four next words faint traces are visible.



SCULPTURE



- 5 ke[na pi]<sup>1</sup> dhama-yute[na] sake adhigatave (F) na hevañ dakhitaviye [uḍā]-  
 6 lake va ima adhigachh[e]yā ti (G) [khudak]e [cha uḍ]ālake cha vata-  
 7 viyā hevañ ve kalañtañ bha[dak]e [se a]<sup>2</sup> . . . . . t[i]k[e]<sup>3</sup> cha va[dhi]-  
 8 sūti chā diya[dhi]yañ he[vam] ti<sup>4</sup>

## TRANSLATION

(A) [A proclamation] of Dēvānāthpriya Aśoka.

(B) Two and a half years [and somewhat more] (have passed) since I am a *Buddha-Sātya*.<sup>5</sup>

(C) [A year and] somewhat more (has passed) [since] I have visited the *Samgha* and have shown zeal.

(D) Those gods who formerly had been unmingled (with men) in *Jambudvīpa*, have now become mingled (with them).

(E) This object can be reached even by a lowly (person) who is devoted to morality.<sup>6</sup>

(F) One must not think thus,—(viz.) that only an exalted (person) may reach this.

(G) Both the lowly and the exalted must be told: 'If you act thus,' this matter (will be) prosperous and of long duration, and will thus progress to one and a half'.

## VI. THE BRAHMAGIRI ROCK-INSCRIPTION

- 1 (A) सुवर्णगिरीते अयपुतस महामातायां च वचनेन इसिलसि महामाता आरोगियं  
 वतविया हेवं च वतविया (B) देवाणांपिये आणपयति  
 2 (C) अधिकानि अढातियानि वसानि य हकं . . . . सके (D) नो तु खो वाढं  
 प्रकंते हुसं एकं सबद्धरे (E) सातिरेके तु खो संबद्धरे  
 3 यं मया संघे उपयीति वाढं च मे पकंते (F) इमिना चु कालेन अमिसा समाना  
 मुनिसा जंबुदीपसि  
 4 मिसा देवेहि (G) पकमस हि इयं फले (H) नो हीयं सत्थे महात्थेनेव पापोतवे  
 कामं तु खो खुदकेन पि  
 5 पकमि . . खेण विपुले स्वगे सत्थे आराधेतवे (I) एतायथाय इयं सावथे  
 सावापिते  
 6 . . . . . महात्पा च इमं पकमेयु ति अंता च मै जानेयु चिरठितीके  
 च इयं

<sup>1</sup> H[s] K. S.

<sup>2</sup> [the ti] K. S.

<sup>3</sup> Restore perhaps *se athe chira-thstike*.

<sup>4</sup> *diya[dhi]ya h[e]vata* K. S.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. above, p. 167, n. 18.

<sup>6</sup> Instead of this, the other versions of the short edicts read 'if he is zealous'. This correspondence is valuable, because it confirms indirectly the meanings which I have assigned to *pra-kram* or *parā-kram* and to *dharma-yukta*, cf. above, p. 167, n. 20, and p. 124, n. 6.

<sup>7</sup> For the nominative singular absolute *kalañtāñ* see above, p. 35, n. 9. Its subject, *te* (= Skt. *vañ*), is originally an oblique case of the plural.

- 7 पक्क ..... (J) इयं च छठे बढिसिति विपुलं पि च बढिसिति अवरधिया  
दियदियं  
8 बढिसिति (K) इयं च सावणे सावापिते व्यूषेन (L) २०० ५० ई (M) से हेवं  
देवाण्यपिये  
9 आह (N) मातापितिसु सुसुसितविये हेमेव गरुसु प्राणेषु द्रष्टितव्यं सचं  
10 वतवियं से इमे धम्मगुणा पवतितविया (O) हेमेव अतिवासिना  
11 आचरिये अपचायितविये जातिकेसु च वं य . . रहं पवतितविये  
12 (P) एसा पोराणा पकिती दीषावुसे च एस (Q) हेवं एस कटिविये  
13 (R) चपडेन लिखिते लिपिकेण

- 1 (A) [S]uv[a]śāgiriṭo<sup>1</sup> ayaputasa mahāmātāṇam cha vachan[e]na Isilasi  
mahāmātā ārogiyaṁ vataviyā hevaṁ cha vataviyā (B) Devāpaṇḍiye  
āṇapayati  
2 (C) adhikāni adhātīyāni v[a]śāni ya hakaṁ . . . sa[ke]<sup>2</sup> (D) no tu kho  
bāḍhaṁ prakamte<sup>3</sup> husaṁ ekaṁ savachharaṁ (E) sātireke tu kho  
sahvachhareṁ<sup>4</sup>  
3 yaṁ mayā saṁghe upayste bāḍhaṁ cha me pakamte (F) iminā chu kālena amisa  
samānā munisā Jambudīpasi  
4 mī[s]ā devehi (G) pakamasa hi iyaṁ phale (H) no hiyaṁ sakyē mahātpeneva  
pāpotave kāmaṁ tu kho khudakena pi  
5 paka[m]i . . neṇa<sup>5</sup> vipule svage sakyē ārādhētave (I) e[t]iyyathāya iyaṁ sāvaṇe  
sāvāpīte  
6 . . . . .<sup>6</sup> mahāt[p]ā cha imaṁ pakame[ya] tī amā cha mai<sup>7</sup> jāneyu chira-  
ṭhitke cha iyaṁ  
7 [paka] . . . . .<sup>8</sup> (J) iyaṁ cha aṭṭhe vadhisiti vipulaṁ pi cha vadhisiti avaradhiyā  
diyadhiyaṁ  
8 [vadh]isiti (K) iyaṁ cha sāvan[e] sāv[a]p[ī]te vyūthena (L) 200 50 6 (M) se hevaṁ  
Devāpaṇḍiye  
9 āha (N) mātā-pitisu susu[s]itaviye hemeva garu[su]<sup>9</sup> prāṇesu drahayitavyaṁ  
sachāṁ  
10 vataviyaṁ se ime dhamma-guṇā pavatitaviyā (O) hemeva amtevasīna  
11 āchariye apachāyitaviye nātikesu cha [ka]ṁ<sup>10</sup> ya . . rahaṁ<sup>11</sup> pavatitaviye

<sup>1</sup> This word looks almost like *Suvāṇṇa*<sup>o</sup>, but the Śiddhāpura version reads *Suvāṇṇa*<sup>o</sup> distinctly.

<sup>2</sup> Restore *upāsake*, as at Śiddhāpura.

<sup>3</sup> *pakamte* Buhler.

<sup>4</sup> Read *sahvachhare*; *sa[ni]vachhar[a]ni* Bühler.

<sup>5</sup> *paka[mami]ṇṇa* Bühler; read *pakamamiṇṇa* and cf. the Sahasrām edict, l. 3 f.

<sup>6</sup> The Śiddhāpura version reads *yathā kku[dakā] cha*.

<sup>7</sup> Read *me*.

<sup>8</sup> The Śiddhāpura version reads *pakame hoti* (*hotu* at Sahasrām).

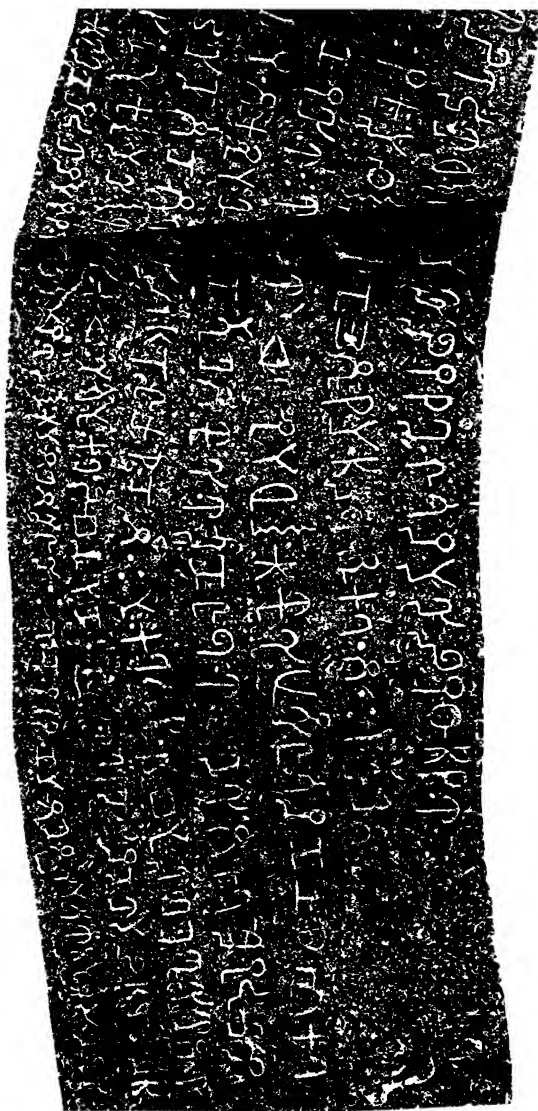
<sup>9</sup> *garu[vaṁ]* Bühler.

<sup>10</sup> *k[sa]* Buhler; see above, p. 31, n. 6.

<sup>11</sup> Restore *yathārahaṁ* and cf. the Śiddhāpura version, l. 20, and the Jaṅga-Rāmēśvara version, l. 18.



BRAHMAGIRI ROCK-INSRIPTION. UPPER HALF





12 (P) eṣā porā[n]ḥi pa[k]ṛiti d[īgh]āvuse<sup>1</sup> cha eṣa (Q) hevaṃ eṣa kaṭṭiye<sup>2</sup>

13 (R) *Chapaḍena* likhite<sup>3</sup> h[ṛi]kareṇa<sup>4</sup>

## TRANSLATION

(A) From *Suvarṇagiri*,<sup>5</sup> at the word of the prince (*āryaputra*)<sup>6</sup> and of the *Mahāmātras*, the *Mahāmātras* at *Isila* must be wished good health<sup>7</sup> and be told this

(B) *Dēvānāmpriya* commands (as follows).

(C) More than two and a half years (have passed) since I (am) \* a lay-worshipper (*upāsaka*)

(D) But indeed I had not been very zealous for one year<sup>8</sup>

(E) But indeed a year and somewhat more (has passed) since I have visited the *Saṅgha* and have been very zealous.

(F) But men in *Jambudvīpa*, being during that time unmingled, (are now) mingled with the gods<sup>10</sup>

(G) For this is the fruit of zeal.

(H) For this cannot be reached by (a person) of high rank alone, but indeed even a lowly (person) can at liberty attain the great heaven if he is zealous.

(I) For the following purpose has this proclamation been issued,<sup>11</sup> [that both the lowly] and those of high rank may be zealous in this manner,<sup>12</sup> and (that even) my borderers may know (it), and (that) this zeal may be of long duration.

(J) And this matter will (be made by me to) progress, and will (be made to) progress even considerably, it will (be made to) progress to at least one and a half

(K) And this proclamation was issued by (me) on tour

<sup>1</sup> d[īgh]āvuse Buhler

<sup>2</sup> Read *kaṭṭiye*.

<sup>3</sup> h[ṛi]h[ṛi]am Buhler

<sup>4</sup> This word is written in Kharoṣṭhī characters.

<sup>5</sup> This place seems to have been the capital of the province administered by the *Āryaputra* and his *Mahāmātras*. Buhler (I-I, 3 137) compared the second separate edict at Dhauri, according to which a *Kunāra* and his *Mahāmātras* resided at Tōsalī. The separate edicts of Dhauri and Jaugada were addressed by the king to the local authorities, themselves, while in the Mysore edicts the king commands the authorities of the *Suvarṇagiri* province to communicate his orders to their subordinates at *Isila*. In Fleet's opinion the Mysore edicts were issued from *Suvarṇagiri* by Aśoka himself, and he identified this place with one of the hills, still known as *Sonagiri*, near *Rājagṛha* in *Bihar*, see *JRAS*, 1909, 998. H. Krishna Sastri connects *Suvarṇagiri*, i.e. 'the gold mountain', with the country around *Maski*, which abounds in ancient gold-workings, see his remarks on the *Maski* edict, p. 1. Perhaps it may be identified with its synonym *Kanikagiri*, south of *Maski* and north of the ruins of *Vijayanagara*, see Constable's *Hand-Atlas of India*, plate 34, C, b.

<sup>6</sup> Buhler (VO), 12 75 f) traced the word *āryaputra*, 'a prince', in the *Jātaka*, vol VI, p. 146 f.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. the preamble of the Calcutta-Bairāt rock-inscription.

<sup>8</sup> The word *amū* is added in the *Rupnāth*, *Sahasām*, and *Maski* edicts.

<sup>9</sup> The words 'for one year' are missing at *Rupnāth* and *Sahasām*. As Snart (JA (8), 19 481 f) has shown, they are of great importance for the chronology of the *Asoka* inscriptions, because they imply that the period of 'more than two and a half years', for which, at the time of the *Sahasām*, *Bairāt*, and *Siddhāpura* edicts, Aśoka had been an *upāsaka* (or *Sākyā*, as the *Rupnāth* and *Maski* edicts read), must be subdivided into two shorter periods, viz. (1) one year (with, no doubt, a little more) during which he had not been very zealous, and (2) a year with the balance of the whole period, during which he displayed great zeal, and which commenced from his visit to the *Saṅgha*. Cf. chapter IV of the Introduction.

<sup>10</sup> For the meaning of this section see above, p. 168, n. 3.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. the *Delhi-Topiā* pillar-edict VII, K and M, and above, p. 168, n. 6.

<sup>12</sup> With *man* supply *pakaman*, cf. *radhi[m]* *radhi* in the *Rupnāth* edict, section I, and above, p. 168, n. 9.

(L) 256 (nights had then been spent on tour).<sup>1</sup>

(M) Moreover, *Dēvānāhpriya* speaks thus.<sup>2</sup>

(N) Obedience must be rendered to mother and father, likewise to elders. firmness (of compassion) must be shown towards animals, the truth must be spoken these same moral virtues must be practised.

(O) In the same way the pupil must show reverence to the master, and one must behave in a suitable manner towards relatives.

(P) This is an ancient rule, and this conduces to long life.

(Q) Thus one must act.<sup>3</sup>

(R) Written by *Chapaḍa* the writer.

## VII. THE SIDDAPURA ROCK-INSCRIPTION

- 1 (A) सुवर्णगिरीते अयपुतस महामाता-
- 2 खं च वचनेन इसिलसि महामाता
- 3 आरोगियं वतविया (B) देवानंपिये हेवं
- 4 आह (C) अधिकानि अढातियानि वसानि
- 5 य हकं उपासके (D) नो तु खो बाढ पकंते हुसं एकं सबद्ध
- 6 (E) सातिरेके तु खो संबद्धे यं मया संघे उपयीते बाढं
- 7 च मे पकंते (F) इमिना चु कालेन अमिसा समाना सु
- 8 ..... जंबुद ..... मिसा देवेहि (G) पकमस हि इयं फले H) नो हि इ-
- 9 य सके म ..... नेव पापोतवे कामं तु खो खुदकेन
- 10 पि प ..... न विपुले स्वगे सके आराधेतवे
- 11 (I) से ..... य इयं सावणे साविते यथा खु-
- 12 दका च महान्या च इमं पकमेयु ति अता च
- 13 ..... चिरटितीके च इयं पकमे होति
- 14 (J) ..... बढिसिति विपुलं पि च बढिसिति अ
- 15 ..... यढियं बढिसिति (K) इयं च सावणे
- 16 ..... (L) २०० ५० ई (M) मा ..... सितविये
- 17 ..... क्षितय्यं शचं वत .. यं इमे धंमगु
- 18 ..... (N) हेमेव अं ..... आचरिये अपचायितविये सु
- 19 ..... (O) एसा पोराणा .. किती दीघावुसे च (P) हेमेव ..
- 20 तेविसिने च
- 21 आचरिये ..... चारहं पवतितव ..... म ..
- 22 ..... स तथा कटविये (R) चप .....
- 23 ..... ए

<sup>1</sup> Cf. section J of the Sahasrām edict

<sup>2</sup> This section is omitted in the Siddapura and Jaṅga-Rāmśvara versions.

<sup>3</sup> At the beginning of this section, the Jaṅga-Rāmśvara version inserts 'This is the morality of *Dēvānāhpriya*'.





- 1 (A) **Suvarṇagiritē** ayaputasa mahamātā-  
 2 nam cha vachanena I[s]hlasi mahāmātā  
 3 ārogyam vata[v]i[ya] (B) [Dev]ā[na]m̐piye hevam  
 4 āha (C) **adhikāni a[ḍhā]t[i]y[āni] vasāni** \*  
 5 ya ha[kam u]pāsake (D) no ti kho bādha pakamte husa'n **ok[ān]** **sa[vachha]**  
 6 (E) **[sātiro]ke** tu kho **saṁvachhare** [yam mayā sam]ghe upajite bādham  
 7 [cha me] pākam]te (F) i[m]nā chu kalena [a]misa sama[na] m̐  
 8 . **Jambud** [mi]sā devehi (G) pakamasa hi yam phale (H) no [h]i i-  
 9 ya sake [ma] . [ne]va pāpo[ta]ve kāmam tu kho khudakena  
 10 pi [pa] . . . na [v]ipul[c] svage sak[e] ārāhetave  
 11 (I) [s]e ya [iya]m sāvane savite yathā khu-  
 12 [daka cha ma]hātūā cha inam [pa]kameyu ti atā \* cha  
 13 . [chira]tthi[t]h[e] \* cha yam pakame hoti \*  
 14 (J) . va[ḍh]isiti vipul[ā]m p[i] cha vadhisiti [i]  
 15 [yadhiya]m vadhisiti (K) i[ya]m [cha] sa[vā]ne  
 16 . . . (L) **[200] 50 6 (M)** [ma] . . . [si]taviye  
 17 . . . [hyi]tavyam sa[cha]m va[ta] [ya]m un[e] dhamma gu  
 18 . . . (N) [heme]va [a]m . [acha]riye aparhāyitaviye su  
 19 (O) [i]sā [p]i[r]ā[nā] [ki]ti di[gha]vu[se] cha (P) heme[va] i  
 m[t]evisine \* cha  
 20 āchariy[e] . thāraham pavatitav m  
 21 . sa [ta]thā kataviye (R) **Chapa**  
 22 [n.] \*

## VIII. THE JATINGA-RAMESVARA ROCK-INSCRIPTION

- 1 (A) ..... तान च न .....  
 2 इसि ..... विया (B) देवान .....  
 3 ..... य हं .....  
 4 सो बाद ..... (E) ..... तिरके .....  
 5 यं .. या .....  
 6 य .....  
 7 हि इयं .....  
 10 ..... च ..... दिस ..  
 11 .. पुलं पि ..... यदियं ..

\* samva . . . Buhler

\* -thitiki Buhler

\* [u]vasine Buhler Read *amtevasine*

\* This syllable is in the Kharoshthi alphabet

\* Buhler omittet \*

\* he[ḍ] Buhler

\* esa Puhler

\* as to Buhler

- 12 (K) इ . . . . . सावणे . . . . . येन (L) २०० ५० ६ (M) हेमेव  
 13 मातापितुसु . . . . . सितविये हेमेव . . . . . न १-सु  
 14 . . . . . स्तितथं सचं वतवियं से इमे . . . . .  
 15 हेवं पवतितविया (N) स्वञ्चं न ते सतवस . . . . .  
 16 तविय हेमेव आचरिये अन्तेवासिना . . . . .  
 17 . . . . . राणा पक्किती . . . . . सितविया . . . . . विये  
 18 . . . . . चरिये अ . . . . . आचरियश्चातिक्का ते . . . . . यथारहं पव-  
 19 तितविये (O) एसा पोराणा पक्किती दीषा . . . . . च (P) हेमेव श . . . . .  
 20 च य . . . . . वतितविये (Q) हेवं धंमे देवाणंपिय . . . . .  
 21 . . . . . वं कटविये (R) . . . . . डेन लिखितं  
 22 . . . . . पिकोरेण

1 (A) . . . . . [t]āna [cha va] . . . . .

2 Isi . . . . . [vi]ya (B) Dov[ā]n[a] . . . . .

3 . . . . . ya hakam . . . . .

4 klio bādha . . . . . (E) . . . . . ti[reke] . . . . .

5 [ya]m . . . . . [yā]

6 [na] . . . . .

7 [h]i i[ya]m . . . . .

8 . . . . .

10 . . . . . [cha] . . . . . [dhi]s . . . . .

11 [p]ulam p . . . . . [ya]dhiyam . . . . .

12 (K) १ . . . . . [ā]vane . . . . . [th]e[na] (L) 200 50 6 (M) [he]me[va]

13 [ma]i[ā]-pitu . . . . . [s]itav[i]y[ā] he[m]e[va] . . . . . [na] . . . . . es[u]

14 . . . . . hy[iti]v[ya]m sacham vataviyam [se] . . . . . [me] . . . . .

15 hevami p[va]taviya (N) [svaa]m na te s t va[s]

16 taviya . . . . . he me va . . . . . achari[ā] amteva[sin] . . . . .

17 [r]ana paki[ti] . . . . . s[ti]v[ya] . . . . . [v]i[ya] . . . . .

18 . . . . . chari[c] a . . . . . [a]chari[ti]yaśā nātika te . . . . . ya[thāraha]m [pava]

19 titaviye (O) esa [pō]tā[nā] p[ā]k[iti] d[ig]h[ā] . . . . . cha (P) [he]me[va] . . . . .

20 [cha] ya . . . . . vat[av]iye (Q) hevam [dham]je . . . . . Dovāpampiy

21 [va]m kataviye (R) . . . . . d[ona] [likhita]m

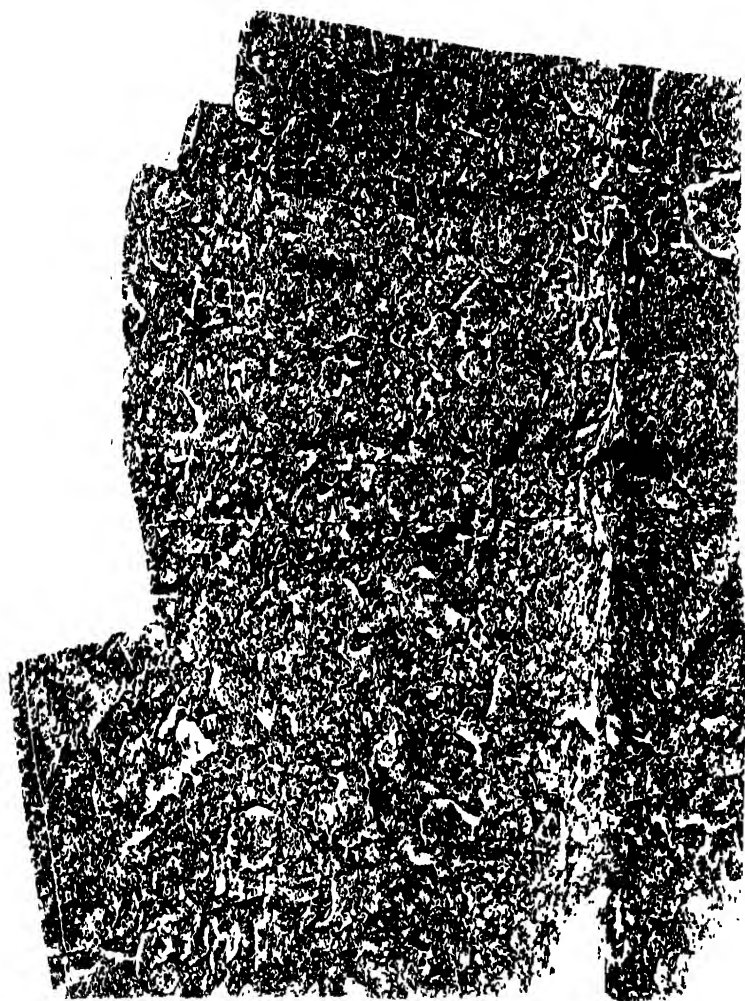
22 [p]aka[ti]ena . . . . .

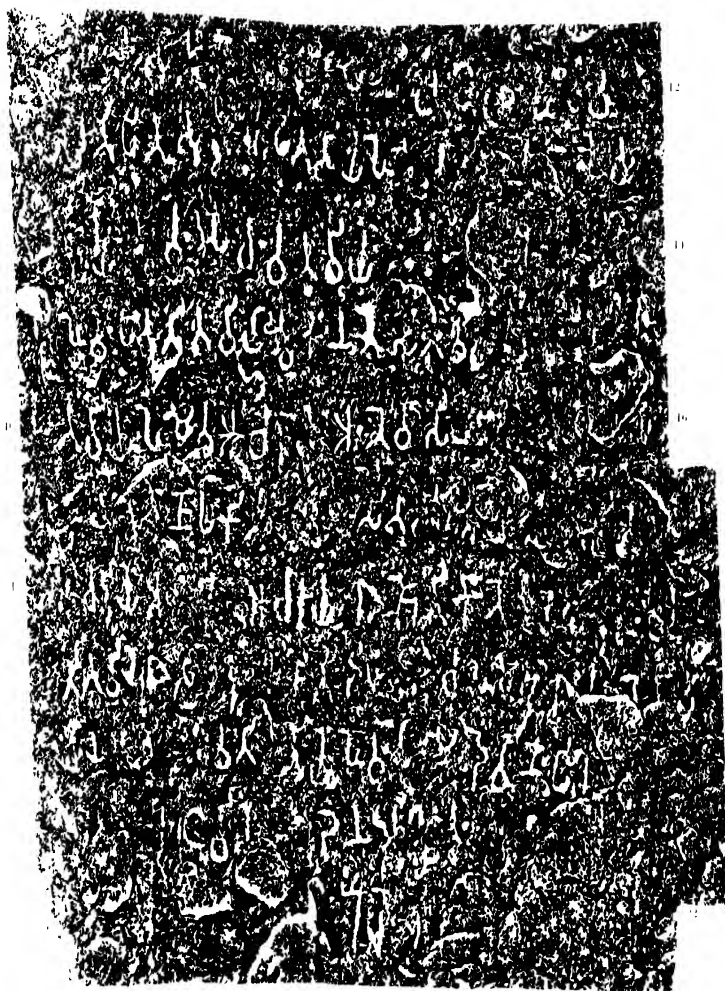
<sup>1</sup> c Buhler <sup>2</sup> I am unable to make out the meaning of the opening words of this section

<sup>3</sup> [p]ak[iti] Buhler <sup>4</sup> am Buhler <sup>5</sup> [p]ak[iti] Buhler. <sup>6</sup> hevami [m] Buhler.

<sup>7</sup> p[va] Buhler. Restore *pyava* <sup>8</sup> This word is written in Kharoṣṭhi characters.







## IX. THE BARABAR HILL CAVE-INSCRIPTIONS

## FIRST CAVE-INSCRIPTION BARABAR HILL

- 1 लाजिना पियदसिना दुवाडसवसाभिसितेना
- 2 इयं निगोहकुभा दिना आजीबिकेहि
- 1 *lājina Piyadasinā duvādasa-[vasābhisitenā]*<sup>1</sup>
- 2 *[iyam Nigoha]-kubhā' di[nā ājivikehi]*<sup>1</sup>

## TRANSLATION

By king Priyadarśin, (when he had been) anointed twelve years, this Banyan-cave<sup>2</sup> was given to the Ājivikas.<sup>3</sup>

## SECOND CAVE-INSCRIPTION: BARABAR HILL

- 1 लाजिना पियदसिना दुवा-
- 2 डसवसाभिसितेना इयं
- 3 कुभा खलतिकपवतसि
- 4 दिना आजीबिकेहि
- 1 *lājina Piyadasinā duvā-*
- 2 *dasa-vasābhisitenā iyam*
- 3 *kubha Khalatika-pavatasī*
- 4 *dinā [ājivī]kehi*<sup>4</sup>

## TRANSLATION

By king Priyadarśin, (when he had been) anointed twelve years, this cave in the Khalatika mountain was given to the Ājivikas

<sup>1</sup> The bracketed letters are more or less injured. Evidently an attempt has been made to efface them.

<sup>2</sup> This seems to have been the name of the cave. Cf. the other names of caves at the beginning of the three cave-inscriptions of Daśaratha (IA, 20, 364 f.)

<sup>3</sup> The Ājivika sect was founded by Gotāla, a contemporary of both Gautama and Mahāvira Kṛm, with whom Buhli sided, considered the Ājivikas to have been a Vārhanava sect, see IA, 20, 361 f. This view was combated by D R Bhandarkar, JBHRAS, 21, 399 ff., and IA, 41 ff. 286 ff. Cf. Neumann's translation of the *Digha-nikāya*, 2, 248, n. 139, and Carpenter in JRAS, 1913 669 ff. For full information see the late Dr. Hoernle's learned article 'Ājivika in Hastings' *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*

<sup>4</sup> The bracketed letters are effaced, cf. above, n. 1. In the first of the three Nagājūmi Hill cave-inscriptions of Daśaratha also an attempt has been made to chisel away the word *ājivikehi* see the plate in IA, 20, 365, D.

## THIRD CAVE-INSRIPTION BARABAR HILL.

- 1 लाज पियदसी एकुनवी-  
 2 सतिवसाभिसिते जलघो-  
 3 सागमघात मे इयं कुभा  
 4 सुपिये ख ..... दि-  
 5 ना

- 1 lāja Piyadasi ekunavi-  
 2 sati-vasā[bh]i[di]t]e ja[lagh]o-  
 3 [saḡama]thāta [mc] i[yaṁ] kubhā  
 4 su[p]i[y]e Kha . . . . .<sup>1</sup> [di]-  
 5 nā<sup>2</sup>

## TRANSLATION

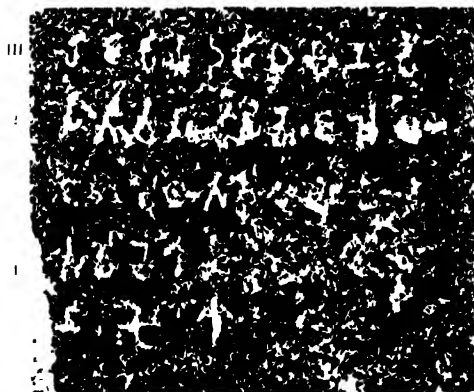
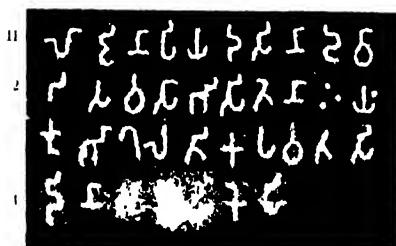
When king Priyadarśin had been anointed nineteen years, this cave in the very pleasant Kha[latika mountain] was given by me<sup>3</sup> for (shelter during) the rainy

<sup>1</sup> Restore *K'halatika-pavatasi* in accordance with the second inscription on p. 181, above

<sup>2</sup> The end of the inscription is marked by a *svastika* and a dagger, and by a fish below them

<sup>3</sup> This pronoun may refer to an unnamed donor or, with a clumsy change in the construction, to the king himself. In either case the words *lāja* to 'site are nominatives absolute.

<sup>4</sup> Literally 'for the sake (*athāta* = Skt *arthatah* in the sense of *arthāya* ?) of the approach of the roar of waters' Cf. *vāṭha-nishudyāye*, 'for a dwelling during the rainy season', in the three cave-inscriptions of Daśaratha (IA, 20. 364 f., and EI, 2. 274)





# APPENDIX: SYNOPTICAL TEXTS

## I. THE FOURTEEN ROCK-EDICTS

### FIRST ROCK-EDICT

<i>Gir</i>	(A)	iy[am]	dhamma-lipi			Devānampriyena	
<i>Kāl</i>	(A)	iyam	dhamma-lipi			Devānampriyena	
<i>Shāh</i>	(A)	[aya]	dhrama dīpi			Devanapriasa	
<i>Mān</i>	(A)	ayi	dhra[ma]-dip[ī]			Devanam[prīye]na	
<i>Dhan</i>	(A)	.	.	[s]	pava]tasi	[D]r[v]i[nā]mp[īy]	
<i>Jau</i>	(A)	iyam	dhamma-lipi	Khep[m]galasi	pavatasi	Devānampriyena	
<hr/>							
<i>Gir</i>	Priyadasinā	iāñā	lekhi[ā]pitā	(B) [i]lha	kimchi	jivam	arabbhitu
<i>Kāl</i>	Piyadas[i]na	.	[lekhu]a	(B) [h]ulā	kichhi	jive	alabbhitu
<i>Shāh</i>	.	raññ	hikhapitū	(B) hida	kich[i]	jive	ara[bhitu]
<i>Mān</i>	Priya[drasīna	rajina	h]khapita	(B) hi[dā]	kichhi	p[vc]	ara[bhitu]
<i>Dhan</i>	. . . . .	[nā	lājina	[i]kha]	.	[j]vām	alabbhitu
<i>Jau</i>	Piyadasina	lājina	hikhāpita	(B) hida	kichhi	jivam	alabbhi[tu]
<hr/>							
<i>Gir</i>	prajūhitavyam	(C) na	cha	samajo	katavyo	(D) bahukam	hi dosam
<i>Kāl</i>	pajohitaviye	(C) no	pi ch[a]	samaje	kataviye	(D) bahuk[a]	hi dosa
<i>Shāh</i>	[p]rayuhotave	(C) no	pi ch[a]	sama[ja]	katava	(D) ba[h]u]ka	[hi] dosha
<i>Mān</i>	pra[johi]taviye	(C) no	pi [cha]	samaj[ē]	kataviye	(D) bahu[kā]	hi [d]osha
<i>Dhan</i>	pajo[h]. . . .	(C) [no	pi cha	sam[ā]je	.	.	.
<i>Jau</i>	pajohitaviye	(C) no	pi cha	samaje	kataviye	(D) bahukam	hi dosam
<hr/>							
<i>Gir</i>	samājamhi	pasati	Devānampriyo	Priyadasi	raja	(F) asti	
<i>Kāl</i>	samājasa	.	Devān[am]piyo	Pi[ya]kasi	lājā	clakhati	(E) athi
<i>Shāh</i>	sa[maya]spi	.	Devanapriy[c]	Priadrasi	ray[a	da]khati	(F) [a]sti
<i>Mān</i>	[samajasa	.	Devanampriye]	Priyadrasi	raja	[da]kha[tu]	(F) asti
<i>Dhan</i>	[sama]ja . .	[d]	.	.	.	(E)	
<i>Jau</i>	samājasa	drakhati	Devānampriye	Piyadasi	lājā	(E) athi	
<hr/>							
<i>Gir</i>	pi	tu	clakhā	samājā	sādhu-matā	Devānampriyasa	
<i>Kāl</i>	pi	cl[a	clakatiyā	samājā	sādhu]u]-mata	Devanampriyasa	
<i>Shāh</i>	pi	chu	ekatia	samaye	sasu-matr	Devanapriasa	
<i>Mān</i>	[pi	chu	eka]iya	samaja	sa[dhu]-mata	Devanapriyasa	
<i>Dhan</i>	[pi	chu]	[ē]y]	[sam]a[jā]	sā[dhu]-matā	Dev . . .	
<i>Jau</i>	pi	chu	clakatiyā	samājā	sadhu-mata	Devanampriyasa	

<i>Gir</i>	nāsti	sarvata	hārāpitāni	cha	rop[a]ṭitani	cha	(17)	pamthesū	kūpā
<i>Kāl.</i>	nathu	savatā	hālāp[ɪ]tā	chā	lopāpitā	[ch]jā	(17)	ma[ɟ]e[s]u	[lu]khāni
<i>Shah</i>									
<i>Mān</i>	[na]sti	[savra]tra	harapita	cha	ro[pa]ṭita	cha	(17)	ma[ɟeshu]	ruchhani
<i>Dhau</i>	. . . . .	v[a]ṭ[ɪ]a	hālāpitā	[cha]	lo[p]āpitā	cha	(17)	ma[ɟ]e[su]	udu[pā]nani
<i>Jau</i>	nathu	s[ɪ]vatra	hālāpitā	cha	lopāṭita	cha	(17)	maɟesu	udupānāni
<i>Gir.</i>	cha	khānāpita	vrachhā	cha	ropapit[ā]	paribhogāya	pasu-manusānam		
<i>Kāl</i>	lopitāni	ud[u]ṭanā[n]i	chā	khānāpitāni	paṭibhogaye	pasu-muni[s]nam			
<i>Shah</i>		(C) kupa	cha	khanapita	prab[h]o[ɟ]aye	pasu-manusānam			
<i>Mān</i>	[ropa]p[ɪ]tani	. . . . .	[ɪ]tani	paṭibhogaye	pasu-m[uni]kani				
<i>Dhau</i>	khānāpitāni	lukhāni	cha	lopā[p]itāni	p[ɪ]ṭibhogāye	. . . . .	[na]m		
<i>Jau</i>	khānāpitāni	lukhāni	cha	.	.	.	.	.	.

## THIRD ROCK-EDICT

<i>Gir</i>	(. 1)	Devānampiyō	Piyadasi	i[a]jā	evam	aha	(18)	dhadasa-		
<i>Kāl.</i>	(. 1)	De[va]nampiye	Piyadasi	lāja	h[e]vam	āhā	(18)	du[v]ādasa-		
<i>Shāh</i>	(. 1)	Devanampriyo	Priyadāsi	raja		ahati	(18)	duvaya-		
<i>Mān</i>	(. 1)	Devanapiye	Priyadāsi	raja	eva	a[ha]	(18)	duva[da]sa-		
<i>Dhau</i>	(. 1)	Devanampiyē	Piyadasi	laja	hevam	āhā	(18)	duvadasa-		
<i>Jau</i>	(. 1)	Devā[na]mpiyē	Piyadasi	lāja	hevam	aha	(18)	duvādasa-		
<i>Gir</i>		vāsābhisitena	maya	idam	añ[a]ṭitam	(C) sarvata	vijite	inama		
<i>Kāl</i>		v[a]śābhisitena	me	iyam	ānapayite	(C) savatā	vijitasi	[inama]		
<i>Shāh</i>		vashabhi[i]s[tena]	.	[i]n iṭi[tam]	(C) savatra	ma[a]	vijite	.		
<i>Mān</i>		vashabhisetena	me	iyam	[anapay]ite	(C) savat[r]a	vijitasi	.		
<i>Dhau</i>		vasābhisitena	me	iy[ɪ]m ānāp[ay]i	(C)	[ta v]ijit[ɪ]a]	m[ɛ]	.		
<i>Jau</i>		vasābhisitena	me	iyam	[ā]	.	.	.		
<i>Gir</i>		yuta	cha	rājūke	cha	prādesike	cha	pamchasu	pamchasu	vāsesu
<i>Kāl</i>		yutā		laj[u]k[ɪ]		pādesike		pa[ni]cha[s]u	pamchasu	vasesu
<i>Shāh</i>		yuta		rajuko		pradesika		pamcha[s]hu	pamchashu	5 vasheshu
<i>Mān</i>		. . . . .	ta	[ra]ju		pradesike		[pam]chashu	pam[chashu]	5 vashesh[u]
<i>Dhau</i>		yut[ɪ]		laj[u]k[ɪ]		.		pamchasu	pamchasu	vasesu
<i>Jau</i>		.		cha	pāl[ɪ]ūke	cha	pamchasu	pamchasu	vasesu	.
<i>Gir.</i>		anusamy[ā]n[ɪ]n	ijyātu		etāyeva	athāya	imaya	dhammānusastiya		
<i>Kāl</i>		[i]nusa[m]janam	nikham[ani]tu		etaye vā	a[th]āye	imaya	dhammanusathiya		
<i>Shāh</i>		anusamyānam	nik[ɪ]matu		etisa	vo karana	imisa	dhramānanusastiy-		
<i>Mān</i>		anusa[m]jyana[ni]	nikramatu		etaye	va athraye	imaye	dhramānusastiy-		
<i>Dhau</i>		anusayānam	nikhamāvū		.	.	.	.	.	.
<i>Jau.</i>		anusayānam	nikhamāvū		.	.	.	.	.	.
<i>Gir</i>		yatha	anāya	pi	kammāy[a]					
<i>Kāl.</i>		yatha	am[naye]	pi	kammāye					
<i>Shāh</i>		[tha]	añaye	pi	krammaye					
<i>Mān.</i>		ya[tha]	añaye	pi	krama[nē]					
<i>Dhau</i>		atha	amnāye	pi	[ka]m[ma]nē	hevam	imā[y]e	[dham]mānus[ath]ijye		
<i>Jau</i>		atha	amināye	pi	kamma[n]ē	.	.	.	.	.



<i>Gir.</i>	(/I) [s]ādhu	mātaṁ cha pitāṁ cha susrūsa	mitra-samstuta-nātīnam
<i>Kāl.</i>	(/I) sādhu	māta-pitṛsu	susūsā mita-samthuta-nātīkyaṁ [m] chā
<i>Shāh.</i>	(/I) sādhn	mata-pitushu	suśrūsha mitra-samst[ṁ]ta-natikānam
<i>Mān.</i>	(/I) [sadhū]	mata-[-p]it[ṁ]shu	[s]u[śrūsha mitra]-sa[m]stuta-natikānam cha
<i>Dhau.</i>	(/I) [s]ād[h]u	māt[ā] p[ī]t[ṛ]su	su[ś]rū[śā m] . natisu cha
<i>Ṭau.</i>	.	.	[s]a mita-samthute[s] . natisu ch[ā]

<i>Gir.</i>	bāmbhana-samanānam	sād[h]u	d[ā]nam prānānam sādhu	anārambho
<i>Kāl.</i>	bāmbhana-samā[nā]nam [chā]	sadhū	d[ā]ne pānānam	anālambh[er]
<i>Shāh.</i>	bramāna-[-śrā]mānā[nam]	.	[pra]nānam	[anaram]bho
<i>Mān.</i>	bā[mā]na-śrīmanā[nam]	sadhū	dane prānāna	[anara]mbho
<i>Dhau.</i>	bāmbhana samanehi	sādhu	dane pvesn	anālamblu
<i>Ṭau.</i>	bāmbhana-samanehi	sādhu	dane pvesn	[ā]nālamblu

<i>Gir.</i>	apa-vyayātā	apa-bhadata	sadhū	(/I) pāusa	pi	yut
<i>Kāl.</i>	sādhu	[ā]pa-v[ī]yātā [ā]pa [bha]m[da]t[ā]	sadhū	(/I) pāusa	pi	cha yutani
<i>Shāh.</i>	sadhū	apa-viyata	apa-bhamdata	sadhū	(/I) pāri [pi]	yutani
<i>Mān.</i>	sadhū	apa-[-vā]yāta	apa bha[da]ta	sadhū	(/I) pāri[sha pi	cha yutani
<i>Dhau.</i>	sadhū	apa-viy[ā]t[ā]	apa bh[am]datā	sadhū	(/I) p[ā]lisa	pi cha [nas]
<i>Ṭau.</i>	sadhū	.	.	.	.	.

<i>Gir.</i>	ānapayisati	gananaṁyami	hetuto	cha	vyamjanato	cha
<i>Kāl.</i>	[gā]nanasi	anap[ā]yisanti	hetuv ita	chā	vyamjanat[er]	cha
<i>Shāh.</i>	[gā]nanasi	anapeśanti	hetuto	chi	vamjanato	chi
<i>Mān.</i>	gā[na]nasi	[anapa]yis[ā]ti	hetute	cha	vi[am]janate	cha
<i>Dhau.</i>	y[ā]n[ā]ni	ā[na]p[ā]y[is]a[ti]	[he]tut[er]	ch[ā]	vi[am]ja[ā]	.
<i>Ṭau.</i>	.	[y]	hetute	cha	vyamjanate	cha

## FOURTH ROCK-EDICT

<i>Gir.</i>	(. /I) atikātam	am[ā]ram	bahūmi	vasa-satāmi	vadhūti	ev
<i>Kāl.</i>	(. /I) atikā[m]tam	ā[m]tā[m]	bahūmi	vasa satāmi	v[ad]h[ū]t[er]	va
<i>Shāh.</i>	(. /I) atikātam	amāram	bahūmi	vasha-satāmi	vadhūti	vo
<i>Mān.</i>	(. /I) atikātam	atā[ram]	bahūmi	vasha ś[ā]tāmi	vadhūti	vo
<i>Dhau.</i>	(. /I) atikāmtam	amī tam	bahūmi	vasa-satāmi	vadhūti	va
<i>Ṭau.</i>	(. /I) ā[ti]kāmtam	amtā[m]	bahūmi	vasa satāmi	vadhūte	va

<i>Gir.</i>	puānārambho	vihiṁsa	cha	bhūtanam	natisu	a[s]ampatipati
<i>Kāl.</i>	pa[nā]rambhe	vi[h]isa	cha	bhūtānam	natinā	asam[pa]t[ā]p[ā]t
<i>Shāh.</i>	pranārambho	vihiṁsa	cha	bhātā[nā]m	natinā	asampatipati
<i>Mān.</i>	puanaram[bl]e	vihi[sa]	chi	bhūtanam	nātina	asapa[ti]p[ā]ti
<i>Dhau.</i>	pāvā[la]mbho	vihiṁsa	cha	bhūtānam	natisu	asampatipati
<i>Ṭau.</i>	panārambhe	.	.	.	.	.

<i>Gir.</i>	brā[m]hāna-sramanānam	asampatipati	(/B) ta	aya	De vānampriyasa
<i>Kāl.</i>	samana-b[ra]m[ā]nānam	asampatipati	(/B) ś[er]	aya	De vānampriyāsa
<i>Shāh.</i>	śramana-bramanāna[m]	a[sam]patipati	(/B) 'so	aya	Devana[m]priyas
<i>Mān.</i>	śrama[nā]bramanāna	asa[m]patipati	(/B) se	aya	[De]van priyas
<i>Dhau.</i>	samana-bābhā[nc]sn	asampatipati	(/B) se	aya	Devanampriyasa
<i>Ṭau.</i>	.	.	(/B) se	aya	Devanampriyasa



<i>Gir.</i>	cha	param	cha	tena	y[a]	me[a]	pacham	āva	samvata-kapa
<i>Kāl.</i>	[chā]	palam	[chā]	tehi	[ye]	apatiye	[m]e	āva-kapam	
<i>Shāh.</i>	cha	para[m]	cha	[tena]	y[e]	me	apacha	vrakshamti	ava-kapam
<i>Mān.</i>	cha	para	cha	[tē]na	ye	apatiye	me	[a]va-[ka]pam	
<i>Dhau.</i>	[va]	m	cha	[tē]na	ye	apatiye	me	ava-kapam	
<i>Ṭau.</i>	va	palam	cha	te	.	.	.	.	.

<i>Gir.</i>	anuvatisare	tatha	so	sukatam	kasati	(/)	yo	tu	eta	desam
<i>Kāl.</i>	tatha	anuvatisa[m]	tu	s[e]	s[u]katam	kachham[i]	(/)	e	chu	het[ā] desam
<i>Shāh.</i>	tatha	ye an[u]vatisanti	te	s[u]kita[m]	kashamti	(/)	yo	chu	ato	kam
<i>Mān.</i>	tatha	anuvatisati	se	sukata	ka[sba]ti	(/)	ye	[chu]	atra	di ti
<i>Dhau.</i>	tatha	anuvatisamti	s[e]	sukatam	kachh[am]ti	(/)	e		heta	d[ē]sa[n]
<i>Ṭau.</i>										

<i>Gir.</i>	pi	hāpe sati	so	[du]katam	kāsati	(/)	se	karam	hi	papa[m]	
<i>Kāl</i>	pi	hāpi[y][sat]	[sɾ]	dukatam	kachhati	(/)	[pā]	hi	nama	supadālaye	
<i>Shāh</i>	pi	hāpe śadi	so	dukatam	kashati	(/)	pa	um	h[i]	sukatam	
<i>Mau</i>	pi	hāpe s[ati]	se	dukata	kashati	(/)	pi	ya	hi	nama	supadāraye
<i>Dhau</i>	pi	hāpiy[isat]	se	dukatam	kachhati	(/)	pā	p[ā]	hi	[n]ama	supadālaye
<i>Ṭau</i>											s[u]pādālāyē

<i>Gir.</i>	(II)	atikatan	amtaram	na	bhūta-privam	dhamma-mahāmātā	nami
<i>Kāl.</i>	(II)	se	atikamam	amtalam	no huta prilya	dham[mā]	mahamatā
<i>Shāh.</i>	(II)	sa	atikratam	ntari	no bhut i priva	dhranun i m i	[ha]mā[tiā]
<i>Mān.</i>	(II)	s[ē]	atikrat i m	a[m]tara[m]	na bhut i priva	dhamma-[ma]	ham itia
<i>Dhau.</i>	(II)	s[ē]	at[i]k[am]tam	amtalam	no huta prilya	dhamma-mah	matā
<i>Ṭau.</i>	(II)	se	[a]				

<i>Gir.</i>	(I)	ta	m[ā]y i	trādasa	vasābh[is]itena	dhamm[ā]	mahamata	kata
<i>Kāl.</i>	(I)	t[ē]da	sa-vasābh[is]itena	mamaya	dhamma-mahamat[ā]			ka
<i>Shāh.</i>	(I)	so	trādasa-vasābh[is]itena	may i	dhrama mahamat[ā]			kit i
<i>Mān.</i>	(I)	se	trādasa-va[śha]bh[is]itena	may i	dhrama-mahamat[ā]			kitā
<i>Dhau.</i>	(I)	se	trādasa-va[śha]bh[is]itena	me	dhamma mahamata	nama		kat i
<i>Ṭau.</i>								

<i>Gir.</i>	(Ṭ)	te	sava-pāsamak[sa]	vyapata	dhammadhūtanāya		
<i>Kāl.</i>	(Ṭ)	[tē]	sav[ā]-pāsam[ak]sa	vyāp[ā]tā	dham[m]adhih[ā]nāya	ch[ā]	dhamm i
<i>Shāh.</i>	(Ṭ)	te	savira prashamdesb[hu]	vapata	dhammadhith maye	cha	dhamma
<i>Mān.</i>	(Ṭ)	te	savira-pa[śha]desha	vaputa	dhammadhitha[nā]ye	cha	dhamma
<i>Dhau.</i>	(Ṭ)	te	sava-pāsamak[sa]	v[i]y[ā]pata	dhammadhithan[ā]ye		dhamm i
<i>Ṭau.</i>					[dha]m[m]i[dh][h][ā]nā		

<i>Gir.</i>	.				[dha]mm i yutasa	cha	Yon i-K[ā]p[ā]bo[pa]
<i>Kāl.</i>		vadhriya	hi[da]-sukhaye	va	dhamm[ā] yutasa	[i]	Yon i Kambh[ā]ti
<i>Shāh.</i>		vadhriya	hida-sukhaye	cha	dhrama yutasa		Yona Kambhaya
<i>Mān.</i>		vadhriya	hida-sukhaye	cha	dhi[ā]ma yutasa		Yona-Kambha-
<i>Dhau.</i>		[va]dhriye	hita-sukhāye	[cha]	dhamma-yutasa	[ā]	
<i>Ṭau.</i>							

<i>Gir</i>	Gamdharānam	Ristika-P[c]tenikānam	ye	vā	pi	a[m]ñ[e]	ā]parātā
<i>Kāl</i>	Gamdharānam		e	vā	[pi]	amne	apalamtā
<i>Shāh.</i>	Gamdharanam	Rathikanam Pitinikanam	ye	va	pi		aparamta
<i>Mān.</i>	Gadharana	Rathika-Pitinikana	ye	va	pi	añe	aparata
<i>Dhau.</i>	Gandhālesu	Lathika-[P]tenikesu	c	vā	pi	amne	āpalamtā
<i>Jau.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.

<i>Gir</i>	(A') bhatamayesu	va	.	.	.	.	.
<i>Kāl</i>	(K') bhatamayesu	bambhanibhesu	anathesu	[v]udhesu			hida-
<i>Shāh.</i>	(K') bhatamayeshu	bramanibhesu	anatheshu	vudhesu		[hta]	
<i>Mān.</i>	(A') bha[ta]mayeshu	bramanibhyesu	anatheshu	vudhreshu			hida-
<i>Dhau.</i>	(K') bhat[imayesu]	bābha[n]bh[yesu]	anathesu	ma[hāla]kesu	cha	h[ī]f[a]	
<i>Jau.</i>	.	bhanibhi	.	.	.	.	.

<i>Gir</i>	[su]khā[ya]	dhamma]-yutānam	apar[i]godhāya	vyāpatā	te	(L)	ba[m]dhana-
<i>Kāl.</i>	sukhāye	dhamma-yutaye	apalibodhāye	viyapātā	te	(L)	hamdha[na]
<i>Shāh</i>	sukhāye	[dham]ma-yutasa	apali[o]dha	vap[a]ta	te	(L)	badhana-
<i>Mān.</i>	su[khāye]	dharma-yuta-	apalibodhaye	viya[p]uta	te	(L)	badhana-
<i>Dhau.</i>	sukhāye	dhamma-y utāye	a[pa]libodhāye	viya[pa]tā	se	(L)	hamdhana-
<i>Jau.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.

<i>Gir</i>	badhasa	patividdhānāya	.	.	.	.	.
<i>Kāl</i>	[badha]sa	patividdhānay[e]	apalibodhaye	mokh[a]ye	chā	eyam	anubadh[a]
<i>Shāh.</i>	badhasa	patividdhānay[e]	apalibodhaye	mo[kshāye]	ayī	anuba	.
<i>Mān.</i>	badha[sā]	pativ[iddhā]nāye	apalibodhaye	mokshay[ī]	cha	iyam]	anubadha
<i>Dhau.</i>	[ba]dhas[a]	p[ā]t[ividdhā]nāye	apalib[o]dhāye	mokhāye	cha	iyam]	anubamdh[a]
<i>Jau.</i>	.	.	.	mokhaye	.	.	.

<i>Gir</i>	[p]rajā	katabhikāresu	vā	thairesu	vā	vyāpatā	te
<i>Kāl.</i>	prajava	ti v[a] katabhikā]le	ti	va	m[ah]a[la]ke	ti v[a]	viy[a]patā
<i>Shāh.</i>	prajava	kitabhikaro	va	mahalake	va	viyapata	[t]e
<i>Mān.</i>	p[r]aja	t[i] va	katrabhikara	ti	va	mahalake	ti
<i>Dhau.</i>	p[aj]ā	[t]i [va	ka]tabhikā[ic]	ti	va	mahālake	ti
<i>Jau.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	se

<i>Gir</i>	(M) Patalipute	cha	bāhīrasu	cha	.	.	.
<i>Kāl</i>	(M) hida]	ba[h]ilesu	cha	naga[l]jesu	s[a]vesu	olodha[n]esu]	.
<i>Shāh</i>	(M) ia	bahiresu	cha	nagaresu	savresu	orodhaneshu	.
<i>Mān</i>	(M) hida	bahiresu	cha	nagaresu]	savresu	[o]rodhaneshu	.
<i>Dhau.</i>	(M) hida	cha	bāhīlesu	cha	nagalesu	savesu	s[a]vesu
<i>Jau.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	olodhanesu]

<i>Gir</i>	.	.	.	.	[y]e	vā	pi	me	añe
<i>Kāl</i>	.	bhā[tina]m	cha	ne	bh[agi]ni[nā]	e	vā	[pi]	amñ[e]
<i>Shāh.</i>	.	bhratuna	cha	me	spasana	cha	ye	va	pi
<i>Mān</i>	.	bhatana	cha	spas[un]a	[cha]	ye	va	pi	añe
<i>Dhau.</i>	[me]	e	vā	pi	bhā[t]i]nam	me	bhaginīnam	va	amnesu
<i>Jau.</i>	.	e	[v]ā	.	.	.	.	.	.

<i>Gri.</i>	ñātikā	sarvata	vyāpatā	te	(N)	yo	aṣam	dhamma-nisīto	ti	va
<i>Kāl.</i>	nātikye	savatā	viyā[pi]tā		(N)	e	iyam	dhamma-nisīte	ti	va
<i>Shāh.</i>	ñatika	savatra	viyaputa		(N)	y[ɛ]	ayam	dh[r]ama-nisite	ti	va
<i>Man.</i>	ñatike	savratra	viyaputa		(N)	[ɛ]	iyam	dharma-nisito	to	va
<i>Dhau.</i>	[nāi]t[su]	sava[tā]	v[i]y[aputa]		(N)	e	iyam	dhamm[ā]n[isite]	ti	va
<i>Ṭau.</i>										

<i>Gri.</i>										
<i>Kāl.</i>										
<i>Shāh.</i>										
<i>Man.</i>										
<i>Dhau.</i>										
<i>Ṭau.</i>										

<i>Gri.</i>										
<i>Kāl.</i>										
<i>Shāh.</i>										
<i>Man.</i>										
<i>Dhau.</i>										
<i>Ṭau.</i>										

<i>Gri.</i>	līpī	likhita								
<i>Kāl.</i>	līpī	likhita	ch[i]lā-thitukya	hotu	[tathā]	cha	me	[pa]jja	[a]nūva[ta]tu	
<i>Shāh.</i>	dīpi	nīpusta	ch[i]ra-thitika	bhot[u]	ta[tha]	cha	[m]je	p[ɛ]jja	anuvata	
<i>Man.</i>	dīpi	likhita	chira-thitika	hotu	tatha	cha	me	praja	anuvata	
<i>Dhau.</i>	lip[i]	likh[ita]	chila thituk[ā]	hoju	t[athā]	cha	me	pa[jā]	anuvatu	
<i>Ṭau.</i>										

## SIXTH ROCK-EDICT

<i>Gri.</i>	(A)	[Deva]								
<i>Kāl.</i>	(I)	De[ā]nampi[ye]	Piyade[ɛ]	laja	he	va	m	āha	(B)	atikramam
<i>Shāh.</i>	(I)	Devanampiyo	Piyadrasī	raja	eva	ahatu	(B)	atitratam	antatam	
<i>Man.</i>	(A)	Devanapriye	Piyadrasī	raja	[e]va[m]	aa	(B)	atitratam	atitratam	
<i>Dhau.</i>	(A)	De[ā]nampi[ye]	Pi[ɛ]ada[ɛ]	laja	[he]	ve	m	[ā]ha	(B)	atitratam
<i>Ṭau.</i>	(A)	[na]mپی	Piyadrasī	laja	he	va	m	ah	(B)	atitratam

<i>Gri.</i>	na	bhuta-pru[ve]	[S]	[v]	[I]	atha	kamm	va	pativ[edana]	va
<i>Kāl.</i>	no	bhuta-puluv[ɛ]	sav[a]m	kalam	atha	k[am]me	[v]ā	[p[ɛ]t[ɛ]v[edana]	va	
<i>Shāh.</i>	na	bhuta-pruvam	sava[m]	kala[m]	atha	kammam	va	pativ[edana]	va	
<i>Man.</i>	na	bhuta-pruve	[s]v[am]	kala	attha-[krama]	va	[p[ɛ]t[ɛ]v[edana]	va		
<i>Dhau.</i>	no	[h]ū[ta]-puluve	s[av]am	kalam	attha-k[am]me	va	[pa]tiveda[n]	va		
<i>Ṭau.</i>	no	bhūta-puluv	savam	kalam	atth-kamm[ɛ]		pativ[edana]	va		

<i>Gri.</i>	(C)	ta	mayā	evam	katam	(D)	s[ɛ]v[ɛ]	kāle	bhum[ɛ]	ī[va]n[ɛ]	me
<i>Kāl.</i>	(C)	s[ɛ]	ma[may]ā	he	va	m	kate	(D)	s[ɛ]v[am]	kāl[am]	me
<i>Shāh.</i>	(C)	ta[m]	mayā	eva[m]	kitā[m]	(D)	savram	kalam	aśamanasa		me
<i>Man.</i>	(C)	ta	mayā	evam	katam	(D)	savra	kalam	aśatas		me
<i>Dhau.</i>	(C)	se	mamayā	kate	(D)	s[av]a[m]	[kalam]		[man]s[ɛ]		me
<i>Ṭau.</i>	(C)	se	mamayā	kate	(D)	savam	kalam				[ɛ]

<i>Gir.</i>		orodhanamhi	gabhāgāramhi	vachamhi	va	vinītamhi	cha	uyānesu
<i>Kal</i>		olodhanasī	gabdhāgālas[ī]	va[chas]i		vin[ī]tasi		u[y]ānāsī
<i>Shāh.</i>		orodhanaspi	grabhagaraspi	vachaspi		vinītaspi		uyanaspī
<i>Mān.</i>		orodhane	grabhagarasī	vachaspi		vinītaspi		uyanaspī
<i>Dhau.</i>	amte	olodh[ā]nāsī	ga[bhā]g[ā]lāsī	v[achas]i		[v]inītasi		[u]y[ā]n[ā]sī
<i>Ḥau.</i>	amte	olodhanasī	gabdhāgālasī	vachasī		vinītas[ī]		uyānāsī

<i>Gir.</i>	cha	savatra	pativedakā	stitā	athe	me	[ja]nasa	pativedetha
<i>Kal</i>		[sava]t[ā]	pativē[ā]lakā		atham		janasā	... vedetu
<i>Shāh.</i>		savatra	pativedakā		atham		janasa	pativedetu
<i>Mān.</i>		savatra	pa[tī][vē]k[ā]		athra		janasa	pativedetu
<i>Dhau.</i>	[cha]	sa]vata	pativedakā		janasa		atham	[ja]tivēd[ā]yamtu
<i>Ḥau.</i>	cha	savata	pativedakā		janasa		atham	pr itiveda] amtu

<i>Gir.</i>		iti	(F) sarvatra	cha	janasa	athe	karomī	
<i>Kal</i>	[m]		(F) sa]va]ta	[ch]a	ja[nas]ā	atham	kachhāmī	hakamī
<i>Shāh.</i>	me		(F) savatra	cha	ja[nas]a	ath[ī]	karomī	
<i>Mān.</i>	me		(F) savatra	cha	janasa	athra	kar[ō]mī	aham
<i>Dhau.</i>	m[ē]	ti	(F) sava]ta	ch[a]	j[a]nasa	atham	kalāmī	h[aka]mī
<i>Ḥau.</i>	me	ti	(F) savata	cha	janasa			[ka]m

<i>Gir.</i>	(F) ja	cha	kimchi	mukhato	ānāpajāmī	svayam	dāpakam	vā
<i>Kal</i>	(F) jam	pi	ch[ā] k[ī]chhi	m]u[kha]j[ī]	ānapajāmī	[ha]kam	da]pakam	v[ā]
<i>Shāh.</i>	(F) ya[m]	pi	cha k[ī]chi	mukhato	anapajamī	a[h]am	dapa[kā]	va
<i>Mān.</i>	(F) jam	pi	ch[ā] k[ī]chhi	mukhato	anapamī	aham	dapakam	va
<i>Dhau.</i>	(F) am	pi	cha ki[m]chhi	mukh[ā]w	anapaj[ā]mī		dipakam	v[a]
<i>Ḥau.</i>	(F) am	pi	cha kimchhi	mukhate	ānapajāmī		dāpakam	va

<i>Gir.</i>	śravāpakam	vā	ja	vā	puna	mahāmātresu	āchāy[ī]ke	aropitam	bhavati
<i>Kal</i>	[śāvaka]m	va	ye	va	punā	mahāmāt[ē]hī	a[tiyāy]ike	ālopite	li]o[tī]
<i>Shāh.</i>	śravaka	va	ye	va	[a]na	mahamatrana	a[cha]yika	a[ro]pitam	bhoti
<i>Mān.</i>	śravakam	va	ye	va	puna	mahamatrehi	achayike	aropite	hoti
<i>Dhau.</i>	[śā]v[a]kam	vā	e	vā		mahām[ā]ch[ī]	atiyayike	ālopite	hoti
<i>Ḥau.</i>	śāvakam	vā	e	v[ā]		mah[ā]matehi	a[ti]ya]yike	[ā]lopite	hoti

<i>Gir.</i>	tāya athāya	vivādo	nijhati	v[ā]	samto	parisāyamī	ānamtarām	
<i>Kal</i>	ta[yeth]a]ye	vivāde	n[i]jhati	v[ā]	samtamī	parisā]ye	anam[ta]l[i]yem	
<i>Shāh.</i>	taye athaye	viva]de	nijha[tī]	va	satam	parishaye	anamtariye	na
<i>Mān.</i>	taye athariye	vivade	nijati	va	samta	pari]sha]ye	a[na]taliyena	
<i>Dhau.</i>	tasi athasi	v[i]vāde	va	[n]ijhati	va	samtam	parihāya	āna[m]taliyam
<i>Ḥau.</i>	tasi athasi	vivāde	va			lisāy[am]	a]nam[ta]liyam	

<i>Gir.</i>	pat[ī]ved[ī]ta[v]am	me	sa[r]vatra	sarve	kāle	(G) evam	mayā	
<i>Kal</i>	pat[ī]	... viye	me	sav[ā]t[ā]	savam	kālam	(G) hevam	ānapayite
<i>Shāh.</i>	pativedetavo	me	savatra	savam	kala[m]	(G) eva	anapita[m]	
<i>Mān.</i>	pativedetaviye	me	savatra	sava	kāla	(G) evam	anapita	
<i>Dhau.</i>	pat[ī]v[ē]k[ī]ta[v[ī]]e	me	ti	savata	savam	kālam	(G) heva[m]	me
<i>Ḥau.</i>	pativedetaviye	me	ti	savata	savam	kālam	(G) hevam	me

<sup>1</sup> The preceding passage from section E is repeated thus: (E) savatra cha atham janasa karomī a[h]am (F) jam cha kuchi mukhato anapamī aham dapa]m va śravaka va ye va pana naha

<i>Gir</i>	ahapitam	(H)	nāsti	hi	me	to[s]o	ustānamhi	atha-samtiranāya	va
<i>Kāl</i>	m[a]mayā	(H)	nathi	hi	me	dose	uthān[ā]sā	atha-samt[ā]naye	cha
<i>Shāh</i>	mayā	(H)	[na]sti	hi	me	toshō	uthanas[i]	atha-sa[m]tiranāye	[ch i]
<i>Māu</i>	mayā	(H)	nasti	hi	me	toshe	[uthanas]	ath[r]i-sa[m]tiranaye	cha
<i>Dhau</i>	amusathe	(H)	nath[i]	hi	ni	[to-]	u[th ma]si	atha-samtīlanāya	cha
<i>Ṭau</i>	amusathe	(H)	nathi	hi	me	tose	uthānasi	atha-samtīlan[ī]y[ā]	cha

<i>Gir</i>	(f)	katavya	mate	hi	me	sa[rva]-loka-hitam	(7)	tasa	cha	pina
<i>Kāl</i>	(f)	kat[ā]viya	-mate	hi	me	ś[a]va-loka-hi[te]	(7)	t[ā]sā	ch[ā]	[p]u[n]ā
<i>Shāh</i>	(f)	katava	-matam	hi	me	sava-loka hitam	(7)	ta[sa]	cha	
<i>Māu</i>	(f)	kataviya	-mate	hi	me	sava-loka h[ī]te	(7)	[ta]sa	chi	pina
<i>Dhau</i>	(f)	kataviya	-m[ī]t[ī]	hi	me	sava-loka-hite	(7)	tasa	cha	pina
<i>Ṭau</i>	(f)				me	sava-loka-hite	(7)	tasa	chi	pina

<i>Gir</i>	esa	mūle	ustānam	cha	atha-samtiranā	cha	(K)	nasti	hi
<i>Kāl</i>	es[ā]	mule	nth[ānī]		[a]tha samtilana	chā	(K)	[na]thi	hi
<i>Shāh</i>	mūlām	etia	uthanani		atha-samtirana	cha	(K)	na[sti]	hi
<i>Māu</i>	eshe	mule	uthani		athra satirana	cha	(K)	nasti	hi
<i>Dhau</i>	iyam	mūle	[u]thān[ī]	cha	a]tha-samtīl[ā]n[ī]	cha	(K)	nathi	hi
<i>Ṭau</i>	iyam	mūle	uthane	cha	atha samtilan[ī]	cha	(K)	nathi	hi

<i>Gir</i>	kammataram	sarva-loka-hitatpa	(Z)	ya	cha	kimchi	parakramam
<i>Kāl</i>	kam[ī]n[ī]kala	sava lo[ka] hitenā	(Z)	y am	cha	kichhi	palakamam
<i>Shāh</i>	k[r]imatar[ā]m	sava loka hit[ī]n[ī]	(Z)	y am	cha	kich	parak[r]imam
<i>Māu</i>	kramatara	savva-loka-hitena	(Z)	y al[ī]	cha	[kichi]	pa[ra]kra[m]am
<i>Dhau</i>	kammatā	[sa]va-lo[ka] hitenā	(Z)	[am]	ch[ā]	kichhi	pa[ra]lakamam
<i>Ṭau</i>	k[ā]m[ī]natālī	sava loka hiten[ā]	(Z)	am	cha	kichhi	p[ā]lakamam

<i>Gir</i>	aham	kimti	bhūtānam	ān unnam	gachhe yam	idhi	chi	n un	
<i>Kāl</i>	hakam	kiti	bhutānam	[a]nanyam	ye[ham]	hi[hi]	cha	[kā]m	
<i>Shah</i>		kiti	bhutānam	ananiyam	v[r]u h[ī] y am	ia	cha	sha	
<i>Māu</i>	aam	k[i]t[i]	bh[ū]tanam	ananyim	ye[ham]	ia	cha	she	
<i>Dhau</i>	hakam	kimti	bhūtānam	ān[ī]nyam	y ch[ī]m	ti	[h]i[d i]	chi	[k]im[ī]
<i>Ṭau</i>	hakam			[n]nyam	y chām	ti	hida	cha	kam

<i>Gir</i>	sukhapay am	parat[ī]	cha	svagam	trādhayantu	(H)	ta
<i>Kāl</i>	sukhāy am	palata	cha	svagam	alādhayitu	(H)	ś[ī]
<i>Shāh</i>	sukhayam	paratra	cha	spagam	aradh tu	(H)	
<i>Māu</i>	sukhayam	paratra	cha	spagr i	a[ī]lhetu	(H)	si
<i>Dhau</i>	sukhayam	pal[ī]l[ī]	cha	svag[ī]m	āl[ī]dhayantu	(H)	
<i>Ṭau</i>	sa[khā]y am	palata	chi	svagam	aladhayantu	(H)	

matranāya achay[ī]kam anapita[m] bhūti ā[ā] athaye [ī] p[ā]d[ī] sa[m]tam n[ī]p[ā]ti . . . p[ā]n[ī]d[ī] .  
anantāyāna p[ā]tredehāya

<sup>1</sup> On p. 12 above, l. 7, place *ta* after (M), and cancel foot-note 2. On p. 13, l. 11 read '(M)  
Now, for the following purpose', &c.

<i>Gir.</i>	etāya	athāya	ayam	dha[m]ma-lipī	lekḥāpitā	kuṁti	chiram	tisteya
<i>Kāl.</i>	etā[y]ethāye		iyam	dhama-lipi	lekhitā	chila	thitukyā	hotu
<i>Shāh.</i>	etaye	athaye	ayi	dhrama	nipista	chura	thitika	lhotu
<i>Māu.</i>	etaye	athraye	iyam	dhrama-dīpi	likhita	chira	thitika	hotu
<i>Dhau.</i>	et[ā]y[e]	athāye	i[yam]	dhamma-lipi	likhitā	ch[i]la	th[i]tikā	hotu
<i>Ṭau.</i>	etāye	athaye	i[ya]m	dhamma-lipi	likhitā	chila	thitika	hotu

<i>Gir.</i>	iti	tathā	cha	me	putrā	potā	cha	prapotrā	cha	anuvataṛam
<i>Kāl.</i>		tathā	cha	me	puta	dāle				palakamātu
<i>Shāh.</i>		tatha	cha	me	putra	nataro				parakramamtu
<i>Māu.</i>		ta[tha	cha]	me	pu[tra	nata]re				para[kra]mate
<i>Dhau.</i>		ta[th]ā	cha		putā			papoṭā	me	palakamā[m]t[ā]
<i>Ṭau.</i>		.			.	.		[t]ā	me	[pa]lakamamtu

<i>Gir.</i>	sava-loka-hitāya	(N)	dukaram	[t]u		idam	añatra
<i>Kāl.</i>	sava-loka-hita[y]	(N)	dukale	ch[u]		iyam	anat[ā]
<i>Shāh.</i>	sava-lo[ka-hita]ye	(N)	[du]ka	tu	[kh]o	imam	añat[r]
<i>Māu.</i>	s. i[ra-lo]hi-hitaye	(N)	dukare	cha	kho		[a]ñatra
<i>Dhau.</i>	[sava-loka]-hitāye	(N)	dukale	chu		iyam	amnat[ā]
<i>Ṭau.</i>	sava loka-hitāye	(N)	dukale	chu		i[ā]m	amnat.

<i>Gir.</i>	agena	parākramena
<i>Kāl.</i>	agenā	palakam[e]nā
<i>Shāh.</i>	agre	parākramena
<i>Māu.</i>	a[ḡ]re	para[kra]mena
<i>Dhau.</i>	a[ḡ]en[ā]	pa]lakamena
<i>Ṭau.</i>	agena	palakamena

## SEVENTH ROCK-EDICT

<i>Gir.</i>	(A)	Devānampiyo	Piyadasi	rājā	savata	ichhati	save	pāsamda
<i>Kāl.</i>	(A)	Devanampiyē	*Piyadasi	lājā	[savat]i	[i]chhati	sava-	p[ā]samda
<i>Shāh.</i>	(A)	Devanampriyo	Priyāsī	raja	savatra	ichhati	sava-	[p]āshamda
<i>Māu.</i>	(A)	Devanapriyo	Priyadrasī	raja	savatra	ichhati	sava-	pashada
<i>Dhau.</i>	(A)	[D]evānam[p]iye	Piy[a]dasi	lājā	savata	ichhat[i]	sava-p[ā]sam[dā]	
<i>Ṭau.</i>	(A)	.	da[si]	lājā	savata	ichhati	sava-p[ā]samda	

<i>Gir.</i>	vaseyu	(B)	save	te	sayamam	cha	bhāva-sudhim
<i>Kāl.</i>	vas[e]vu	(B)	[sa]ve	hi	te	sayama[un]	bhāva-sudhi
<i>Shāh.</i>	vaseyu	(B)	save	hi	te	sayame	bhava-sudhi
<i>Māu.</i>	vaseyu	(B)	savre	hi	te	sa[ya]ma	[bha]va-su[dh]
<i>Dhau.</i>	[va]sevū	ti	(B)	save	h[i]	te	sa]yamam
<i>Ṭau.</i>	va[s]e . .	[t]	(B)	[sav]e	hi	te	sa[yama]m

<i>Gir.</i>	cha	ichhati	(C)	jano	tu	uchāvacha	chhamdo
<i>Kāl.</i>	chā	ichhamti	(C)	jane	[ch]u	uchāvuchā	chh[a]mde
<i>Shāh.</i>	cha	ichhamti	(C)	jano	chu	uchavucha	chhamdo
<i>Māu.</i>	[cha	ichham]ti	(C)	jane	chu	uchavurha	chhade
<i>Dhau.</i>	ch i	ichhamti	(C)	mun[i]sā	ch[ā]	u]ch[ā]v[u]cha	-chh[a]m[d]ā
<i>Ṭau.</i>	cha	ichhamti	(C)	munisā	cha	uchāvucha	chhamdā



<i>Gir.</i>	uchāvacha-rāgo	(D)	te	savram	va	kasamti	eka-desam	va	kasa[m]u
<i>Kāl</i>	uchāvucha-lā[ḡ]e	(D)	te	savam			eka-de[s]am	pi	k[ā]chham[t]h
<i>Shāh</i>	uchavucha-rago	(D)	te	savram	va		eka-de[s]am	va	pi kashamti
<i>Mān.</i>	uchavucha-rage	(D)	te	savram			eka-de[s]am	va	pi kashati
<i>Dhau.</i>	uchāvucha-lāgā	(D)	te	savam	vā		ek[ā]de[s]am	va	kachham[t]u
<i>Jau.</i>	uchāvuch[a]-lāga	(D)					[s]am	va	kachhamti

<i>Gir.</i>	(F) vipul[ḡ]	tu	pi	dane	yasa	nasti	sayame	bhāva-sudhita
<i>Kāl</i>	(F) vipule	pi	chu	dan[e]	asā	nathu	sayame	bhā[va]-sudh[ī]
<i>Shāh</i>	(F) vipule	pi	chu	dane	yasa	nasti	sayama	bhava-sudhi
<i>Mān.</i>	(F) [v]ipule	pi	ch[u]	dane	yasa	nasti	sayame	bhava-soti
<i>Dhau.</i>	(F) vipul[ḡ]	pi	chā	dāne	asa	n[athu]	sayame	[bh]ava-sudhi
<i>Jau.</i>	(F) [v]i[pu]l[ḡ]	[p]	chā	[d]āne				[dhi]

<i>Gir</i>	va	katamānāta	va	dadhā-bhatit[ḡ]	cha	nicha	badham
<i>Kāl</i>		katamā[ḡ]		d[ḡ]dhā-bhatitā	chā	n[ic]h[ḡ]	bādham
<i>Shāh</i>		kitranata		dridha-bhatita		mehe	padham
<i>Mān.</i>		kitanata		dridha-bhatita	cha	nichu	badham
<i>Dhau.</i>					cha	nichu	badham
<i>Jau.</i>					cha	mehe	[d]adham

## EIGHTH ROCK-EDICT

<i>Gir</i>	(I) atikātam	amtaram	ataram	vihara-yātam
<i>Kāl</i>	(I) atikamtam	a[m]talām	Devānampiya	[vihara-yātam]
<i>Shāh.</i>	(I) atikratam	ataram	Devanampriya	vihara-yatra
<i>Mān.</i>	(I) a[ti]kratam	ataram	Devanampriya	vihara yatra
<i>Dhau.</i>	(I) [atika]m[ta]m	amt[ā]m	ka[ti]k[ḡ]	[vi]h[ā]la-yātam
<i>Jau.</i>				
<i>Sōp</i>				

<i>Gir</i>	nayāsu	(B) eta	mugavya	amnam	cha	etarisam
<i>Kāl</i>	nikhamsu	(B) hidā	mugaviyā	amnam	cha	hetisam
<i>Shāh</i>	nikhamsu	(B) atra	mugaya	amnam	cha	etisam
<i>Mān.</i>	nikhamsu	(B) ia	mugaviya	amnam	cha	etisam
<i>Dhau.</i>	[n][kha]m[ḡ][u]	(B) [ta	mugaviyā]	a[m]n[am]	ch[ḡ]	etisam
<i>Jau.</i>			[v][ḡ]	[a]mnam	cha	et[ḡ]
<i>Sōp</i>						

<i>Gir</i>	abhiramakāni	ahumso	(C) so	Devānampiyo	Piyadasi
<i>Kāl</i>	abhiāmān[ḡ]	husu	(C)	Devanampiy	Piyadasi
<i>Shāh</i>	abhiramani	abhuvasu	(C) so	Devanampiy	Piyadasi
<i>Mān.</i>	abhiamani	husu	(C) s[ḡ]	Devanampiy	Piyadasi
<i>Dhau.</i>	a[bh][ḡ]amāni	huvamti	(C) se	Devanampiy	Piyadasi
<i>Jau.</i>	[m]āni	huvamti	(C) se	Devanampiy	[Piy]
<i>Sōp</i>					

<i>Gir.</i>	rājā	daśa-varṣābhisito	santo	ayāya	Sambodhim	(D) teneśa
<i>Kāl.</i>	lājā	daś[ā]-varṣābhisite	santam	nikhamitā	Sambodhi	(D) tenatā
<i>Shāh.</i>	raja	daśa-vashabhisito	satam	nikrami	Sabodhi	(D) tenada
<i>Mān.</i>	raja	daśa-vashabhisite	samta[in]	nikrami	Sabodhi	(D) tenada
<i>Dhau.</i>	lājā	d[ā]śa-[va]śābhisit[ē]		[n]ikhami	Sambodh[i]	(D) [t]e[na]tā
<i>Jau.</i>		[daśa]				
<i>Söp.</i>				nikhamittha	Sa	

<i>Gir.</i>	dhamma-yatā	(E) etayam	hoti	bāmhana-samanānam	dasane	
<i>Kāl.</i>	dhamma-yātā	(E) [h]etā	iyam	hoti	samana-bambhananam	dasane
<i>Shāh.</i>	dhramina-yatra	(E) atra	iyam	hoti	śramana-bramananam	draśane
<i>Mān.</i>	dhruma-yada	(E) atra	iya	hoti	śamana-bramanana	dra[śa]ne
<i>Dhau.</i>	dhamma-yātā	(E) [ta]tesa	[ho]u	samana-bābhanānam	d[a]ś[ā]n[ē]	
<i>Jau.</i>		[tā]	hoti	[sa]		
<i>Söp.</i>		(E) heta	iyam	[ho]u	bam[bha]	

<i>Gir.</i>	cha	dāne	cha	thaurānam	dasane	ch[a]	hiramna-patividhano	cha
<i>Kāl.</i>	cha	dāne	cha	vudh[ā]nam	daśa[n]e	ch[a]	hīlamna-pat[iv]idhane	chā
<i>Shāh.</i>		danam		vudhāna[m]	daśana		hirañña-p[ati]vidhane	cha
<i>Mān.</i>		dane	cha	vudhira	dra[śa]ne	[cha]	hiñña-pat[iv]idhane	[cha]
<i>Dhau.</i>	ch[a]	d[ane]	cha	v[u]dhanam	dasane	cha	h[ī]lamna-p[ati]vidha[n]e	cha
<i>Jau.</i>	cha	dāne	cha	vudhanam	dasane	cha	hīlamna-pat[iv]idhāne	[cha]
<i>Söp.</i>				vudhānam	dasane	[cha]	hiramna-pat[iv]idhāne	cha

<i>Gir.</i>	jānapadasa	cha	janasa	daspanam		dhammānus[ā]ti	cha
<i>Kāl.</i>	[jā]napadāsā		[ja]n[ā]sā	daśa[n]e		dhammanus[ā]ti	cha
<i>Shāh.</i>	[jana]padasa		janasa	draśana		dhramanuśasti	
<i>Mān.</i>	janapadasa		janasa	draśane		dhramanuśasti	cha
<i>Dhau.</i>	[jana]padasa		janasa	[daśa]ne	cha	dhammānu[śath]i	[ch]
<i>Jau.</i>							
<i>Söp.</i>						[dha*]nmanusa[ti]	

<i>Gir.</i>	dhama-paripucchha	cha	tadopayā	(F) eśā	bhuya	ratu
<i>Kāl.</i>	dhama-palipucchā	chā	tatopa[yā]	(F) [c]e	bh[u]ye	latu
<i>Shāh.</i>	dhrama-pa[r]i[p]r[uh]ha	cha	tatopayam	(F) eshe	bhuy[ē]	ra[ti]
<i>Mān.</i>	dhrama-[pa]r[ic]hha	cha	tatopaya	(F) eshe	bhuyē	ratu
<i>Dhau.</i>	[p]u[cc]h[ā]	cha	[ta]t[ic]payā	(F) [c]ā	bhuyē	abhiham
<i>Jau.</i>	[dha]mma-p[ic]h[ā]					ilām
<i>Söp.</i>	dhanima	.			ye	[ra]u

<i>Gir.</i>	bhavati	Devānampiyasa	Priyadasino	rañño	bhā[ḡ]e	amīe
<i>Kāl.</i>	hoti	Devānampiyasa	Priyadas[ī]sā	lājine	bh[ā]ḡ[ē]	amīne
<i>Shāh.</i>	bhoti	Devānampiyasa	Priyadrasīsa	rañño	bhago	amīh
<i>Mān.</i>	hoti	Devānapriyasa	Priyadrasīsa	rajine	bhage	ane
<i>Dhau.</i>	hoti	Devānampiyasa	Piyada[ś]ine	lājine	bhāḡe	[am]ne
<i>Jau.</i>	hoti	De[v]ānampiyasa	Piyadasine	lājine	bhāḡe	[a]
<i>Söp.</i>	hoti	De		n[ē]	bhāḡe	am

## NINTH ROCK-EDICT

<i>Gir</i>	(A) Devānampiyo	Priyadasi	rājā	eva	āha	(B) asti	jano
<i>Kāl</i>	(A) Devānampiye	Priy[ā]dasi	lā[ja]		aha	(B)	jan[et]
<i>Shāh</i>	(A) Devānampiyo	Priyadasi	rājya	evam	ahati	(B)	jano
<i>Māu</i>	(A) Devānampiye	Priyadasi	raja	evam	aha	(B)	jane
<i>Dhan</i>	(A) Devānampiye	Piyadasi	lāja	hevam	āhā	(B) [athu]	i[hu]
<i>Ṭau</i>	(A) Devānampiye	Piyadasi	lā[ā]				

<i>Gir</i>	uchāvacham	mamgalam	karoti	abādhesu	va	āvāha vivāhesu	
<i>Kāl</i>	uch[av]ucham	mamgalam	ka[et]ti	abādhasi		av[āha]si vivāhasi	
<i>Shāh</i>	uchavucham	mamgalam	karoti	abādhe		avāhe vivāhe	
<i>Māu</i>	uchavucha[m]	ma[ga]la[m]	karoti	abādhasi		a[va]hasi v[ā]hasi	
<i>Dhan</i>	uchavucham	mamgalam	ka[et]ti	[ab]ādha		[v][vā]ha	
<i>Ṭau</i>							

<i>Gir</i>	va	putra-lābhesu	va	pravasammhi	va	etanhi	cha	añamhi	cha
<i>Kāl</i>		putrapadāne		pavāsasi		et[ti]ye		amunaye	cha
<i>Shāh</i>		putrapadaue		pravase		ataye		amaye	cha
<i>Māu</i>		putrapadaye		pravasasi		etaye		amaye	[cha]
<i>Dhan</i>		[u]putdaye		pavā[sa]si		etaye		amunaye	ch[a]
<i>Ṭau</i>		[u]putdaye		pavasasi		etaye		amunaye	cha

<i>Gir</i>		jano	uchavacham	mamgalam	karoti	(C) eta	tu
<i>Kāl</i>	edisaye	jane	bahu	magala[m]	k[ā]ti	(C) het	[ch]u
<i>Shāh</i>	edisay[et]	jano	ba	mamgalam	karoti	(C) atra	tu
<i>Māu</i>	[et]isay[et]	jane	bahu	mamgalam	ka[ro]ti	(C) atra	tu
<i>Dhan</i>	hedisaye	[ā]n[et]	bahukam	mamgalam	k[ā]	(C)	[ch]u
<i>Ṭau</i>	hedisaye	jane	[ba]hu[k]am				

<i>Gir</i>	mahadayo	bahukam	cha	bahuvudham	chi	chhudam	cha
<i>Kāl</i>	abaka-jam[yo]	buhu	cha	bahuvudham	cha	khuda	[ch]u
<i>Shāh</i>	stiyaka	bahu	chi	bahuvudham	chi	putika	cha
<i>Māu</i>	abak i-janika	bahu	cha	bahuvudhi	cha	khuda	cha
<i>Dhan</i>	ithi	b[ah]uka[m]	cha	[ba]hu[v]udh[am]	ch[ā]	li[ud]am	cha
<i>Ṭau</i>							

<i>Gir</i>	nirath[am]	cha	mamgalam	karoti	(D) ta	katavyam	va	tu
<i>Kāl</i>	nilathiya	cha	magalam	ka[la]mti	(D) se	katavi	cheva	kho
<i>Shāh</i>	nirathiyam	cha	mamgalam	karoti	(D) so	katavo	chi [va]	kho
<i>Māu</i>	nirathiyu	cha	magalam	karoti	(D) se	kataviye	cheva	kho
<i>Dhan</i>	[nilath]iyam	cha	mamgalam	kaleti	(D) se	kat[ā]viye	cheva	kh[o]
<i>Ṭau</i>		[cha]	ma[n]ga[la]m	k[ā]leti	(D) se	kataviye	cheva	kho

<i>Gir</i>	magalam	(E) apa-phalam	tu	kho	etamsam		mamgalam
<i>Kāl</i>	mungale	(E) apa-phale	[ch]u	kho	[et]et		
<i>Shāh</i>	mamgala	(E) apa-phala[m]	tu	kho	eta		
<i>Māu</i>	magale	(E) apa-phale	chu	[kho]	et[he]		
<i>Dhan</i>	m[a]ngale	(E) [a]pa-phale	chu	kho	et[sa]	h[et]disi	mam[ga]
<i>Ṭau</i>	mameale	(E) apa-[pha]le	chu	[k]ho	[et]sa	h[et]disi	ma

<i>Gir</i>	( <i>ʔ</i> )	ayam	tu		mah[ā]-phale	mamgale	ya	dhamma-mamgale
<i>Kāl</i>	( <i>ʔ</i> )	[i]yam	chu	kho	mah[ā]-ph[a]le		ye	dhamma-magale
<i>Shāh</i>	( <i>ʔ</i> )	imam	[t]u	kho	maha-phala		ye	ma-mamgala
<i>Mān</i>	( <i>ʔ</i> )	iyam	chu	kho	maha-phale		ye	dhrama-magale
<i>Dhan</i>	( <i>ʔ</i> )	[ɔ̃]m	[ch]u	kho	mah[ā]-ph[a]le		e	[dha]mma-mamgale
<i>ʔau</i>	( <i>ʔ</i> )	[i]ya]m	[chu]					

<i>Gir</i>	( <i>G</i> )	ta[te]ta		dāsa-bhatakamhi	samya-pratipati		gurūnam	apachuti
<i>Kāl</i>	( <i>G</i> )	he[ti]	iyam	dāsa-bhatakasi	s[a]myā-patip[a]ti		gulunā	apachuti
<i>Shāh</i>	( <i>G</i> )	[a]tra	ima	dasa-bhatakasa	samina-patipati		garuna	apachuti
<i>Mān</i>	( <i>G</i> )	atra	iyam	dasa-bhatakasi	samya-patipati		guruna	a[pachit]
<i>Dhan</i>	( <i>G</i> )	[ta]te[sa		d[ā]sa-bhatakasi	sammyā-patipat[i]		gulūnam	a[pa]
<i>ʔau</i>				[sa-bha]takasi	sammyā-patipati		gulūnam	apachuti

<i>Gir</i>	sādhu	pāncsu		sayamo	sādhu	bamhana-samanānani	sadhu
<i>Kāl</i>		[p]ā[n]ān[am]		samyame		s[a]man[a]-bambhanānam	
<i>Shāh</i>		prananam		s[a]myamo		āmāna-bramanana	
<i>Mān</i>		pra[n]a		[sa]yame		śramana-bramanana	
<i>Dhan</i>				[me]		samana-bābhan[ā]nam	
<i>ʔau</i>		pāncsu		say[a]me		saman[a]-bābha[n]ā[nam]	

<i>Gir</i>	dānam	et[a]	cha	aū[a]	cha	etārisam	dhamma-mamgalam	nām
<i>Kāl</i>	dāne	ese		amne	chā	hedisc	dhamma-magale	nama
<i>Shāh</i>	dāna	etam		añam	cha		dhrama-mamga[la]m	nama
<i>Mān</i>	[danc]	[she		anc	cha	chisc	dhrama-magale	nama
<i>Dhan</i>	dāne	esa		amne	ch[a]		[dh]mma-mamga[le	nāma]
<i>ʔau</i>	[d]ā[n]e	[esa		a]n[n]e				

<i>Gir</i>	( <i>ʔ</i> )	ta	vataavyam	pitā	va	putena	vā	bhātrā	vā	svāmikena
<i>Kāl</i>	( <i>ʔ</i> )	si	vata[v]ye	pitana	pi	putena	pi	bh[ā]tinā	pi	suvāmiken[a]
<i>Shāh</i>	( <i>ʔ</i> )	[s]o	vatavo	pituna	pi	putrena	pi	bhratana	pi	spamik[e]na
<i>Mān</i>	( <i>ʔ</i> )	se	vataviye	pi[tu]na	pi	putrena	pi	bhratuna	pi	spamikena
<i>Dhan</i>	( <i>ʔ</i> )	[sc]	vata[viye	pi]t[inā	pi	pute]na	pi	bhatina	pi	suvāmike[na]
<i>ʔau</i>				[pi]tinā	pi	putena	pi	bhātina	pi	suvāmike[na]

<i>Gir</i>	va						idam	sadhu	idam
<i>Kāl</i>	pi	mita-samthuten[a]		ava	pativesiyenā	[p]	iyam	sadhu	iyam
<i>Shāh</i>	pi	mitra-sasutena		ava	prativeśiyena		imam	sadhu	[imam]
<i>Mān</i>	pi	mitra-sa[m]tutena		[a]va	pativeśiyena	pi	iyam	sadhu	iyam
<i>Dhan</i>	[p]								
<i>ʔau</i>	pi						iyam	sadhu	iyam

<i>Gir</i>	katavya	mamgalam	āva	tasa	athasa	nistānāya	( <i>ʔ</i> )	asti
<i>Kāl</i>	kataviye	[ma]g[a]le	āva	[t]asa	athas	ni[v]utiyā		
<i>Shāh</i>	kat[vo]	mamgala[m]	yava	tasa	athrasa	nivutiya		nivutasi
<i>Mān</i>	kataviye	magale	ava	tasa	athrasa	nivutiya		nivutasi
<i>Dhan</i>		[l]e	[a]va	tasa	athas[a]	niphauy[ā]	( <i>ʔ</i> )	[a]thi
<i>ʔau</i>	kataviye							

<i>Cur</i>	cha	pi	vutam	sādhu	dana	iti	(Ḥ) na	tu	etarissam	as
<i>Kāl</i>			imam	kachhāmu	ti	(Ḥ) e	hi	[ta]le	magale	
<i>Shah</i>	va	p[ɪ]na	imam	kasham		(Ḥ) ye	hi	etake	magale	
<i>Māu</i>	va	puna	ima	[ka]khami	ti	(Ḥ) e	hi	[i]tare	mag[ile]	
<i>Dhau</i>	[cha	heva]m	v[ɪ]te	dāne	s[ā]dh[ū]	ti	(Ḥ) [s]e	[na]thi	.	
<i>ḡau</i>									[s]e	

<i>Cur</i>	dānam	va	ana[ga]ho	va	yaisam	dhamma-dānam	va	dhamanugaho	va	
<i>Kāl</i>	sa[m]bayikve	se	(Ḥ) siya	va	tam	atham	nivatey[ā]	siya	punā	no
<i>Shah</i>	saṣayike	tam	(Ḥ) siya	vo	tam	atham	nivateyati	siya	puna	no
<i>Māu</i>	sa[ṣa]yike	se	(Ḥ) s[ɪ]a	va	tam	athram	nivateyi	s[ɪ]a	pana	no
<i>Dhau</i>		[an]i[ra]h[ɪ]	v[ā]	ad[ɪ]	[se	dha]mma	dane	dham[manugaho]		
<i>ḡau</i>	dāne	anugah[ɪ]	vā	ad[ɪ]	[s]e	dhamma-dāne		dhammanugah[ɪ]	cha	

<i>Cur</i>	(K) ta tu kho	mitena	va	suhadayena	[v]a	natikena	va	sahāyana	va
<i>Kāl</i>	(K) lu[da]lokiki	chev[ɪ]	se	(Ḥ) iyam	punā	dhamma	magale	akaliki	[ɪ]
<i>Shah</i>	(K) ialoka	cha vo	tam	(Ḥ) ida	puna	dhrama-magalām	akalikam		
<i>Māu</i>	(K) hida[ɔ]kike	cheva	se	(Ḥ) iyam	puna	dhrama	magale	akaliki	
<i>Dhau</i>	(K)	[m]						[tɪ]k[ɪ]m	sahāye[na p]
<i>ḡau</i>	(K) se chu kho	mitena							

<i>Cur</i>	ovaditavyam	tamhi	tamhi	pakarane	[ɪ]kām	kacham	idam	sadha	iti	
<i>Kāl</i>	(M) hamche	pi	tam	atham	no	niteti	hida	atham	palata	anamtam
<i>Shah</i>	(M) yadi	puna	tam	atham	na	nivat[ɪ]	ti	atha	paratra	anamtam
<i>Māu</i>	(M) [ha]che	pi	tam	atham	no	nivateti	[hi]k[ɪ]	a[ɪ]tha	paratra	anata
<i>Dhau</i>	vivyovadita		[ɪ]	[ɪ]asi	pak[ɪ]lana[ɪ]	[ɪ]ya]m				
<i>ḡau</i>							yam	sādh[ū]		

<i>Cur</i>	imma	sak[ɪ]	svagam	ārādhetu	iti	(Ḥ) ki	cha	imma	katavyataram	
<i>Kāl</i>	punā	pasavati	(M) hamche	puna	tam	atham	nivat[ɪ]	ti	hida	tato
<i>Shah</i>	puñam	prasavati	(M) hamche	puna	tam	atham	nivateti		tato	
<i>Māu</i>	puna	prasavati	(M) hiche	puna	ta[m]	atham	nivat[ɪ]	ti	hida	tato
<i>Dhau</i>						[ɪ]jālhyitave	(Ḥ)		ta[v]	
<i>ḡau</i>	imena	sakiye	svage	ārādhyatave	(Ḥ) kum	hi	imma		katavyatata	

<i>Cur</i>	yathā	svagaradhī								
<i>Kāl</i>	ubhaye[sam]	ladhu	hoti	hida	chā	se	atho	palata	chi	anamtam
<i>Shah</i>	u[bha]y[ɪ]	[s]i	ladham	bhoti	na	chā	so	atho	paratra	chi
<i>Māu</i>	ubhay[am]	[arə]dhe	hoti	hida	cha	se	athre	paratra	cha	anata
<i>Dhau</i>		[svagas]	ū[ad]h[ɪ]							
<i>ḡau</i>										

<i>Kāl.</i>	puna	pasavati	tenā	dhamma-magale[ɪ]	
<i>Shāh.</i>	puñam	prasavati	tena	dhrammagalena	
<i>Māu.</i>	punañ	prasavati	tena	dhrammagale[ɪ]	

## TENTH ROCK-EDICT

<i>Gir.</i>	(A) Devānampiyo	Priyadasi	rājā	yaso	va	kīti	va	na
<i>Kal.</i>	(A) Devā[nam]piye	Priy[a]dashā	lajā	y[a]śho	vā	kīti	vā	no
<i>Shāh.</i>	(I) Devanapriye	Priyadraśi	raya	yaśo	va	kītri	va	no
<i>Mān.</i>	(A) [Devana]piye	Priyadraśi	raya	yaśo	va	kīṭi	va	no
<i>Phau.</i>	(A) [Dɛ vanam]piye	Priyad[a]s[i]	lajā	yaso	v]a	[k]iti	vā	n .
<i>Ṭau.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.

<i>Gir</i>	mahāthāvah[a]	mañiate	añata						
<i>Kāl</i>	[ma]hathāvā	manati	aṇ[a]tā	[ya]m	pi	yaso	vā	k[ɪ]ṭi	va
<i>Shāh</i>	mahathavaha	mañati	añatra	yo	pi	yaśo		kūtri	va
<i>Mān.</i>	mahathravaham	mañati	aṇatra	yam	pi	ya[śo	va]	kṛti	va
<i>Phau.</i>	.	[ha]m	mam[nate]	.	i	[yaso]	vā	k[it]i	[v]i
<i>Ṭau</i>	.	.	.	.	.	[ya]o	va	k[ɪ]ṭi	vā

<i>Gir.</i>		tadātpano	dighāya	cha	me	[ja]no	dhamma-susru[m]sā	
<i>Kāl.</i>	ichh[at]i	tadatvāye	ayatiye	chā	jane		dhamma-sususha	
<i>Shāh.</i>	ichhati	tadatvaye	ayatiya	cha	jane		dhrama-suśrasha	
<i>Mān.</i>	ichhati	tadatvaye	ayatiya	cha	jane		[dhra]ma-suśrusha	
<i>Phau.</i>	ichhati	tadatvāye	[ā]	.	[ja]ne	.	[sūsa]m	
<i>Ṭau.</i>	ichh[a]ti	tadatvāye	ā[ya]tiye	cha	jane		dhamma-susūsam	

<i>Gir.</i>	susrusatā		dhamma-vutam	cha	anuvidhiyatām			
<i>Kāl.</i>	susushātu	me	ti	dhamma-vatam	vā	anuv[ɪ]dh[ɪ]ya[m]tu	ti	
<i>Shāh.</i>	suśrushatu	me	ti	dhramma-vutam	cha	anuv[ɪ]dh[ɪ]yatū		
<i>Mān.</i>	suśrushatu	me	ti	dhrama-vutam	cha]	anuvidhiyatū	ti	
<i>Phau.</i>	[susū]s[at]u	[m]e	dhamma	.			[me]	
<i>Ṭau.</i>	sususatū	me	.	.	.	.	.	.

<i>Gir.</i>	(B) etakaya	Devānampiyo	Piyadasi	raja	yaso	va	kīti	va
<i>Kāl.</i>	(B) dhata[k]āye	Devāna[m]piye	Piyadasi	lajā	yasho	vā	kīti	vā
<i>Shāh.</i>	(B) etakaye	Devanapriye	Priyadraśi	raya	yaśo		kītri	va
<i>Mān.</i>	(B) etakāye	Devanapriye	Priya[dra]śi	raja	yaśo	va	kīti	va
<i>Phau.</i>	(B) etakāye				[yaso	va	kīti	v]i
<i>Ṭau.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.

<i>Gir.</i>	i[chha]u	(C) ya[m]	tu	kich[i]	parik[a]mate	Devānam	Priyadasi	
<i>Kāl.</i>	ichha	(C) am	ch[ā]	kichhi	lakamatu	Devanampiye	Piyadashi	
<i>Shāh.</i>	ichhati	(C) ya[m]	tu	kichi	parakramati	Devanampiyo	Priyadraśi	
<i>Mān.</i>	i[chha]ti	(C)		[k]ichhi	parak[r]ama[t]	Devanapriye	Priyadraśi	
<i>Phau.</i>	i	.	.	i	[pa]lakama[t]	Devānampiye		
<i>Ṭau.</i>	.	.	.	.	[t]	Devānampiye		

<i>Gir.</i>	raja	ta	savam	pāratrikāya	kimu	sakale	a[pa]-parisrave	
<i>Kāl.</i>	lajā	ta	[sha]va	pālamtikyaye	vā	sakale	apa-ṭ[a]śhave	
<i>Shāh.</i>	raya	tam	sav[r]aṇi	paratrikaye	va	sakale	aparisrave	
<i>Mān.</i>	raja	tan	savram	parat[r]ikay[e	va	k[ɪ]ṭi	sa[kale	apa-pa[r]sav[c]
<i>Phau.</i>				pāl[atik]h[y]e	.	kimu	saka[le	apa-pu[ṭ]save
<i>Ṭau.</i>				pālatikāye	vā	k[ɪ]m]ti	[sa]kale	apa-palisave

<i>Gir</i>	asa	(/)	esa	tu	parisave	ya	apumām	(/)	dukaram	
<i>Kāl</i>	shiyāti	tī	(/)	[e]she	chu	palisave	e	apune	(/)	dukale
<i>Shāh</i>	siyati		(/)	eshe	tu	parisave	yam	apumām	(/)	dukare
<i>Man</i>	siyati	tī	(/)	eshe	chu	pa[r]isave	e	apu[ne]	(/)	dukare
<i>Dhau</i>	[hu]v[ey]a	tji	(/)	pa[l]isa					(/)	[du]ka[le]
<i>Ṭau</i>	[h]uveyā	tī	(/)							

<i>Gir</i>	tu	kho	etam	chhudakena	va	janena	usatena	va	anati
<i>Kāl</i>	chu	kho	eshe	khudakena	va	varena	ushutena	vā	ana[ta]
<i>Shāh</i>	[tu]	kho	eshe	khudakena		varena	usatena	va	añatra
<i>Mān</i>	chu	kho	eshe	khudakena	[va	va]gr[ce]ti	[u]t[ena]	va	ana[ti]a
<i>Dhau</i>				[i]a	age na]			[na	vi]vam
<i>Ṭau</i>									cha

<i>Gir</i>	agena	parāk[ti]mena	savam	parichajitpa	(/)	et[a]	t[u]	kho
<i>Kāl</i>	agen[ti]	pa[l]akamenā	shava[m]	palitichiti	(/)	[h]t[ti]	chu	kho
<i>Shāh</i>	agrena	parakramena	sava[m]	paritijitu	(/)	at[r]a	chu	
<i>Mān</i>	a[gr]e]na	para[krame]na	sav[ram]	pariti[j]ti	(/)	atra	tu	[kho]
<i>Dhau</i>	palit[u]t[ti]	khudakena	v[ā]	usatena	vā			
<i>Ṭau</i>	[ti]tut[ti]	khudakena	[v]ā	u[s]atena	va			

<i>Gir</i>	usatena	dukaram
<i>Kāl</i>	[u]shate[na]	vā dukale
<i>Shāh</i>	usatena	
<i>Mān</i>	usatena	du[kā]re
<i>Dhau</i>	u[satena]	chu [dukalatati]
<i>Ṭau</i>	usatena	chu dukalatule

## ELEVENTH ROCK-EDICT

<i>Gir</i>	(/)	Devānampiyo	Piyadasi	raja	ev[a]m	aha	(/)	nasti	etarisam
<i>Kāl</i>	(/)	Devānampi[ti]e	Piyadasi	[ti]a	hevam	hā	(/)	nathi	h[ti]dishe
<i>Shāh</i>	(/)	Devānampiyo	Piyadasi	raja	evam	hahati	(/)	nasti	et[ti]kam
<i>Mān</i>	(/)	Devānapri[ti]	Piyadasi	raja	evam	aha	(/)	nasti	edise

<i>Gir</i>	dānam	yārisam	dhamma-danam	dhamma-samstavo	va	dhamma-
<i>Kāl</i>	dāne	adisha	dha[m]ma-dane			dhamma-
<i>Shāh</i>	dānam	yādisam	dhamma-dana	dhamma-samstav[ce]		dh[r]am-
<i>Mān</i>	dāne	[ti]dishe	dhamma-dane	dhamma-samthi[ti]		dhamma-

<i>Gir</i>	samvibhāgo	[va]	dhamma-sambadho	va	(C)	tata	idam	bhavati
<i>Kāl</i>	shav[ti]bhage		dhamma-sambadh[ce]		(C)	ta[ti]	eshe	
<i>Shāh</i>	samvibhago		dh[r]ama-samb[ti]kha		(C)	tati	etam	
<i>Mān</i>	samvibhaga		dhamma-sa[m]bh[ti]kha		(C)	tati	eshe	

<i>Gir</i>	dāsa-bhatakamhi	samyā-p[ti]tipati	mātari	pitari	sadhu	sus[r]is
<i>Kāl</i>	dāsha-bhatakamhi	shamyā-patipati	māta-pitushu			shushsha
<i>Shāh</i>	dāsa-bhatakanam	sammā-patipati	māti	pitushu		susushu
<i>Mān</i>	dāsa-bhata[kā]si	samyā-patipati	mata-[pit]u[ti]shu			su[su]sha

<i>Gir</i>	mita-[sa]stuta-ñātikānam	bāmhana-s[ra]manā[nam]	sādhu	dā[nam]
<i>Kāl</i>	mita-shamthuta-nātukyānam	samana-[ba]mbhanānā		[dā]n
<i>Shāh</i>	m[ti]a-samstuta-ñātikānam	ramana-bramanana		dana
<i>Mān</i>	mitra-sam[stuta]-ñātikana	ramana-bramanana		dan[c]

<i>Gir</i>	pranānam	anārambho	sādhu	(/I) eta	vatavyam	pita	va	putrena
<i>Kāl</i>	pānānam	anāl[am]bhe		(/I) eshe	vatav[i]ye	pi[t]inā	pi	pute[nā]
<i>Shāh</i>	pranana	anara[m]bho		(/I) etam	vatavo	pituna	pi	putrena
<i>Mān</i>	pranana	[ana]rabhe		(/I) [e]she	vataviye	pituna	pi	putrena

<i>Gir</i>	va	bhāt[ā]	va	mita-sastut[ā]-ñā[t]k[e]na			va	avā
<i>Kāl</i>	pi	bhā[t]inā	pi	sh[ā]vām[i]kyena	pi	mita-samthutana		avā
<i>Shāh</i>	pi	bhratuna	pi	[sra]mikea	pi	mitra-samstutana		avā
<i>Mān</i>	pi	bhratuna	pi	samike[na]	pi	mitra-sam[stut][e]na		avā

<i>Gir</i>	pativesīyehi	ida	sādhu	ida	ka[tav]ya[m]	(/I) so	t[ā]tha
<i>Kāl</i>	p[ā]tivesīyēn[ā]	iy[ā]m	shādhu	iyam	kataviye	(/I) [s]e	tatha
<i>Shāh</i>	prativesīyena	[i]nā[m]	sādhu	imam	katavo	(/I) so	tatha
<i>Mān</i>	pativesīyena	iyam	sa[dhu]	iyam	kataviye	(/I) s	tatha

<i>Gir</i>	karu	lokachasa		aradho hoti	parata	cha	amnamtam
<i>Kāl</i>	kala[m]ta	hidalokikyē	cha	kam āladhe hoti	palata	ch[ā]	anata
<i>Shāh</i>	karata[m]	naloka	cha	a[rā]khetī	paratra	cha	anata[m]
<i>Mān</i>	karata[m]	lu[dalo]ke	[cha] kam	aradhe hoti	pa[ja]ta	cha	ana[m]tam

<i>Gir</i>	punām	bhāvati	tena	dhamma-danena
<i>Kāl</i>	puna	paśavati	tenā	dhamma-danēnā
<i>Shāh</i>	punā	prasavati	[te]na	dharma-danena
<i>Mān</i>	punam	p[r]asavati	te[na]	dhra]ma-danena

## TWELFTH ROCK-EDICT

<i>Gir</i>	(/I) Devānampiye	Piyad[ā]si	rājā	sava-pāsamdāni	cha
<i>Kāl</i>	(/I) [I]evānāpiye	[P]iyad[ā]sh[i]	lāja	shāvā-pāsham[clan]i	
<i>Shāh</i>	(/I) Devanampriyo	Priyadraśi	raya	savra-prashamdani	
<i>Mān</i>	(/I) Devanapriye	Priyadraśi	raja	savra-pashamdani	

<i>Gir</i>	[pa]vajitāni	cha	gharastāni	cha	pūjayati	d[ā]nena	cha	vivādhāya
<i>Kāl</i>	pav[ā]jitā[ni]		gahathāni	vā	pujeti	dānena		vividh[āye]
<i>Shāh</i>	pravrajita[ni]		grahathani	cha	pujeti	danena		vividhaye
<i>Mān</i>	[p]rava[ji]tani		gehathani	cha	pujeti	danc na		vividhaye

<i>Gir</i>	[cha]	pūjāya	pūjayati ne	(/I) na	tu	tathā	dānam	va	pū[jā]
<i>Kāl</i>	cha	puj[ā]ye		(/I) n[ō]	ch[u]	tathā	dāne	vā	pujā
<i>Shāh</i>	cha	pujaye		(/I) no	chu	tatha	[dā]na	va	puja
<i>Mān</i>	cha	pujaye		(/I) no	chu	tatha	dana	va	puja



<i>Gir.</i>	va	D[ɛ]vānampiyo	mamāte	yathā	kiti	sāra-vadhī	asa
<i>Kāl.</i>	va	Devāna[m]piye	m[ɪ]jnatī	athā	k[ɪ]ta	ś[ā]lā-v[ɪ]k[ɪ]hī	śiyati
<i>Shāh.</i>	va	Devanaupriyo	mañati	yatha	kiti	sa[la]-vadhī	siya
<i>Mān.</i>	va	[De]vana[m]piye	mañati	atha	kiti	sala-vadhī	siya

<i>Gir.</i>	sa[va-pā]śamdanam	(C)	sa[ɪ]v-vadhī	tu	bahuvadhī	(I)	tasa	tu	adam
<i>Kāl.</i>	ś[ɪ]va-pāśadana	(C)	śala-vadhī	na	bahuvadhī	(I)	tasa	chu	inam
<i>Shāh.</i>	savra-prashamdanam	(C)	sala-vadhī	tu	bahuvadhī	(I)	tasa	tu	iyō
<i>Mān.</i>	savra-pashadanam	(C)	sala-vruthī	t[u]	bahuvadhī	(I)	tasa	chu	iyam

<i>Gir.</i>	mūlam	ya	vachī gutī	kiti		atpa-pasamda-pūja	va	puta
<i>Kāl.</i>	mule	a	va[ɪhɪ] gutī	kiti	t[ɪ]	ata-pāśada-[v]hī pūja	va	pala-
<i>Shāh.</i>	mula	yam	vachā-gutī	kiti		ata-prashamda-pūja	va	pa[ɪ]ra-
<i>Mān.</i>	mule	am	vachā-gutī	kiti		ata-prashada pūja	va	para-

<i>Gir.</i>	pasamda-garahā	va	no	bhave	upakaranamhī	lahuka	va	śat
<i>Kāl.</i>	pāśamda galahā	va	no	[śa]ya	a[ɪ]k[ɪ]k[ɪ]a[ɪ]na[ɪ]	lahaka	va	śiya
<i>Shāh.</i>	pashamda-garaha	va	no	siya	[a]pakaranasi	lahuka	va	siya
<i>Mān.</i>	pashada garaha	va	no	siya	apakaranasi	lahuka	va	siya

<i>Gir.</i>	tamhī	tamhī	prakaranē	(E)	pūje tayā	tu	eva	puta	pasamda
<i>Kāl.</i>	[ta]gī	tasi	pakalan[a]k[ɪ]	(E)	pūjetav[ɪ]ya	chu		p[ɪ]a[ɪ]a-pa[ɪ]śa[ɪ]	
<i>Shāh.</i>	tasi	tasi	prakara[n]	(E)	pūje taviya	va	chu	para-prashad[ma]	
<i>Mān.</i>	tasi	tasi	pakaranasi	(E)	pūje taviya	va	chu	para-p[ɪ]r[ɪ]shada	

<i>Gir.</i>	tena	tana	prakaranena	(F)	evam	karum	atpa-pasamdam	cha
<i>Kāl.</i>	tena	tena	akalana	(F)	heva	kalata	ata-pāśada	budham
<i>Shāh.</i>	tena	tena	akarena	(F)	e[ɪ]vam	karatam	ata-p[ɪ]r[ɪ]shamdam	
<i>Mān.</i>	tena	tena	akarena	(F)	evam	karatam	atva pashada	budham

<i>Gir.</i>	vadhīyati	para-pasamdasā		cha	upakaroti	(G)	tad-annatha
<i>Kāl.</i>	vadhīyati	pala-pāśada	pi	va	upakaroti	(G)	tadā mātā
<i>Shāh.</i>	vadhēti	para-prashamdasī	pi	cha	upakaroti	(G)	tada mātā
<i>Mān.</i>	vadhīyati	para-pashadasā	pi	cha	upakaroti	(G)	tad-annatha

<i>Gir.</i>	karoti	atpa-pāśadam	cha	chhanati	para-pasamdasā	cha	pi
<i>Kāl.</i>	kalatā	ata-pāśada	cha	chhanati	pala-pāśada	pi	va
<i>Shāh.</i>	ka[r]am[ɪ]	ata-p[ɪ]r[ɪ]shamda		kshanati	para-p[ɪ]r[ɪ]shadasī	cha	
<i>Mān.</i>	karatam	ata-pashada	cha	chhanati	para-pashadasā	pi	cha

<i>Gir.</i>	apakaroti	(H)	yo	hi	kechi	atpa-pasamdam	pūjayati	para-pasamdam
<i>Kāl.</i>	apakaleti	(H)	ye	[h]	kechiha	[a]ta-pāśada	punati	pala-pashada
<i>Shāh.</i>	apakaroti	(H)	yo	hi	kachi	ata-prashadam	pūjeti	[pura]p[ɪ]r[ɪ]shada[m]
<i>Mān.</i>	apakaroti	(H)	ye	hi	kechihi	atva-pashada	pūjeti	para-pashada

<i>Gir.</i>	v[ɪ]	garahati	sivam	ātpa-pasamda-bhatiya	kunti	atpa-pasamdam	
<i>Kāl.</i>	vā	ga[ɪ]h[ɪ]	shave	ata-pasham[da]-bhatiya	va	kiti	ata-pashamda
<i>Shāh.</i>		garahati	savre	ata-prashada bhatiya	va	kiti	ata-prashadam
<i>Mān.</i>	va	garahati	savre	atva pashada-bhatiya	va	liti	atva-pashada

<i>Gir.</i>	dipayema	iti	so	cha	puna	tatha	karato	ātpa-pāsamda[m]	bādhatarām		
<i>Kāl.</i>	[d]ipayema	she	cha	punā	tathā	ḥ	kalamtam	ḥ	bādhatale	up[a]hamt[i]	
<i>Shāh</i>	dipayamā	ti	so	cha	puna	tatha	karamtam	ḥ	bādhata	ram	upahamti
<i>Mūn</i>	dipayama	ti	.	.	.	puna	tatha	karatam	badhataram	upahamti	

<i>Gir.</i>	upahanāti	(/)	ta	samavāyo	eva	sādhu	kimti	[a]ñamamñasa
<i>Kāl.</i>	ata-pāshamdashi	(/)		shamavāye	vu	shādhu	kiti	amnamanashā
<i>Shāh</i>	ata-prashadām	(/)	so	sayamo	vo	sādhu	kiti	añamañasa
<i>Alāu</i>	atva-pasha[da]	(/)	se	samavaye	vo	sadhu	ki[ti]	anamanasa

<i>Gir.</i>	dhammam	srūnāru	cha	sūsumāera	cha	(ʔ)	evam	hi
<i>Kāl.</i>	dhammam	ḥshuñc[y]	chā	ḥshushusheyu	cha	ti	(ʔ)	hevam
<i>Shāh</i>	dhammo	sruncyu	cha	sūsrusheyu	cha	ti	(ʔ)	evam
<i>Alāu</i>	dhamam	srūn[ē]u	chā	sūsrushe[yu]	cha	ti	(ʔ)	evam

<i>Gir.</i>	D[e]vānampiyasa	ichhā	kimti	sava-pāsamā	bahu-srutā	cha	asū
<i>Kāl.</i>	Devanampiyasha	ichhā	kimti	sava-pāshamda	baha-shutā	chā	
<i>Shāh</i>	Devanampiyasa	ichha	kiti	savra-prashamda	bahu-śruta	ch[ā]	
<i>Alāu</i>	Devanapriyasa	ichha	kiti	savra-pashada	bahu-śruta	cha	

<i>Gir.</i>	kal[ā]nāgamā	cha	[a]ḥ	(K') ye	cha	tatra	tata	prasannā
<i>Kāl.</i>	kayanāgā	cha	ḥuveyu ti	(K) e	[cha]	tata	t[ā]t[ā]	[a]bh[am]nā
<i>Shāh</i>	kal[ā]nāgama	cha	siyasu	(K') ye	cha	tatra	tatra	prasana
<i>Alāu</i>	kayanagama	cha	[hu]veyu ti	(K) e	cha	tatrā	tatrā	prasana

<i>Gir.</i>	tehi	vatavyam	(/)	Devānampiyo	no	tathā	dānam	va	pūjāḥ	
<i>Kāl.</i>	te[hi]	va[taviye]	(/)	Devānapiye	no	tathā	dānam	va	pūjā	
<i>Shāh</i>	tesha[m]	vatavo	(/)	Devanampiyo	na	[tatha]	da[na]	[m]	va	[pū]ja
<i>Alāu</i>	tehi	vataviye	(/)	Devanapiye	no	tatha	danam	va	puja[m]	

<i>Gir.</i>	va	mamūate	yatha	kimti	sava-vadhi	asa	sava-pāśadānam
<i>Kāl.</i>	vā	mamnat[ti]	athā	kiti	sh[ā]lā-v[ā]lhi	śiyā	shava-pāshadānam
<i>Shāh</i>	va	mañati	y[athā]	kiti	sala-vadhi	siyat	sava-prashadānam
<i>Alāu</i>	va	manati	atha	kiti	sala-vadhi	siya	savra-pashada[na]

<i>Gir.</i>	(/)	bahakā	cha	etāya	atha	vyāpatā	dhamma-mahāmātā	cha
<i>Kāl.</i>	(/)	bahukā	ch[ā]	etāyāthāye	ḥ	viyāpatā	dha[m]ma-mahāmātā	ḥ
<i>Shāh</i>	(/)	bahuka	cha	etaye	a[thā]	vap[ā]ta	dh[ra]ma-ma[ha]matra	
<i>Alāu</i>	(/)	[ba]huka	cha	etaye	athraye	vaputa	dharma-mahamatra	

<i>Gir.</i>	itihyakha-mahāmātā	cha	vacha-bhūmika	cha	añe	cha	nikāyā
<i>Kāl.</i>	itidhiyakha-mahāmātā	ḥ	vacha-bh[ū]mikyā	ḥ	ane	vā	[n]iky[ā]y[ā]
<i>Shāh</i>	istridhiyaksha-ma[ha]matra		[vra]cha-bhumik	ḥ	añe	cha	nikaye
<i>Alāu.</i>	istrijaksha-mahamatra		vracha-bh[ū]mika		añe	cha	nikay[ē]

The five last words are repeated thus so cha puna tatha karato.



<i>Gir</i>	.	.	.	.	.	..chate	te[sa]m	Devānampiyasa	...
<i>Kāl</i>	.	.	.	.	.				
<i>Shāh.</i>	(N)	anutape	pi	cha	prabhava	Devanampriyasa	vuchati	tesha	kiti
<i>Mān.</i>	(N)	[anu]tape	pi	cha	prabhava	Devanapriyasa	vuchati	[te]sha	[ki]..

<i>Gir.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	sava-
<i>Kāl.</i>	.	.	.	.	[ney]u	(O)	ichha	.	sha[va]-
<i>Shāh.</i>	avatrapeyu	na	cha	[ha]mñeyasu	(O)	ichhati	hi	D[ce]vanampriyo	savra-
<i>Mān.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	(O)	chha	.	vanapri[y.]

<i>Gir</i>	bhūtānām	achhatim	cha	sayamarñ	cha	samachairam	ch[a]	mādava	cha
<i>Kāl</i>	[bhu]	.	.	.	[shayama	shamacha]	liya[rñ]	madava	ti
<i>Shāh.</i>	bhutana	akshati	sa[m]	yamam	sama[cha]	riyam		rabhasiye	
<i>Mān.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.

<i>Gir.</i>	(P)	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
<i>Kāl.</i>	(P)	iyam	vu	mu	.	.	Devānampiyeshā	ye	dha[rñ]ma-
<i>Shāh.</i>	(P)	ayi	cha	mukha-mut[a]	vijayc	Devanampriya[sa]	yo	dhrama-	
<i>Mān.</i>	.	.	.	[mukha]mute	v[i]jaye	D[ce]vanapriyasa	ye	dhrama-	

<i>Gir.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	[la]dh[o]	...	nampriyasa	idha
<i>Kāl.</i>	vijaye	(Q)	sh[e]	cha	punā	ladhe	Devāna[rñp]	.	cha
<i>Shāh.</i>	vijayo	(Q)	so	cha	puna	ladho	Devanampriyasa	iha	cha
<i>Mān.</i>	vijaye	(Q)	sc	cha	[puna]	la[dh]e	[Deva]napri[ya]sa	hida	cha

<i>Gir</i>	[sa]vesu	[ch.]	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
<i>Kāl.</i>	shaveshu	cha	ateshu	a	shashu	pi	[yo]jana-shateshu	at[a]	
<i>Shāh.</i>	saveshu	cha	amteshu	[a]	shashu	pi	yojana-śa[t]eshu	yatra	
<i>Mān.</i>	sa[vr]eshu	cha	amteshu	a	shashu	pi	y[o]ja[na-śa][c]eshu	.	

<i>Gir.</i>	.	.	.	[Yo]na-rāja	param	cha	tena	.	.
<i>Kāl.</i>	Atiyoge	nām[a]	Yo[na-lā]..	[pa]lām	chā	tenā	A[rñ]tiyogenā		
<i>Shāh.</i>	Am̐tiyoko	nama	Yo[na-]raja	param	cha	tena	Atiyok[ce]na		
<i>Mān.</i>	tiyo[ge]	nama	Yo[na-]raja]	.	.	.	.	.	.

<i>Gir.</i>	chatpāro	rājāno	Turamāyo	cha	[A]m̐t[ek]ina	cha	Magā		
<i>Kāl.</i>	chatālī	4 lajānc	Tulamaye	[nā]m[a]	Am̐teki[ne	nā]ma	Makā		
<i>Shāh.</i>	chature	4 rajani	Turamaye	nama	Am̐tikini	nama	Maka		
<i>Mān.</i>	.	.	.	.	Am̐t[e].	[nama	Ma]ka		

<i>Gir.</i>	cha	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
<i>Kāl.</i>	nāma	Alikyashudale	nāma	nicham	Choda-Pamdiyā	avam			
<i>Shāh.</i>	nama	Alikasudaro	nama	nicha	Choda-Pam̐da	ava			
<i>Mān.</i>	na[ma]	Alikasudare	nama	nicha	Choda-Pam̐diya	a			

<i>Gir.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	idha	rāja-vi[sa]yamhi		
<i>Kāl.</i>	Tambapamniyā	hevamev[ā]	(R)	hevamevā	[hi]dā	lā[ja]-viśavashi			
<i>Shāh.</i>	Ta[m]bapam[ñi]ya	.	(R)	[e]vameva	[hi]da	raja-vishavaspī			
<i>Mān.</i>	Tambapa[m]niya	.	(R)	evameva	[hida]	raja-vishava[si]			

# THIRTEENTH ROCK-EDICT

<i>Gir.</i>	[Y]o[na]-Kambo			
<i>Kāl.</i>	Yona-Kambojeshu	Nābhak[a]-Nābhapaṃtushu	Bhoja-Pitinikyē[sh]u	
<i>Shāh.</i>	Yona-Ka[m]bojeshu	Nabhaka-Nabhitina	Bhoja-Pitinikeshu	
<i>Mān.</i>	Y[o]na-Kam[bojeshu]	Nabhaka-[Na]bhapa[m]tushu	[Bh]o[ja-Pi]tini[ke]shu	

<i>Gir.</i>	mdhra-Pāṃdeshu	savata	Devānampiyasa	dhammānusa[st]im
<i>Kāl.</i>	[Adha]-P[ā]lade[sh]u	[sha]vatā	[D]evā[na]mp[īya]shā	dhammānu[sha]thi
<i>Shāh.</i>	Amhdhra-Palideshu	savatra	Devanampriyasa	dhramanuśasti
<i>Mān.</i>	Adha-[Pa]	.	.	.

<i>Gir.</i>	anuv[a]tare	(S) yata	pi dūti	.
<i>Kāl.</i>	anuvatamti	(S) y[a]ta	pi dutā	Devāna[mp]iyasa no yamti t[ē] pi
<i>Shāh.</i>	anuvatamti	(S) yatia	pi	Devanampriyasa duta na vrachamti te pi
<i>Mān.</i>	.	(S) [yatra]	pi du[ta]	[De]vanapriyasa na yamti te pi

<i>Gir.</i>	.	.	.	[na]m dhammānusa[st]im
<i>Kāl.</i>	sutu	Dev[āna]mp[ī]namya	dh[amma]-vutam	v[ī]dh[a]na[m] dhammānusa[th]
<i>Shāh.</i>	śrutu	Devanampriyasa	dhrama-vuṭam	vidh[a]nam dhramanuśasti
<i>Mān.</i>	śrutu	Devanapriyasa	dhrama-vuta	vidhana[m] dhramanuśasti

<i>Gir.</i>	cha	dhamam	anuvidhiyare	.
<i>Kāl.</i>		dha[m]ma[m]	anuvidhiyama	[a]nuvidhiyāsama [ch]a (ʾ) ye se
<i>Shāh.</i>		dhrmam	[a]nuvidhiyamti	anuvidhiyāsam[ti] cha (ʾ) yo [sa]
<i>Mān.</i>		dhra[m]ma[m]	anuvidhiyamti	[a]nuvidhiy[ī]samti cha (ʾ) [ye se]

<i>Gir.</i>	.	.	.	[v]ijayo savathā puna vijayo
<i>Kāl.</i>	[la]dhe	etakenā	hoti	savatā v[ī]ja]ye
<i>Shāh.</i>	ladhe	etakena	bho[ti]	savatra vijayo sava[tra] pu[ua] vijayo
<i>Mān.</i>	ladhe	e[ta]kc[na]	ho[ti]	savra[tra] v[ī]jaye]

<i>Gir.</i>	piti-raso	sā	(U) ladhā	sā pīti hoti dhamma-vijayamhi
<i>Kāl.</i>	piti-lase	se	(U) gadhā	sā hoti pīti pīti dhamm[a]-vijayashi
<i>Shāh.</i>	pnti-raso	so	(U) ladha	bh[oti] pīti dhrama-vijayaspi
<i>Mān.</i>	.	.	.	.

<i>Gir.</i>	.	.	.	.
<i>Kāl.</i>	(V) lahukā	v[u]	kho sa pīti	(IV) pālamtikyameve maha-phalā
<i>Shāh.</i>	(V) lahuka	tu	kho sa pīti	(W) paratri[kā]meva maha-phala
<i>Mān.</i>	.	.	.	(IV) paratrikameva maha-phala

<i>Gir.</i>	.	.	m[p]riyo (ʾ)	etā[ya]	atha]ya	ayam dhamma-
<i>Kāl.</i>	mamnam[ti]	Dev[ē]nam[p]ne	(X)	etāye	chā athāye	iyam dha[m]ma-
<i>Shāh.</i>	meñati	Devana[m]priyo	(ʾ)	etaye	cha athāye	ayi dhrama
<i>Mān.</i>	[ma]nati	De[va]napri[ye]	(ʾ)	e[ta]ye	cha [a]thray[e]	iyam dhramma-

<i>Gir.</i>	[l]	.	.	.	.	[va]m vijayam ma
<i>Kāl.</i>	līpi	likhitā	kiti	putā	papotā	me a[su] nava[m] vijay[ā] ma
<i>Shāh.</i>	dīpi	līpī[sta]	kiti	putra	papotra	me asu navam vijayam ma
<i>Mān.</i>	dīpi	lī[khi]ta	kiti	putra	prap[ō]tra	me a[su] nava[m] v[ī]

<i>Gir</i>	vijetavyam	maññā	sarasake	eva	vijaye	chhāti	cha	.
<i>Kāl.</i>	vijayataviya	manishu	shayakashi	no	vi[ja]yashī	khamti	chā	la   hu-
<i>Shāh.</i>	vijetav[i]ja	mañishu	spa[kaspi]	yo	vijay[c]	ksham]ti	cha	lahu-
<i>Mān.</i>	[tavi]yam	mañ[ishu	saya]					

<i>Gir</i>								.
<i>Kāl.</i>	damdatā	[chā]	lochetu	tameva	chā	vijayam	manatu	ye
<i>Shāh.</i>	da[m]data	cha	rochetu	tañ	cha	yō	vija	mañña[tu]
<i>Mān.</i>								

<i>Gir</i>				kik[o]	ch[a	pā]r[alo]ki[ko]		.
<i>Kāl.</i>	dhamma-vijaye	(Y) she	hidaloikiya			palalokiye	(Z) shavā	
<i>Shāh.</i>	dhrama-vijayo	(Y) so	hidaloikiko			paralokiko	(Z) sava-	
<i>Mān.</i>		(Y) . .	hidaloke			paralokike	(Z) sava	

<i>Gir</i>								.
<i>Kāl.</i>	cha	ka	nlati	hot[u]	uyāma-lati	(A) shā	hi	
<i>Shāh.</i>	chatī-ratī		bhotu	ya	[dh]rām̐ma-ratī	(A) sa	hi	
<i>Mān.</i>	cha	[ka]	nīrati	hotu	ya	(A) sa	hi	

<i>Gir</i>	ilokikā	cha	pāralokikā	cha
<i>Kāl.</i>	hi[da]lokika		pa[la]lokikyā	
<i>Shāh.</i>	hidaloikika		paralokika	
<i>Mān.</i>	[i]haloki[ka]		paraloki[ka]	

## FOURTEENTH ROCK-EDICT

<i>Gir.</i>	(A) ayam	dhamma-lipī	Devānampriyena	Priyadasinā	r[ā]ññā
<i>Kāl.</i>	(A) iyam	dhama-lipī	Dev[ānam]p[ī]y[ī]-[n]ā	[P]riyadasinā	lajjāññā
<i>Shāh.</i>	(A) ayi	dhrama-dīpi	Devanampriyena	Pri[ya]na	rañña
<i>Mān.</i>	(A) [i]yam	dhrama-dīpi	De[va]nampriyena	Pri[ya]	[jina]
<i>Dhan.</i>	(A) iyam	dhamma-lipī	De[v]ānampriyena	Piyada[sin]ā	lāj[īnā]
<i>Jau.</i>					

<i>Gir.</i>	[e]khāpitā	asti	eva	samkhit[e]na	asti	majhamena	asti	vistatana
<i>Kāl.</i>	likhāpitā	athi	ye vā	sukhitenā	[a]thi	majhimenā	athi	vithaṭṭenā
<i>Shāh.</i>	nīpesapita	asti	vo	samkshītēna	asti	yo		vistritṭēna
<i>Mān.</i>	[l]ikhāpita]							
<i>Dhan.</i>	[likhā]				athi	ma[j]himēna]		
<i>Jau.</i>						[ma]jhimē[na]	ath[i]	vithatēna

<i>Gir</i>	(B) na	cha	sarvam	[sa]rvata	ghaṭṭitañ	(C) mahālake	hi	vijitam
<i>Kāl.</i>	(B) no	hi	savatā	save	[gha]ṭṭite	(C) mahālake	hi	vijite
<i>Shāh.</i>	(B) na	hi	savatra	sasavre	gaṭṭite	(C) mahālake	hi	vijite
<i>Mān.</i>								
<i>Dhan.</i>	(B)	[h]i	save	sav[a]ta	ghaṭṭite	(C) mahamte	hi	vijaye
<i>Jau.</i>	(B) [no]	hi	save	savata	ghaṭṭite	(C) mahamte	hi	vijaye

<i>Gir</i>	bahu	cha	likhitam	likhāpayisam	cheva	(D)	asti	cha
<i>Kāl</i>	bahu	cha	likhite	lekhāpeśāmī	cheva	nikyam	(D)	athu chā
<i>Shāh</i>	bahu	cha	likhite	likha[pe]śāmī	cheva		(D)	asti chu
<i>Mān</i>	.		[likhite	likha]pe[śa]mī	che[va]	m	(D)	[asti chu]
<i>Dhau.</i>	bahu[k]e	cha	likhite	likhiyis	.	.	(D)	[a]thi
<i>Ṭau</i>								

<i>Gir</i>	eta	kam	puna	puna	vitam	tasa	tasa	athasa	mādhūrātāya
<i>Kāl</i>	hetā		puna	pun[ā]	la[p]u[c]	tasha	tashā	athashā	madhuliyāye
<i>Shāh</i>	atra		puna	puna	[la]pitam	tasa	tasa	[a]thasa	madhuliyāye
<i>Mān</i>	[a]tra		puna	puna	la[p]ite	tasa	ta[sa]	a[thra]sa	[madhu]riyāye
<i>Dhau.</i>	.				[vu]te	ta[sa]			[y]āy[e]
<i>Ṭau.</i>							[sa]		madhuliyāy

<i>Gir</i>	kimti		jano	tathā	patipajetha	(E)			tatra
<i>Kāl</i>	yena		jane	tathā	patipajeyā	(E)	she	shāyā	ata
<i>Shāh</i>	ye[na]		jana	tatha	patipajeyā	(E)	so	siya	va atra
<i>Mān</i>	[ye]na		jane	ta[tha]	patipajeyā	(E)	se	[si]ya	atra
<i>Dhau.</i>	[k]imti	cha	j[a]ne	tathā	patipajeyā	ti	(E)	e	pu chu hetā
<i>Ṭau</i>	kimti	cha	jane	tatha	patipajeyā	ti	(E)	e	pu chu hetā

<i>Gir</i>	ekada	asamāt[a]m	likhita[m]	asa	desani	va	sachhāya	[kā]janam	va
<i>Kāl</i>	k[i]chhi	asamati	likhite	dishā	vā	shamkheyē	kālanam	vā	
<i>Shāh</i>	kiche	asamatam	likhitam	deśam	va	samkhay[a]	karana	va	
<i>Mān</i>	ki[chhi]	.	[t]	likhi[t.]	.	va	[samkha]ya		
<i>Dhau.</i>		asamati	likhit[e s]	sa	sa		[lochay]tu		
<i>Ṭau.</i>									

<i>Gir</i>	[a]lochētpā	lipikaraparadhena	va	
<i>Kāl</i>	alochayitu	li[p]ikalapālādhenā	vā	
<i>Shāh</i>	alocheti	dipikarasa	va	aparadhena
<i>Mān</i>				
<i>Dhau.</i>		k[a]l[a]	[t]	
<i>Ṭau</i>				

## II. THE TWO SEPARATE ROCK-EDICTS

## FIRST SEPARATE ROCK-EDICT

<i>Dhau.</i>	(A)	[Devāna]m[pi]yasa	vacha]nena	Tosaliyam	ma[hā]māta
<i>Ṭau.</i>	(A)	Dev[ā]nampiyē	he[va]m [ā]hā	(B) Sam[ā]paya	mahāmāta

<i>Dhau.</i>	[nagā]la-[v]i[yo]halak[a	va]taviya	(B)	[am	kichhi	dakh[i]m
<i>Ṭau.</i>	[ua]gala-viyohālaka	he[vam	va]lav[i]y[ā]	(C)	am	kichhi dakhām

<i>Dhau.</i>	hakam	tam	ichhāmī	k[i]m[t]	kam[mana	pa]ti[pāday]eham	
<i>Ṭau</i>	ha[kā]m	[tam]	ichhām[i	k]imti	kam	kamana	pa]ti[pāday]eham

*Dhan.* duvālate cha ālabheham (C) esa cha me mokhya-mata duvā[la]  
*Ṭau.* duvālate cha ālabheham (D) es[a] cha me mokhiya-mata duvālam

*Dhan.* [etasī aṭha]sī am tuph[esu] anusathi (D) tuphe hi bahūsu pāna-  
*Ṭau.* [a]m tuphesu anusathi (E) phe hi bahūsu pāna-

*Dhan.* sahasesum ā[yata] p[a]na[yam] ga[ḥh[e]ma su munisānam  
*Ṭau.* sahasesu [ā]ya[ta] p[a]na[yam] gachhema [su] m[u]n[i]s[ā]na[m]

*Dhan.* (E) save munise paja mamā (F) ath[ā] pajāye ichhāmi h[a]ka[m]  
*Ṭau.* (F) sava-mu[n]ā me pajā (G) atha pa[jā]ye ichhām[i]

*Dhan.* [kimtu sa]v[e]na hīta-sukhena hidalo[kika]-pālalokike[na] y[ū]jev[ū]  
*Ṭau.* [kiṁ]t[ī] me savena hita-sukhena y[ū]jeyū ti hī[ḍa]lo[ḡ]k[ā]-pālalokikena

*Dhan.* [tī] [tathā . . . muni]sesu pi [i]chhami [ha]ka[m] (G) no cha  
*Ṭau.* [he]meva me ichha sava-munis[ē]u (H) no chu tu[phe]

*Dhan.* pāpunātha āv[a]-ga[m]u[k]e [iyam aṭhe] (H) [k]e[ḥha] v[a] eka-  
*Ṭau.* [e]tam [p]ā[p]unātha āva-gamu[k]e [ī]yam aṭh[e] (I) kechā eka-

*Dhan.* puli[sē] . . . nātu e[ta]m se pi desam no savam (J) de[kha]t[a] hi  
*Ṭau.* [muni]s[ē] pā[p]unāti se pi desam no savam (J) dakhatha hi

*Dhan.* [t]u[phe] etam suvi[hī]tā pi (J) [n]ṭiyam eka-pulise [pi aṭhi] y[ē]  
*Ṭau.* [tuphe] pi suvitā [p]i (K) bahuka aṭhi ye etī eka-munise

*Dhan.* bamdhanam vā p[a]likilesam vā pāpunāti (K) tata hoti akasmā  
*Ṭau.* ba[m]dhanam palī[kile]-am [p]i pāpunāti (L) tata [ho]t[ī] aka[sma]

*Dhan.* tṛṇa badhana[m]u[k]a amne cha . . . . hu jane da[v]y[ē]  
*Ṭau.* ti ten[a] badhana[m]u[k]a anye cha [va]ḡe bahuke

*Dhan.* dukhīyati (L) tata ichhitaviye tuphehi kinti m[a]jham paṭipādayamā  
*Ṭau.* vedayati (M) tata tuphe[hi] ichhiṭaye kinti majham [pa]ṭipādayam[a]

*Dhan.* ti (M) imeh[ī] chu [jāteh]i no saṁpaṭipajati iṣāya āsulopena  
*Ṭau.* (N) imehi jāte[hi] no [pa]ṭipajati i[s]āya āsulopena

*Dhan.* nī[ṭhū]liyena tūlanā[ya] anāvūtiya ālasīyena k[ī]lamathena  
*Ṭau.* [nī]ṭhū[li]yē[na] tūlāyā [a]nāvūtiya āla[s]yē[na] kīlamath[e]na

*Dhan.* (N) se ichhitaviye kitim ete [jātā] no huvevu ma[m]jā  
*Ṭau.* (O) hevam ichhitā[vi]yē kinti me et[ā]ni jātā[ni] nō hveyu

*Dhan.* ti (O) etasa cha sava[sa] mūle anāsulope a[tū][a]nā cha  
*Ṭau.* ti (P) savasa chu iyam mūle a[n]ā[s]u[lo]p[ē] atulanā cha

*Dhan.* (P) nīṭiyam e kīlānte siyā [na] te uga[ḥha]  
*Ṭau.* (Q) nīṭiyam [ē]yam kīlānt[e] [siya] . . . samchalitu uthāy[ā]





*Dhau.* aṭhāye [ni]khāma[yisa] . . . . . hedisameva vagam no cha atikāmayisati  
*ṭau.* m[ayi]

*Dhau.* timni vasāni (B) hemeva T[a]kha[s]ilāte pī (CC) [a]dā a . . . . .  
*ṭau.* [lā]t[e]

*Dhau.* te mahāmātā nikhāmisamti anusayānam tadā ahāpayitu atane  
*ṭau.* vachanik[a] ada [anusa]yānam n[ikha]m[isam]ti a[ta]ne

*Dhau.* kammam etam pī jānisamti tam pī ta[th]ā kalamti  
*ṭau.* ka[mma]m . . [yitu] tam pī tathā kalamti

*Dhau.* a[tha] lājine anusathī tī  
*ṭau.* [athā]

## SECOND SEPARATE ROCK-EDICT

*Dhau.* (A) Devānampiyas[a] vachanena Tosaliyam kumāle mahāmātā cha  
*ṭau.* (A) Devānampiye hevam ā[ha] (B) Samāpāyam mahamatā

*Dhau.* vataviya (H) am kichhi dakhām[i] h[akam] tam i . . .  
*ṭau.* [ā]ja-vachanik[a] vataviyā (C) am kichhi dakh[ā]mī hakam tam i[chh]āmī

*Dhau.* duvālate cha ālabheham (C) esa  
*ṭau.* hakam k[im]tu kam kamana paṭipātayeham duvā[la]te cha ālabheham (D) esa

*Dhau.* cha me mokhya-mata duvālā etasi aṭhasi am tuphe[s]u . .  
*ṭau.* cha me mokhiya-mat[a] duvāl[a] etasā a[tha]sa a[m] t[uph]esu anusa[thi]

*Dhau.* mama (E) ath[a] pajāye ichhāmi hakam kī[rh]ti  
*ṭau.* (E) sava-munisā me pajā (F) atha pajāy[e] ichhāmi kīnti me

*Dhau.* savena hi[ta-sukhe]na hidalokika-pālalokikāye yujevū ti  
*ṭau.* saveṇā hita-su[kh]ena yu[je]yū<sup>1</sup> ti hidalogika-pālalokik[ā]e[na]

*Dhau.* h[e]v[am] . . . . . (F) siyā amānam avijitānam  
*ṭau.* hevammeva me ichha sava-munisesu (G) siyā amānam [a]vijitānam

*Dhau.* ki-chha[mde] su lājā [ap]hesu . . (G) . . m[a]va ichha mīma amtesu  
*ṭau.* kīm-chhāmde su lājā apheśu tī (H) etākā [vā] me ichha [a]mtesu

*Dhau.* . . . [p]ā[p]unevu te iti Devānamp[iy] . . . . . [anu]v[i]g[ina] mamāye  
*ṭau.* pāpunevu lājā hevām ichh[ā]ti anu[v]i[g]ina hve[yū]

*Dhau.* huvevū ti asvasevu cha sukhammeva lahevu mamat[e]  
*ṭau.* mamiyāye [a]svaseyu cha me sukham[m]ev[a] cha lahey[ū] mamate

*Dhau.* no dukha[m] h[e]va[m] . . . un[e]vū iti khamisati ne  
*ṭau.* [n]o kha[m] hevam cha pāpunevu kha[m]i[sat]i ne

<sup>1</sup> The last eight words are repeated thus [a]tha pajāye ichhāmi kīm[tī] m[e] savena hita-sukh[e]na yujevū

*Dhau.* Devānampiye [aph]ākā ti e chakiye khamitave mama nimitam [va]  
*Yau.* lājā e s[ā]kiye khamitave mamam nimitam

*Dhau.* cha dhammam chalevū hidaloka palaloka[m] cha  
*Yau.* cha dhamma[m] chaley[ū] tu hidalog[am] cha palalogam cha

*Dhau.* ālādhayevū (H) etasi aṭhasi haka[m] anusāsāmi tuphe  
*Yau.* ālādhayey[ū] (I) etāye cha aṭhāye hakam tupheni anusāsāmi

*Dhau.* ana[n]e [e]takena hakam anusāsitu chhamdam cha veditu  
*Yau.* ana[n]e eta[k]ena [h]akam tupheni a[nu]sāsitu chhamda[m] cha veda[tu]

*Dhau.* ā [hi] dhi[t]i patimā cha mamā [a]jalā (I) v[e] hevam katu  
*Yau.* ā mama dhiti patimā cha achala (Y) sa hevam [ka]tū

*Dhau.* kañme chal[i]k[ā]v[i]e asv[ā]sa . . . [cha] tāni cna  
*Yau.* k[am]me [cha]lita[vi]e asvāsa[n]yā [h]a te en[a] te

*Dhau.* pāpunevū it atha pita tatha Devānampiye aphāka atha cha  
*Yau.* pāpunevu a[th]ā pita [h]evam [n]e lājā u atha

*Dhau.* atānam hvam Devānampiye [a]nukampati aphe athā cha pajā  
*Yau.* [a]tānam anukampat[i] hc[vam] a[ph]eni anuka[m]pātū athā pajā

*Dhau.* hevam may[e] D[e]vanampiyasa (Y) se hakam anusāsitu [chha]nda[m]  
*Yau.* hevañ [may]e lā[i]ne (K) tupheni hakam anusasita [chh]āmdam

*Lhuu.* ch[a] veditu tu[phā]k[a] desāvutike  
*Yau.* [cha] v[e]dita [ā]ma dhiti pati[m]nā chā achala [saka]lā-desā āy[ut]ike

*Dhau.* hosāmi etāye atliāye (K) paṭibala hi tūph[e] asvāsanāye hita-  
*Yau.* hosāmi et[a]i [a]thas[i] (L) [a]lam [h]i tuphe asvāsa[n]a[ye] hita-

*Dhau.* sukhāye cha [tesa] hidalokika-pālalokikāye (L) hevam cha  
*Yau.* sukhāye [cha] te[sam] hidalogik[ā]pāl[ā]l[okik]a[y]e (M) hevam cha

*Dhau.* kalamtam tuphe svagam ālādhayisatha mama ch[a] ananiyam  
*Yau.* kalamtam svaga[m] cha ālādhayisa[tha] mama cha ana[n]iyam

*Dhau.* ehatha (M) etāye cha athāye iyam lipi lkhitā hula e[na]  
*Yau.* es[a]tha (N) etāye cha a[th]āye iya[m] lipi l[kh]itā hūda e[na]

*Dhau.* [ma]hāmātā svasata[m] sa]ma yujisamti as[va]s[ā]nāye dhamma-  
*Yau.* [ma]h[ā]mātā sāsvatam samam yujyū asvasanāye cha dhamma

*Dhau.* chala[n]āye cha tes[a] amānam (N) iyam cha lipi [anu]chātummasam  
*Yau.* chala[n]āye [cha] amā[nam] (O) iyam cha lipi a[nu]ch[ā]tum[m]asam

*Dhau.* tisena nakhatena sotaviyā (O) kamam chu [kha]nas[i] khanasi  
*Yau.* s[ota]viyā tisena (P) amta[lā] pu cha sotaviya

*Dhau.* aṁtālā pi tisena ekena [p]i [so]kaviya (P) hevaṁ kala[m]taṁ  
*Yau.* (Q) khane saṁtaṁ eke[na] pi [so]ta[m]i[ya] (R) heva[m] cha [ka]la[m]ta[m]

*Dhau.* [t]uphe chaghatha saṁpaṭipādayitave  
*Yau.* chaghatha saṁpaṭipādayi[av]e

### III. THE SIX PILLAR-EDICTS

#### FIRST PILLAR-EDICT

*Tōp.* (A) Devānaṁpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṁ āhā (B) saḍuvisati-vasa-abhisitena  
*Ar.* (A) Devānaṁpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṁ āha (B) saḍuvisati-vasābhisitena  
*Nand* (A) Devānaṁpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṁ ā[ha] (B) saḍuvisati-vasābhisitena  
*Rām.* (A) Devānaṁpiye Pījyadasi lāja heva āha (B) saḍuvisati-vasābhisitena  
*All.* (A) Devānaṁpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṁ āhā (B) saḍuvisati-vasābhisitena

*Tōp.* me iyaṁ dhamma-lipi likhāpitā (C) hidata-pālate dusaṁpaṭipādaye  
*Ar* me iyaṁ dhamma-lip[ī] likhāpita (C) hidata-pālate dusaṁpaṭipādaye  
*Nand* me iyaṁ dhamma-lipi likhāpita (C) hidata-pālate dusaṁpaṭipādaye  
*Rām.* me iyaṁ dhamma-lipi likhāpita (C) hidata-pālate dusaṁpaṭipādaye  
*All.* me iyaṁ dhamma-lipi likhāpitā (C) hidata-pālate dusaṁpaṭipādaye

*Tōp.* aṁnata agāyā dhamma-kāmatāyā agāya palikhāyā agāya su[sū]sāyā  
*Ar.* amnata agāya dhamma-kāmatāyā agāya palikhāy[a] agāya susūsāya  
*Nand* amnata agāya dhamma-kāmatāyā agāya palikhāya agāya susūsāya  
*Rām* amnata agāya dhamma-kāmatāyā agāya palikhāya agāya susūsāya  
*All* amnata agāya dhamma-kāmatāyā agāya palikhāya agāya susūsāya

*Tōp.* aḡena bhayenā aḡena usāhenā (D) esa chu kho mama anusathiya  
*Ar.* aḡena bhayena aḡena usāhena (D) esa chu kho mama anusathiya  
*Nand.* aḡena bhayena aḡena usāhena (D) esa chu kho mama anusathiya  
*Rām* aḡena bhayena aḡena usāhena (D) esa chu kho mama anusathiya  
*All* aḡena bhayena a[ḡ]ena usāhena (D) esa chu kho mama anusathi[y]ā

*Tōp.* dhammāpekha dhamma-kāmatā chā suve suve vadhitā vadhisati cheva  
*Ar* dhammāpekha dhamma-kāmatā cha suve suve vadhita vadhisati cheva  
*Nand* dhammāpekha dhamma-kāmatā cha suve suve vadhita vadhisati cheva  
*Rām* dhammāpekha dhamma-kāmatā cha suve suve vadhita vadhisati cheva  
*All* dhammāpekha dhamma-kāmatā cha suve suve vadhitā vadhisati ch[e]vā

*Tōp* (E) pulisā pi cha me ukasā chā gevayā chā majhimā chā  
*Ar* (E) pulisā pi me ukasā cha gevayā cha majhimā cha  
*Nand* (E) pulisā pi me ukasā cha gevayā cha majhimā cha  
*Rām* (E) pulisā pi me ukasā cha gevayā cha majhimā cha  
*All* (E) pulisā pi me ukasā cha gevayā cha majhimā cha

*Tōp* anuvidhiyaṁti saṁpaṭipādayaṁti chā alam chapalam samādapayitave  
*Ar.* anuvidhiyaṁti saṁpaṭipādayaṁti cha alam chapalam samādapayitave  
*Nand* anuvidhiyaṁti saṁpaṭipādayaṁti cha alam chapalam samādapayitave  
*Rām* anuvidhiyaṁti saṁpaṭipādayaṁti cha alam chapalam samādapayitave  
*All* anuvidhiyaṁti saṁpaṭipādayaṁti cha alam chapalam samādapayitave

<i>Top.</i>	(F) hemeva	aṁta-mahāmātā	pi	(G) esa	hi	vidhi	yā	iyam	dhammena
<i>Mir.</i>									
<i>Ar.</i>	(F) hemeva	aṁta-mahāmātā	pi	(G) esā	hi	vidhi	yā	iyam	dhammena
<i>Nand.</i>	(F) hemeva	aṁta-mahāmātā	pi	(G) esā	hi	vidhi	yā	iyam	dhammena
<i>Rām.</i>	(F) hemeva	aṁta-mahāmātā	pi	(G) esā	hi	vidhi	yā	iyam	dhammena
<i>All.</i>	(F) hemmeva	amta-mahāmātā	pi	(G) esā	hi	vidhi	yā	[i]yam	dhammena

<i>Top.</i>	pālanā	dhammena	vidhāne	dhammena	sukhiyanā	dhammena
<i>Mir.</i>	...[naṁ]	dhammen[a]	v[i]dh[āne]	dha[me].		
<i>Ar.</i>	pālana	dhammena	vidhāne	dhammena	sukh[i]yana	dhammena
<i>Nand.</i>	pālana	dhammena	vidhāne	dhammena	sukhiyana	dhammena
<i>Rām.</i>	pālana	dhammena	vidhāne	dha[m]m[e]na	sukhiyana	dhammena
<i>All.</i>	pālanā	dhammena	vidhāne	dhammena	sukhiyanā	dhammena

<i>Top.</i>	goti	ti
<i>Mir.</i>	.	.
<i>Ar.</i>	goti	ti
<i>Nand.</i>	goti	ti
<i>Rām.</i>	goti	ti
<i>All.</i>	[gut]i	[ti cha]

## SECOND PILLAR-EDICT

<i>Top.</i>	(A) Devānampiyē	Piyadasi	lāja	hevaṁ	āha	(B) dhamme	sādhū
<i>Mir.</i>	(A) De[vā]n[ā]mpiyē	Piyadasi	laja	[hevam	ā].	(B) dh[am]me	s[ā]dh[u]
<i>Ar.</i>	(A) Devānampiyē	Piyadasi	lāja	hevam	āha	(B) dhamme	sādhū
<i>Nand.</i>	(A) Devānampiyē	Piyadasi	lāja	hevaṁ	āha	(B) dhamme	sādhū
<i>Rām.</i>	(A) Devānampiyē	Piyadasi	lāja	hevam	āha	(B) dhamme	sādhū
<i>All.</i>	(A) Devānampiyē	Piyadasi	lajā	hevam	āhā	(B) dhamme	sādhū

<i>Top.</i>	kiyam	chu	dhamme	ti	(C) apāsīnave	bahu	kayāne	dayā	dāne	sache
<i>Mir.</i>	k[īya]m	.	[m]e	ti	(C) a[pā]sīnave	bahu	kayāne	dayā	dāne	sache
<i>Ar.</i>	kiyam	chu	dhamme	ti	(C) apāsīnave	bahu	kayāne	daya	dane	sache
<i>Nand.</i>	kiya	chu	dhamme	ti	(C) apāsīnave	bahu	kayāne	daya	dāne	sachē
<i>Rām.</i>	kiyam	chu	dhamme	ti	(C) apāsīnave	bahu	kayāne	daya	dāne	sache
<i>All.</i>	kiyam	chu	dhamme	ti	(C) apāsīnave	bahu	kayāne	daya	dane	sachē

<i>Top</i>	sochaye	(I)	chakhu-dāne	pi	me	bahuvidhe	dimne	(E)	dupada	
<i>Mir.</i>	sochaye	(D)	[chakhu-clā]nā	[pi	me]	bahuvidhe	dimne	(E)	du[pa]da	
<i>Ar.</i>	socheye	ti	(D)	chakhu-dāne	pi	me	bahuvidhe	dimne	(E)	dupada
<i>Nand.</i>	socheye	ti	(D)	chakhu-dāne	pi	me	bahuvidhe	dimne	(E)	dupada
<i>Rām.</i>	socheye	ti	(I)	chakhu-dāne	pi	me	bahuvidhe	dimne	(E)	dupada
<i>All</i>	sochaye	(D)	chakhu-dāne	pi	me	bahuvidhe	dimne	(E)	dupada	

<i>Top.</i>	chatupadesu	pakhi-vālichalesu	vividhe	me	anugahe	kate	a pāna-
<i>Mir.</i>	ch[a]tu[pa]desu	pakhi-vālichale[su	viv[ī]dhe	me	anugahe	kaṭe	a pana-
<i>Ar.</i>	chatupadesu	pakhi-vālichalesu	vividhe	me	anugahe	kate	a pāna-
<i>Nand.</i>	chatupadesu	pakhi-vālichalesu	vividhe	me	anugahe	kate	a pāna-
<i>Rām.</i>	chatupadesu	pakhi-vālichalesu	vividhe	me	anugahe	kate	a pāna-
<i>All.</i>	chatupadesu	pakhi-vālichalesu	vividhe	me	anugahe	kaṭe	a pana-

<i>Top.</i>	dākhināye	(F)	amñāni	pi	cha	me	bahūni	kayānāni	kaṭāni	(G)	etāye
<i>Mir.</i>	dākhināye	(F)	a[ṁ]nāni	pi	cha	me	bah[ūni]	kayānāni	kaṭāni	(G)	etāye
<i>Ar.</i>	dākhināye	(F)	a[ṁ]nāni	pi	cha	me	bahūni	kayānāni	kaṭāni	(G)	etāye
<i>Nand.</i>	dākhināye	(F)	amñāni	pi	cha	me	bahūni	kayānāni	kaṭāni	(G)	etāye
<i>Rām.</i>	dākhināye	(F)	amñāni	pi	cha	me	bahūni	kayānāni	kaṭāni	(G)	etāye
<i>All.</i>	dākhināye	(F)	amñāni	pi	cha	me	bahūni	kayānāni	kaṭāni	(G)	etāye

<i>Top.</i>	me	athāye	iyam	dhamma-lipi	likhāpitā	hevaṁ	anupaṭipajamtu	chilam-
<i>Mir.</i>	me	athāye	iyam	dhamma-lipi	li[khāpitā]	. . . .	anupaṭipajamtu	chil[am]-
<i>Ar.</i>	me	athāye	iyam	dhamma-lipi	likhāpitā	hevaṁ	anupaṭipajamtu	chilam-
<i>Nand.</i>	me	athāye	iyam	dhamma-lipi	likhāpitā	hevaṁ	anupaṭipajamtu	chilam-
<i>Rām.</i>	me	athāye	iyam	dhamma-lipi	likhāpitā	hevaṁ	anupaṭipajamtu	chilam-
<i>All.</i>	me	athāye	iyam	dhamma-lipi	likhāpitā	hevaṁ	anupaṭipajamtu	chila-

<i>Top.</i>	thitikā	cha	hotū	tī	tī	(H)	ye	cha	hevaṁ	samṭipajisati	se
<i>Mir.</i>	[th]tikā	cha	hot[ū]		tī	(H)	ye	[cha]	. . . .	[sa]tī	se
<i>Ar.</i>	thitikā	cha	hotū		tī	(H)	ye	cha	hevaṁ	samṭipajisati	se
<i>Nand.</i>	thitikā	cha	hotū		tī	(H)	ye	cha	hevaṁ	samṭipajisati	se
<i>Rām.</i>	thitikā	cha	hotū		tī	(H)	ye	cha	hevaṁ	samṭipajisati	se
<i>All.</i>	thitika	cha	hotū		tī	(H)	ye	cha	hevaṁ	samṭipajisati	se

<i>Top.</i>	sukaṭam	kachhati	tī
<i>Mir.</i>	sukaṭam	ka[chha]tī	tī
<i>Ar.</i>	sukaṭam	kachhati	tī
<i>Nand.</i>	sukatam	kachhati	
<i>Rām.</i>	sukaṭam	kachhati	tī
<i>All.</i>	sukaṭam	kachhati	tī

## THIRD PILLAR-EDICT

<i>Top.</i>	(A)	Devānampiye	Piyadasi	lāja	hevaṁ	āhā	(B)	kayānammeva	dekhati
<i>Mir.</i>	(A)	Devānampiye	Piyadasi	lāja	hevaṁ	āhā	(B)	kayānamm[eva]	de] . . .
<i>Ar.</i>	(A)	Devānampiye	Piyadasi	lāja	hevaṁ	āhā	(B)	kayānammeva	dekhamti
<i>Nand.</i>	(A)	Devānampiye	Piyadasi	lāja	hevaṁ	āhā	(B)	kayānammeva	dekhamti
<i>Rām.</i>	(A)	Devānampiye	Piyadasi	lāja	hevaṁ	āhā	(B)	kayānammeva	dekhamti
<i>All.</i>	(A)	Devānampiye	Piyadasi	lājā	hevaṁ	āhā	(B)	kayānameva	dekhati

<i>Top.</i>	iyam	me	kayāne	kaṭe	tī	(C)	no	mina	pāpam	d[ē]khati	iyam	me
<i>Mir.</i>	. . .		kayāne	kaṭe	tī	(C)	no	min[ā]	pāpam	dekhati	iyam	me
<i>Ar.</i>	iyam	me	kayāne	kaṭe	tī	(C)	no	mina	pāpam	dekhamti	iyam	me
<i>Nand.</i>	iyam	me	kayāne	kaṭe	tī	(C)	no	mina	pāpam	dekhamti	iyam	me
<i>Rām.</i>	iyam	me	kayāne	kaṭe	tī	(C)	no	mina	pāpam	dekhamti	iyam	me
<i>All.</i>	iyam	me	kayāne	kaṭe	tī	(C)	no	mina	pāpakam	dekhati	iyam	me

<i>Top.</i>	pāpe	kate	tī	iyam	vā	āsinave	nāmā	tī	(D)	dupaṭivekhe	chu	kho
<i>Mir.</i>	pāp[e]	kate	tī	iyam	va]	āsinave	nāmā	tī	(D)	[du]paṭivekhe	chu	kho
<i>Ar.</i>	pāpe	kate	tī	iyam	va	āsinave	nāmā	tī	(D)	dupaṭivekhe	chu	kho
<i>Nand.</i>	pape	kate	tī	iyam	va	āsinave	nāmā	tī	(D)	dupaṭivekhe	chu	kho
<i>Rām.</i>	pāpe	kate	tī	iyam	va	āsinave	nāmā	tī	(D)	dupaṭivekhe	chu	kho
<i>All.</i>	pāpake	kate	tī	iyam	vā	āsinave	nāmā	tī	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .

<i>Tōp.</i>	esā	(F)	hevam	chu	kho	esa	dekhiye	(F)	imāni	āsinava-gāmini	nama
<i>Mir.</i>	esā	(F)	hevam	chu	kho	[esa de]	dekhiye	(F)	imāni	āsinava[ā-gāmini]	nama
<i>Ar.</i>	esa	(F)	hevam	clu	kho	esa	dekhiye	(F)	imāni	āsinava-gāmini	nāma
<i>Nand.</i>	esa	(F)	hevam	chu	kho	esa	dekhiye	(F)	imāni	āsinava-gāmini	nāma
<i>Rām.</i>	esa	(F)	hevam	clu	kho	esa	dekhiye	(F)	imāni	āsinava-gāmini	nāma

<i>Tōp.</i>		atha	chamdiye	nithūliye	kodhe	māne	isya	kālanena	va
<i>Mir</i>		atha	cham[i]ye	ni[tho][i]ye	k[o]dhe	mānc	isya	kālanena	[va]
<i>Ar</i>	ti	atha	chamdiye	nithūliye	kodhe	māne	isya	kalanena	va
<i>Nand</i>	ti	atha	chamdiye	niṭhūliye	kodhe	māne	isya	kālanena	va
<i>Rām.</i>	ti	atha	chamdiye	nithūliye	kodhe	māne	isya	kālanena	va

<i>Tōp.</i>	hakam	mā	palibhasayisam	(G)	esa	badha	dekhiye	(H)	iyam	me
<i>Mir.</i>	hakam	mā	palibha[sajyisa]m	(G)	. .	bā[dham]	dekhiye	(H)	iyam	me
<i>Ar.</i>	hakam	mā	palibhasayisam	ti	(G)	esa	bādham	dekhiye	(H)	iyam
<i>Nand.</i>	hakam	mā	palibhasayisam	ti	(G)	esa	bādham	dekhiye	(H)	iyam
<i>Rām.</i>	hakam	mā	palibhasayisam	(G)	esa	bādham	dekhiye	(H)	iyam	me

<i>Tōp.</i>	hidatikaye	iyammana	me	pālatikaye	
<i>Mir.</i>	[hi]dat[i]kāye	iyam	me	pālatikāye	
<i>Ar.</i>	hidatikāye	iyammana	me	pālatikāye	ti
<i>Naud</i>	hidatikāye	iyammana	me	pālatikāye	ti
<i>Rām.</i>	hidatikaye	iyammana	me	pālatikāye	ti

## FOURTH PILLAR-EDICT

<i>Tōp.</i>	(A)	Devānampiye	Piyadasi	[ā]ja	hevam	āhā	(B)	saduvisati-vasa-abhisitenā
<i>Ar.</i>	(A)	Devānampiye	Piyadasi	lāja	hevam	āha	(B)	saduvisati-vasābhīsitenā
<i>Nand.</i>	(A)	Devānampiye	Piyadasi	lāja	hevam	āha	(B)	saduvisati-vasābhīsitenā
<i>Rām.</i>	(A)	Devānampiye	Piyadasi	lāja	hevam	āha	(B)	saduvisati-vasābhīsitenā

<i>Tōp.</i>	me	iyam	dhamma-lipi	likhāpita	(C)	lajukā	me	bahūsu	pāna-sata-sahasasu
<i>Ar.</i>	me	iyam	dhamma-lipi	likhāpita	(C)	lajukā	me	bahūsu	pāna-sata-sahasasu
<i>Nand.</i>	me	iyam	dhamma-lipi	likhāpita	(C)	lajukā	me	bahūsu	pāna-sata-sahasasu
<i>Rām.</i>	me	iyam	dhamma-lipi	likhāpita	(C)	lajukā	me	bahūsu	pāna-sata-sahasasu

<i>Tōp.</i>	janasi	āyata	(D)	tesam	ye	abhihāle	vā	damde	va	ata-patiye	me
<i>Ar.</i>	janasi	āyata	(D)	tesam	ye	abhihāle	va	d[a]mde	va	ata-patiye	me
<i>Nand.</i>	janasi	āyata	(D)	tesam	ye	abhihāle	va	damde	va	ata-patiye	me
<i>Rām.</i>	janasi	āyata	(D)	tesam	ye	abhihāle	va	damde	va	ata-patiye	me

<i>Tōp.</i>	kate	kimti	lajukā	asvatha	abhihā	kammāni	pavatayevū	ti	janasa
<i>Ar.</i>	kate	kimti	lajuka	asvatha	abhihā	kammāni	pavatayevū	ti	janasa
<i>Nand.</i>	kaṭe	kimti	lajūka	asvatha	abhihā	kammāni	pavatayevū	ti	janasa
<i>Rām.</i>	kaṭe	kimti	lajūka	asvatha	abhihā	kammāni	pavatayevu	ti	janasa

<i>Top.</i>	jānapadasā	hita-sukhaṃ	upadahevu	anugahinevu	chā	( <i>Ḍ</i> )	sukhiyana-
<i>Ar.</i>	jānapadasa	hita-sukhaṃ	upadahevu	anugahinevu	cha	( <i>Ḍ</i> )	sukhiyana-
<i>Nand.</i>	jānapadasa	hita-sukhaṃ	upadahevu	anugahinevu	cha	( <i>Ḍ</i> )	sukhiyana-
<i>Rām.</i>	jānapadasa	hita-sukhaṃ	upadahevu	anugahinevu	cha	( <i>Ḍ</i> )	sukhiyana-

<i>Top.</i>	dukkhiyanam	jānisamti	dhamma-yutena	cha	viyovadisamti	janam	jānapadam
<i>Ar.</i>	dukkhiyanam	jānisamti	dhamma-yutena	cha	viyovadisamti	janam	jānapadam
<i>Nand.</i>	dukkhiyanam	jānisamti	dhamma-yutena	cha	viyovadisamti	janam	jānapadam
<i>Rām.</i>	dukkhiyanam	jānisamti	dhamma-yutena	cha	viyovadisamti	janam	jānapadam

<i>Top.</i>	kimti	hidatam	cha	pālatam	cha	ālādhayevū	ti	( <i>F</i> )	lajūkā	pi	laghamti
<i>Ar.</i>	kimti	hidatam	cha	pālatam	cha	ālādhayevu		( <i>F</i> )	lajūkā	pi	laghamti
<i>Nand.</i>	kimti	hidatam	cha	pālatam	cha	ālādhayevū	ti	( <i>F</i> )	lajūkā	pi	laghamti
<i>Rām.</i>	kumti	hidatam	cha	pālatam	cha	ālādhayevū	ti	( <i>F</i> )	lajūkā	pi	laghamti

<i>Top.</i>	paṭichalitave	mam	( <i>G</i> )	pulisāni	pi	me	chhamdamnāni	paṭichalisamti
<i>Ar.</i>	paṭichalitave	maṃ	( <i>G</i> )	pulisāni	pi	me	chhamdamnāni	paṭichalisamti
<i>Nand.</i>	paṭichalitave	mam	( <i>G</i> )	pulis[ā]ni	pi	me	chhamdamnāni	paṭichalisamti
<i>Rām.</i>	paṭichalitave	maṃ	( <i>G</i> )	pulisāni	pi	me	chhamdamnāni	paṭichalisamti

<i>Top.</i>	( <i>H</i> )	te	pi	cha	kāni	viyovadisamti	yena	maṃ	lajūkā	chaghamti
<i>Mir.</i>									[ka]	chaghamti
<i>Ar.</i>	( <i>H</i> )	te	pi	cha	kāni	viyovadisamti	yena	maṃ	lajūkā	chaghamti
<i>Nand.</i>	( <i>H</i> )	te	pi	cha	kāni	viyovadisamti	yena	maṃ	lajūkā	chaghamti
<i>Rām.</i>	( <i>H</i> )	te	pi	cha	kāni	viyovadisamti	yena	maṃ	lajūkā	chaghamti

<i>Top.</i>	ālādhayitave	( <i>I</i> )	athā	hi	pajam	viyatāye	dhātīye	nisijitu	asvathe
<i>Mir.</i>	[ā]lādhayitave	( <i>I</i> )							tu
<i>Ar.</i>	ālādhayitave	( <i>I</i> )	athā	hi	pajam	viyatāye	dhātīye	nisijitu	asvathe
<i>Nand.</i>	ālādhayitave	( <i>I</i> )	athā	hi	pajam	viyatāye	dhātīye	nisijitu	asvathe
<i>Rām.</i>	ālādhayitave	( <i>I</i> )	athā	hi	pajam	viyatāye	dhātīye	nisijitu	asvathe

<i>Top.</i>	hoti	viyata	dhāti	chaghati	me	pajam	sukham	palihaṭave	hevaṃ
<i>Mir.</i>	[ho]ti	vi[ya]						[I]ha[ṭ]ave	hev[am]
<i>Ar.</i>	hoti	viyata	dhāti	chaghati	me	pajam	sukham	palihaṭave	ti
<i>Nand.</i>	hoti	viyata	dhāti	chaghati	me	pajam	sukham	palihaṭave	ti
<i>Rām.</i>	hoti	viyata	dhāti	chaghati	me	pajam	sukham	palihaṭave	ti

<i>Top.</i>	mamā	lajūkā	katā	jānapadasa	hita-sukhāye	( <i>Ṣ</i> )	yena	ete	abhitā
<i>Mir.</i>	[mam]ā	[la]jūk[a]					ye	( <i>Ṣ</i> )	yen[a]
<i>Ar.</i>	mama	lajūka	kata	jānapadasa	hita-sukhāye	( <i>Ṣ</i> )	yena	ete	abhitā
<i>Nand.</i>	mama	lajūka	kaṭa	jānapadasa	hita-sukhāye	( <i>Ṣ</i> )	yena	ete	abhitā
<i>Rām.</i>	mama	lajūka	kaṭa	jānapadasa	hita-sukhāye	( <i>Ṣ</i> )	yena	ete	abhitā

<i>Top.</i>	asvatha	samtaṃ	avimanā	kaṃmāni	pavatayevū	ti	etena
<i>Mir.</i>	asvatha	sam			[pa]vataye[v]ū	ti	[e]te[na]
<i>Ar.</i>	asvathā	samtaṃ	achhimana	kaṃmāni	pavatayevū	ti	etena
<i>Nand.</i>	asvathā	samtaṃ	avimana	kaṃmāni	pavatayevū	ti	etena
<i>Rām.</i>	asvathā	samtaṃ	avimana	kaṃmāni	pavatayevū	ti	etena



<i>Top.</i>	me	lajūkānam	abh[i]hāle	va	damde	vā	ata-patiye	kaṭe
<i>Mir.</i>	me	[la]jū[kā]n[am]	.	.	.	.	ata-patiye	kaṭ[e]
<i>Ar.</i>	me	lajūkānam	abhihāle	va	damde	va	ata-patiye	kaṭe
<i>Nand.</i>	me	lajūkānam	[a]bhihāle	va	damde	va	ata-patiye	kaṭe
<i>Rām.</i>	me	lajūkānam	abhihāle	va	damde	va	ata-patiye	kaṭe
<i>All.</i>	.	[kānam	abhihāle	vā	damde	vā	ata-pa]ṭ[i]y[e	kaṭe]

<i>Top.</i>	(K)	ichhitaviye	[h]i	esā	kimti	viyohāla-samatā	cha	siya
<i>Mir.</i>	(K)	ichhitavi	.	.	.	[h]āla-samatā	ch[a]	siyā
<i>Ar.</i>	(K)	ichhitaviye	hi	esa	kimti	viyohāla-samatā	cha	siya
<i>Nand.</i>	(K)	ichhitaviye	hi	esa	kimti	viyohāla-samatā	cha	siya
<i>Rām.</i>	(K)	ichhitaviye	hi	esa	ki[m]ti	viyohāla-samatā	cha	siya
<i>All.</i>	(K)	[i]chh[i][a]v[i]y[e]	hi	e[s]a	k[i]m[t]i	. . . . la-sama[i]ā	cha	siyā

<i>Top.</i>	damda-samatā	chā	(L)	ava	ite	pi	cha	me	āvuti	baṁdhana-
<i>Mir.</i>	damda-sa[ma]	.	.	.	.	.	[me]	āvuti	[ba]m	dhana-
<i>Ar.</i>	damda-samatā	cha	(L)	āvā	ite	pi	cha	me	āvuti	baṁdhana-
<i>Nand.</i>	damda-samatā	cha	(L)	āvā	ite	pi	cha	me	āvuti	baṁdhana-
<i>Rām.</i>	damda-samata	cha	(L)	āvā	ite	pi	cha	me	āvuti	baṁdhana-
<i>All.</i>	da[m]da-samatā	cha	(L)	āvā	ite	pi	cha	me	āvuti	baṁdhana-

<i>Top.</i>	badhānam	munisānam	til[i]ta-damdānam	pata-vadhānam	timni	divasā[n]
<i>Mir.</i>	[badh]ānam	munisā[nam]	.	.	.	divā]ṣāni
<i>Ar.</i>	badhānam	munisā[nam]	tilita-damdānam	pata-vadhānam	timni	divasāni
<i>Nand.</i>	badhānam	munisānam	tilita-damdānam	pata-vadhānam	timni	divasāni
<i>Rām.</i>	badhānam	munisanam	tilita-damdānam	pata-vadhānam	timni	divasāni
<i>All.</i>	badhānam	munisānam	tilita-damdānam	pata-vadhānam	timni	divasāni

<i>Top.</i>	me	yote	dimne	(M)	nātikā	va	kāni	nijhapayisamti	jivitāye
<i>Mir.</i>	[m]e	y[o]te	dimne	(M)	.	.	.	payisa[m]ti	j[i]v[i]tāye
<i>Ar.</i>	me	yote	dimne	(M)	nātikā	va	kāni	nijhapayisamti	jivitāye
<i>Nand.</i>	me	[yo]te	dimne	(M)	nātikā	va	kāni	nijhapayisamti	jivitāye
<i>Rām.</i>	me	[y]ote	dimne	(M)	nātikā	va	kāni	nijhapayisamti	jivitāye
<i>All.</i>	.	yote	dimne	(M)	[k]ā	va	kāni	nijhapayisamti	jivitāye

<i>Top.</i>	tānam	nāsamtam	vā	nijhapayitā	dānam	dāhamti	pālatikam
<i>Mir.</i>	tāna[m]	nāsamtam	[v]ā	ni	.	ti	pālatikam
<i>Ar.</i>	tānam	nāsamtam	va	nijhapayitāve	dānam	dāhamti	pālatikam
<i>Nand.</i>	tānam	nāsamtam	va	nijhapayitāve	dānam	dāhamti	pālatikam
<i>Rām.</i>	tānam	nasamtam	va	nijhapayitave	dānam	dāhamti	pālatikam
<i>All.</i>	tānam	nāsamtam	vā	nijhapayitā	dānam	dāhamti	pālatikam

<i>Top.</i>	upavāsam	va	kachhamti	(N)	ichha	hi	me	hevam	niludhasi	pi
<i>Mir.</i>	upavāsam	vā	k[a]	(N)	.	.	.	hevam	niludhasi	pi
<i>Ar.</i>	upavāsam	va	kachhamti	(N)	ichhā	hi	me	hevam	niludhasi	pi
<i>Nand.</i>	upavāsam	va	kachhamti	(N)	ichhā	hi	me	hevam	niludhasi	pi
<i>Rām.</i>	upavāsam	va	kachhamti	(N)	ichhā	hi	me	hevam	niludhasi	pi
<i>All.</i>	upavāsam	vā	[ka]chha[m]u	(N)	[h]	hi	me	hevan	niludhasi	pi

<i>Tōp.</i>	kālasī	pālatam	ālādhayevū	ti	(O) janasa	cha	vaḍhati	vividhe
<i>Mīr.</i>	[k]ālasī	pā[la]tam	ālādha[ye]	.	.	.	vaḍhati	vividhe
<i>Ar.</i>	kālasī	pālatam	ālādhayevū	ti	(O) janasa	cha	va[dha]ti	vividhe
<i>Nand.</i>	[k]alasī	pālatam	ālādhayevū	t[i]	(O) janasa	cha	vaḍhati	vividhe
<i>Rām.</i>	kālasī	pālatam	ālādhayevū	ti	(O) janasa	cha	vaḍhati	vividhe
<i>All.</i>	kālasī	pālatam	ālādhayev[u]		(O) janasa	cha	vaḍhati	vividhe

<i>Tōp.</i>	dhamma-chalane	saṃyame	dāna-savibhāge	ti
<i>Mīr.</i>	dhamma-chal[a]ne	saṃyame	dā[na]	.
<i>Ar.</i>	dha[m]ma-chalane	sayame	dāna-samvibhāge	ti
<i>Nand.</i>	dhamma-chalane	sayame	dāna-savibhāge	ti
<i>Rām.</i>	dhamma-chalane	sayame	dāna-savibhāge	ti
<i>All.</i>	dhamma-chalane	sayame	dāna-savibhāge	

## FIFTH PILLAR-EDICT

<i>Tōp.</i>	(A)	Devānampīye	Piyadasi	lāja	hevam	ahā	(B)	saduvisati-vasa-abhisitena
<i>Ar.</i>	(A)	Devānampīye	Piyadasi	lāja	hevam	aha	(B)	saduvisati-vasābhisitasa
<i>Nand</i>	(A)	Devānampīye	Piyadasi	lāja	hevam	aha	(B)	saduvisati-vasābhisitasa
<i>Rām.</i>	(A)	Devānampīye	Piyadasi	lāja	hevam	aha	(B)	saduvisati-[va]sābhisitena
<i>All.</i>	(A)	. . . . . [p]iye	Piyadasi	lāja	hevam	ahā	(B)	saduvisati-vasābhisitena

<i>Yōp.</i>	me	imāni		jātani	avadhiyāni	kaṭāni	seyathā	suke	sālikā	alune
<i>Ar</i>	me	imāni	pi	jātāni	avadhiyāni	kaṭāni	seyatha	suke	sālika	alune
<i>Nand.</i>	me	imāni	pi	jātāni	avadhiyāni	kaṭāni	seyath[ā]	suke	sālika	alune
<i>Rām.</i>	me	imāni	pi	jātāni	avadhiyāni	kaṭāni	seyatha	suke	sālika	alune
<i>All</i>	me	imāni		jātāni	avadhiyāni	kaṭāni	seyatha	suke	sālikā	alune

<i>Tōp.</i>	chakavāke	hamse	namdī mukhe	gelāte	jatūkā	ambā-kapilikā	duli
<i>Ar.</i>	chakavāke	hamse	namdī mukhe	gelāte	jatūka	ambā-kapilika	duli
<i>Nand.</i>	chakavāke	hamse	namdī mukhe	gelāte	jatūka	ambā-kapilika	duli
<i>Rām.</i>	chakavāke	hamse	namdī mukhe	gelāte	jatūka	ambā-kapilika	duli
<i>All.</i>	chaka[v]āke		[namdī]m[u]khe	gelāte	jatūk[ā]	ambā-kipilikā	dudi

<i>Tōp.</i>	anāthika-machhe	vedaveyake	Gaṃgā-puputake	samkuja-machhe	kaphaṭ[a]
<i>Ar.</i>	anāthika-machhe	vedaveyake	Gaṃgā-puputake	samkuja-machhe	kaphaṭa
<i>Nand.</i>	anāthika-machhe	vedaveyake	Gaṃgā-puputake	samkuja-machhe	kaphaṭa
<i>Rām.</i>	anāthika-machhe	vedaveyake	Gaṃgā-puputake	samkuja-machhe	kaphaṭa
<i>All.</i>	anāthika-machhe	vedaveyake	Gaṃgā-p[u]p[u]take	samkuja-machhe	kaphaṭa

<i>Tōp.</i>	sayake	pamna-sase	simale	samdake	okapiṃde	palasate	seta-kapote
<i>Ar.</i>	seyake	pamna-sase	simale	samdake	okapiṃde	palasate	seta-kapote
<i>Nand.</i>	seyake	pamna-sase	simale	samdake	okapiṃde	palasate	seta-kapote
<i>Rām.</i>	seyake	pamna-sase	simale	samdake	okapiṃde	palasate	seta-kapote
<i>All.</i>	k[e]	p[a]mna-sase	simale	samda	.	.	[ta]-kapote

<i>Tōp.</i>	gāma-kapote	save	chatupade	ye	paṭibhogam	no	eti	na	cha
<i>Ar.</i>	gāma-kapote	save	chatupade	ye	paṭipogam	no	eti	no	cha
<i>Nand.</i>	gāma-kapote	save	chatupade	ye	paṭibhogam	no	eti	na	cha
<i>Rām.</i>	gāma-kapote	save	chatupade	ye	paṭibhogam	no	cti	na	cha
<i>All.</i>	gāma-kapote	sa[v]e	chatu[pa]de	ye	paṭ[i]bhogam	[no]			

<i>Tōp.</i>	khādiyati	(C)	.....	i	[e]lakā	chā	sūkali	chā	gabbini	va	pāyaminā
<i>Ar.</i>	khādiy[ā]ti	(C)	ajakā	nāni	eḍakā	cha	sukali	cha	gabbini	va	pāyaminā
<i>Nand.</i>	khādiyati	(C)	ajakā	nāni	eḍakā	cha	sūkali	cha	gabbini	va	pāyaminā
<i>Rām.</i>	khādiyati	(C)	ajakā	nāni	eḍakā	cha	sūkali	cha	gabbini	va	pāyaminā
<i>All.</i>	.	.	.	.	nā	.	.	.	.	.	[p]ā[ya]mi ..

<i>Tōp.</i>	va	avadhīy.	p.ta	ke	pi	cha	kāni	āsaṃmāsike	(D)	vadhi-kukuṭe
<i>Mīr.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	[potake	pi	cha]	k[ā]n[ī]	ke (D) [vadh]i-kukuṭe
<i>Ar.</i>	va	avadhya	potake			cha	kāni	āsaṃmāsike	(D)	vadhi-kukuṭe
<i>Nand.</i>	va	avadhya	potake			cha	kāni	āsaṃmāsike	(D)	vadhi-kukuṭe
<i>Rām.</i>	va	avadhya	potake			cha	kāni	āsaṃmāsike	(D)	vadhi-kukuṭe

<i>Tōp.</i>	no	kaṭaviye	(E)	tuse	sajīve	no	jhāpetaviye	(F)	dāve	anaphāye	vā
<i>Mīr.</i>	no	kaṭaviye	(E)	tuse	sajī[ve]	.	.	.	ta[v]iye	(F)	dāve [a]naphāye vā
<i>Ar.</i>	no	kaṭaviye	(E)	tuse	sajīve	no	jhāpayitaviye	(F)	dāve	anaphāye	va
<i>Nand.</i>	no	kaṭaviye	(E)	tuse	sajīve	no	jhāpayitaviye	(F)	dāve	anaphāye	va
<i>Rām.</i>	no	kaṭaviye	(E)	tuse	sajīve	no	jhāpayitaviye	(F)	dāve	anaphāye	va
<i>All.</i>	.	.	.	.	sajīve	no	jhā[pa]	.	.	.	.

<i>Tōp.</i>	vihiśāye	vā	no	jhāpetaviye	(G)	jīvena	jīve	no	pusitaviye
<i>Mīr.</i>	vihiśāye	vā	no	[jhāpe]ta[vi]ye	(G)	jī[v]ena	jī[iv]e	no	pusi[ta]viye
<i>Ar.</i>	vihiśāye	va	no	jhāpayitaviye	(G)	jīvena	jīve	no	pusitaviye
<i>Nand.</i>	vihiśāye	va	no	jhāpayitaviye	(G)	jīvena	jīve	no	pusita iye
<i>Rām.</i>	vihiśāye	va	no	jhāpayitaviye	(G)	jīvena	jīve	no	pusitaviye

<i>Tōp.</i>	(H)	tisu	chātummasisu	tisāyam	puṃnamāsīyaṃ	tiṃni	divasāni
<i>Mīr.</i>	(H)	tisu	chātummasisu	[t]isāya[m]	pu[m]na[m]ā[s]i[ya]m	tiṃni	divasāni
<i>Ar.</i>	(H)	tisu	chātummasisu	tisīyam	puṃnamāsīyaṃ	tiṃni	divasāni
<i>Nand.</i>	(H)	tisu	chātummasisu	tisīyam	puṃnamāsīyaṃ	tiṃni	divasāni
<i>Rām.</i>	(H)	tisu	chātummasisu	tisīyam	puṃnamāsīyaṃ	tiṃni	divasāni
<i>All.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	[n]

<i>Tōp.</i>	chāvudasaṃ	paṃnaḍasaṃ	paṭipadāy[e]	dhuṡāye	chā	anuposathaṃ
<i>Mīr.</i>	chāvudasaṃ	paṃnaḍasaṃ	p[a]ṭipadā	dh[r]uvāye	cha	anuposathaṃ
<i>Ar.</i>	chāvudasaṃ	paṃnaḍasaṃ	paṭipadaṃ	dhuṡāye	cha	anuposathaṃ
<i>Nand.</i>	chāvudasaṃ	paṃnaḍasaṃ	paṭipadam	dhuṡāye	cha	anuposathaṃ
<i>Rām.</i>	chāvudasaṃ	paṃnaḍasaṃ	paṭipadaṃ	dhuṡāye	cha	anuposathaṃ
<i>All.</i>	chā[v]u[ḍa]saṃ	[pa]mcha[ḍa]	.	.	.	.

<i>Tōp.</i>	machhe	avadhiye	no	pi	viketaviye	(I)	etāni	yevā	divasāni	nāga-
<i>Mīr.</i>	machhe	avadhiye	no	pi	viketav[ī]ye	(I)	etān[ī]	yeva	divasāni	n[a]ga-
<i>Ar.</i>	machhe	avadhye	no	pi	viketaviye	(I)	etāni	yeva	divasāni	nāga-
<i>Nand.</i>	machhe	avadhye	no	pi	viketaviye	(I)	etāni	yeva	divasāni	nāga-
<i>Rām.</i>	machhe	avadhye	no	pi	viketaviye	(I)	etāni	yeva	divasāni	nāga-

<i>Tōp.</i>	vanasi	kevaṭa-bhogasi	yāni	amṇāni	pi	jīva-nikāyāni	no	hamtavīyāni
<i>Mīr.</i>	van[ā]si	kevaṭa-bhogasi	y[ā]ni	amṇāni	pi	jīva-nikāyān[ī]	no	[ha]mtaviyāni
<i>Ar.</i>	vanasi	kevaṭa-bhogasi	yāni	amṇāni	pi	jīva-nikāyāni	no	hamtavīyāni
<i>Nand.</i>	vanasi	kevaṭa-bhogasi	yāni	amṇāni	pi	jīva-nikāyāni	no	hamtavīyāni
<i>Rām.</i>	vanasi	kevaṭa-bhogasi	yāni	amṇāni	pi	jīva-nikāyāni	no	hamtavīyāni

<i>Tōp.</i>	( <i>Ÿ</i> )	aṭhami-pakhāye	chāvudasāye	paṁnaḍasāye	tisāye	punāvasune	tisu
<i>Mīr.</i>	( <i>Ÿ</i> )	aṭham[i-pakhā]ye	[chā]vudasāye	paṁ[na]ḍasāye	tisāye	punāvasune	tisu
<i>Ar.</i>	( <i>Ÿ</i> )	aṭhami-pakhāye	chāvudasāye	paṁnaḍasāye	tisāye	punāvasune	tisu
<i>Nand.</i>	( <i>Ÿ</i> )	aṭhami-pakhāye	chāvudasāye	paṁnaḍasāye	tisāye	punāvasune	tisu
<i>Rām.</i>	( <i>Ÿ</i> )	aṭhami-pakhāye	chāvudasāye	paṁnaḍasāye	tisāye	punāvasune	tisu

<i>Tōp.</i>	chātummāsīsu	sudivasāye	gone	no	nīlakhitaviye	ajake	eḍake	sūkale
<i>Mīr.</i>	chātummāsīsu	sudivasāye	gone	no	nīlakhitavi[ <i>y</i> ]e	ajake	elake	sūkale
<i>Ar.</i>	chātummāsīsu	sudivasāye	gone	no	nīlakhitaviye	ajake	elake	sūkale
<i>Nand.</i>	chātummāsīsu	sudivasāye	gone	no	nīlakhitaviye	ajake	elake	sūkale
<i>Rām.</i>	chātummāsīsu	sudivasāye	gone	no	nīlakhitaviye	ajake	elake	sūkale

<i>Tōp.</i>	e vā pi aṁne	nīlakhīyati	no	nīlakhitaviye	( <i>K'</i> )	tisāye	punāvasune
<i>Mīr.</i>	e vā pi aṁ[n]e	nī[la]khi[ya]ti	[no]	nīlakhitaviye	( <i>K'</i> )	tisāye	punāvasun[e]
<i>Ar.</i>	e vā pi aṁne	nīlakhīyati	no	nīlakhitaviye	( <i>K'</i> )	tisāye	punāvasune
<i>Nand.</i>	e vā pi aṁne	nīlakhīyati	no	nīlakhitaviye	( <i>K'</i> )	tisāye	punāvasune
<i>Rām.</i>	e vā pi aṁne	nīlakhīyati	no	nīlakhitaviye	( <i>K'</i> )	tisāye	punāvasune

<i>Tōp.</i>	chātummāsīye	chātummāsī-pakhāye	asvasā	gonasā	lakhane	no	kaṭaviye
<i>Mīr.</i>	chātummāsīye	chātu[m]māsī-pakhāye	asvasā	gonasā	lakhane	no	....[v]jiye
<i>Ar.</i>	chātummāsīye	chātummāsī-pakhāye	asvasa	gonasa	lakhane	no	kaṭaviye
<i>Nand.</i>	chātummāsīye	chātummāsī-pakhāye	asvasa	gonasa	lakhane	no	kaṭaviye
<i>Rām.</i>	chātummāsīye	chātummāsī-pakhāye	asvasa	gonasa	lakhane	no	kaṭaviye
<i>All.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	[lakha]n[e]	no kaṭaviye

<i>Tōp.</i>	( <i>L</i> )	yāva-saduvisati-vasa-abhisitena	me	etāye	aṁtalikāye	paṁnavisati
<i>Mīr.</i>	( <i>L</i> )	yā[va]-saduvisati-[va]sa-abhisitena	me	etāye	a[m]talikāye	paṁnavisati
<i>Ar.</i>	( <i>L</i> )	yāva-saduvisati-vasābhisitasa	me	etāye	aṁtalikāye	paṁnavisati
<i>Nand.</i>	( <i>L</i> )	yāva-saduvisati-vasābhisitena	me	etāye	aṁtalikāye	paṁnavisati
<i>Rām.</i>	( <i>L</i> )	yāva-saduvisati-vasābhisitena	me	etāye	aṁtalikāye	paṁnavisati
<i>All.</i>	( <i>L</i> )	[y]ā . . . . .	.	.	.	.

<i>Tōp.</i>	baṁdhana-mokhāni	kaṭāni
<i>Mīr.</i>	baṁdhana-mokhāni	kaṭāni
<i>Ar.</i>	baṁdhana-mokhāni	kaṭāni
<i>Nand.</i>	baṁdhana-mokhāni	kaṭāni
<i>Rām.</i>	baṁdhana-mokhāni	kaṭāni

## SIXTH PILLAR-EDICT

<i>Tōp.</i>	( <i>A</i> )	Devānaṁpiye	Piyadasi	lāja	hevaṁ	āhā	( <i>B</i> )	duvāḍasa-
<i>Ar.</i>	( <i>A</i> )	Devānaṁpiye	Piyadasi	lāja	hevaṁ	āha	( <i>B</i> )	duvā[da]sa-
<i>Nand.</i>	( <i>A</i> )	Devānaṁpiye	Piyadasi	lāja	hevaṁ	āha	( <i>B</i> )	duva[la]s[a]-
<i>Rām.</i>	( <i>A</i> )	Devānaṁpiye	Piyadasi	lāja	hevaṁ	āha	( <i>B</i> )	duvāḍasa-
<i>All.</i>	( <i>A</i> )	..... [p]iye	[P]iyada[s]i	l[ā] . . . . .	.	.	.	.

<i>Tōp.</i>	vasa-abhisitena	me	dhamma-lipi	likhāpitā	lokasā	hita-sukhāye	se	taṁ
<i>Ar.</i>	vasābhisitena	me	dhamma-lipi	likhāpita	lokasa	hita-sukhāye	se	taṁ
<i>Nand.</i>	[va]bhisitena	me	dhamma-lipi	likhāpita	lokasa	hita-sukhāye	se	taṁ
<i>Rām.</i>	vasābhisitena	me	dhamma-lipi	likhāpita	lokasa	hita-sukhāye	se	taṁ

<i>Tōp.</i>	apahaṭa	taṃ	taṃ	dhaṃma-vaḍhi	pāpovā	(C)	hevam	lokasā	hita-
<i>Ar.</i>	apahaṭa	taṃ	taṃ	dhaṃma-vaḍhi	pāpova	(C)	hevam	lokasa	hita-
<i>Nand.</i>	apahaṭa	taṃ	taṃ	dhaṃma-vaḍhi	pāpova	(C)	hevam	lokasa	hita-
<i>Rām.</i>	apahaṭa	taṃ	taṃ	dhaṃma-vaḍhi	pāpova	(C)	hevam	lok[a]sa	hita-
<i>All.</i>	. . . .	[tʰam]	.	. . . .	[dh]ṛi [pā]...	(C)	heva[r]n	lokasa]	hita-

<i>Tōp.</i>	[sukhe]	ti	paṭivekhāmi	atha	iyam	nāṭisu	hevam	patiyāsamnesu	
<i>Ar.</i>	sukhe	ti	paṭivekhāmi	athā	iyam	nāṭisu	hevam	patyāsamnesu	
<i>Nand.</i>	sukhe	ti	paṭivekhāmi	athā	iyam	nāṭisu	hevam	patyāsamnesu	
<i>Rām.</i>	sukhe	ti	paṭivekhāmi	atha	iyam	nāṭisu	hevam	patyāsamnesu	
<i>All.</i>	sukhe	ti	paṭivekhāmi	atha	[iya]m	.	.	[va]m	[paty]āsa[m]ne[su]

<i>Tōp.</i>	hevam	apakaṭhesu	kimam	kāni	sukham	āvahāmi	ti	tathā	cha
<i>Ar.</i>	hevam	apakaṭhesu	kiṃmam	kāni	sukham	āvahāmi	ti	tathā	cha
<i>Nand.</i>	hevam	apakaṭhesu	kiṃmaṃ	kāni	sukham	āvahāmi	ti	tathā	cha
<i>Rām.</i>	hevam	apakaṭhesu	kimmaṃ	kāni	sukham	āvahāmi	ti	tathā	cha
<i>All.</i>	[heva]m	apaka[tʰ]e[su]	kimam	[k]ā[ni]					

<i>Tōp.</i>	vidahāmi	(D)	hemeva	sava-nikāyesu	paṭivekhāmi	(E)	sava-pāsamdā	
<i>Ar.</i>	vidahāmi	(D)	hemeva	sava-nikāyesu	paṭivekhāmi	(E)	sava-pāsamdā	
<i>Nand.</i>	vidahāmi	(D)	hemeva	sava-nikāyesu	paṭivekhāmi	(E)	sava-pāsamdā	
<i>Rām.</i>	vidahāmi	(D)	hemeva	sava-n[i]kāyesu	paṭivekhāmi	(E)	sava-pāsamdā	
<i>All.</i>	[v]i[dah]āmi	(D)	hevammeva	[sa]va. [k]āyesu	paṭivekhāmi	(E)	[sa]va-pāsamdā	

<i>Tōp.</i>	pi	me	pūjita	vividhāya	pūjāyā	(F)	e chu	iyam	at[a]nā	pachūpagamane
<i>Mir.</i>										ūpagamane
<i>Ar.</i>	pi	me	pūjita	vividhāya	pūjāya	(F)	e chu	iyam	atana	pachūpagamane
<i>Nand.</i>	pi	me	pūjita	vividhāya	pūjāya	(F)	e chu	iyam	atana	pachūpagamane
<i>Rām.</i>	pi	me	pūjita	vividhāya	pūjāya	(F)	e chu	iyam	atana	pachūpagamane
<i>All.</i>	pi	me	pūjita	vividhāya	[pū]jāyā	(F)	e chu	iy[a]m	atana	pachupagamane

<i>Tōp.</i>	se	me	mokhya-mate	(G)	saduvīsati-vasa-abhisitena	me	iyam	dhamma	
<i>Mir.</i>	se	me	mokhya-mate	(G)	sadu . . . isitena	me	iyam	dhamma-	
<i>Ar.</i>	se	me	mukhya-mute	(G)	saduvīsati-vasābhisitena	me	iyam	dhamma-	
<i>Nand.</i>	se	me	mokhya-mute	(G)	saduvīsati-va[s]ābhisitena	me	iyam	dhamma-	
<i>Rām.</i>	se	me	mokhya-mute	(G)	saduvīsati[i]-vasābhisitena	me	iyam	dhamma-	
<i>All.</i>	se	me	mukhya-mute	(G)					

<i>Tōp.</i>	lipi	likhāpita	
<i>Mir.</i>	li[pi]	li . . .	
<i>Ar.</i>	lipi	likhāpita	
<i>Nand.</i>	lipi	likhāpita	
<i>Rām.</i>	lipi	likhāpita	
<i>All.</i>	lipi	likhāpita	ti

# IV. THE RUPNATH ROCK-INSRIPTION AND COGNATE INSRIPTIONS

<i>Rūp.</i>	(A) Devānāmpīye	heva[r̥h]	āhā	(B) sāti[ra]kekāni	aḍhati[y]āni
<i>Sak.</i>	(A) Devānāmpīye	he[va]r̥h	ā		[iyāni]
<i>Bair.</i>	(A) Devānāmpīye		ah[ā]	(B) s[ā]ti	
<i>Mas.</i>	(A) Dev[ā]na[r̥h]piyasa	Asok[a]sa			[a]dh[a]t[i] . . . ni
<i>Brak.</i>	(B) Devānāmpīye	ānapayati		(C) adhikāni	adhātīyāni
<i>Śidd.</i>	(B) [Dev]ā[na]mpīye	heva[r̥h]	āhā	(C) adhikāni	a[dhā]t[i]y[āni]
<i>Ṭal.</i>	(B) Dev[ā]n[a]				

<i>Rūp.</i>	va	ya	sumi prakāsa	[Sa]k[c]	(C) no	chu	bādhi
<i>Sak.</i>	[savachhalāni	a]r̥h	upāsake	sumi	(C) na	chu	bādham
<i>Bair.</i>	vasān[i]	ya	haka[r̥h]	upāsake	(C) [no	chu]	bādham
<i>Mas.</i>	vashā[ni]	a[r̥h]	sum[i]	Bu[dha]-śake			
<i>Brak.</i>	v[a]sāni	ya	haka[r̥h]	. . . sa[kc]	(D) no	tu	kho
<i>Śidd.</i>	vasāni	ya	ha[kar̥h]	u]pāsake	(D) no	tu	kho
<i>Ṭal.</i>	. . .	ya	haka[r̥h]	. . . . .	(D)		kho

<i>Rūp.</i>	pakate				(D) sātīleke	chu	
<i>Sak.</i>	[palaka]r̥h[t]e				(D) sav[a]chhale		
<i>Bair.</i>							
<i>Mas.</i>			(C)		[t]ire . .		
<i>Brak.</i>	prakamte	husa[r̥h]	eka[r̥h]	savachhara[r̥h]	(E) sātīreke	tu	kho
<i>Śidd.</i>	pakamte	husa[r̥h]	ek[a]r̥h	sa[vachha] . .	(E) [sātīre]ke	tu	kho
<i>Ṭal.</i>					(E) . . ti[reke]		

<i>Rūp.</i>	chhavachhare	ya	sumi haka[r̥h]	sagh[a]	up[e]te	bādhi	ch[a]
<i>Sak.</i>	sādhi[ke	a[r̥h]					
<i>Bair.</i>		a[r̥h]	mamayā	saghe	[u]payāte	[bā]dha	cha
<i>Mas.</i>		. . . . [m]		[s]amgha[r̥h]	u]pa]gate	[u]h . . . . .	
<i>Brak.</i>	samvachhare	ya[r̥h]	mayā	samghe	upayite	bādham	cha
<i>Śidd.</i>	samvachhare	[ya]r̥h	mayā	sam]ghe	upayite	bādham	[cha]
<i>Ṭal.</i>		[ya]r̥h	. . [yā]				

<i>Rūp.</i>		pakate	(E) yā	[i]māya	kālāya	Jambudipasi
<i>Sak.</i>		. . . [te]	(E) [etena	cha	a[r̥h]tā]ena	Jambudipasi
<i>Bair.</i>						Jambudipasi
<i>Mas.</i>		m[i]	(D) pure			Jambu . . . . s[i]
<i>Brak.</i>		me	(F) iminā	chu	kālēna	amisā samānā
<i>Śidd.</i>		[me]	(F) i[m]inā	chu	kālēna	[a]misā samā[nā]
<i>Ṭal.</i>						

<i>Rūp.</i>	amisā	devā	husu	te dāni	m[i]ṣ[ā]	kaṭā
<i>Sah.</i>	aṁmisam	[de]vā	saṁta	munisā	[m]isam-deva	[kaṭā]
<i>Bair.</i>	amisā	na	devehi	.....	[m]i	.....
<i>Mas.</i>	[ye	amisā	devā	husu]	te [dā]n[i]	misibhūtā
<i>Brah.</i>	munisā	Jambudīpasi			m[is]ā	devehi
<i>Śidd.</i>	mu	.....	Jambu[d]	.....	[m]isā	devehi
<i>Ṭaṭ.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.

<i>Rūp.</i>	(F)	pakamasi	hi	[e]sa	phale	(G)	no	cha	esā	mahatātā
<i>Sah.</i>	(F)	[pala]	.....	[iyam	phale]	(G)	[no]	.....	[yam]	mahatātā
<i>Bair.</i>	(F)	.. [ka]masa	esa	.. [e]	(G)	[no]	hi	ṣ[ṣ]e	ma[ha]taneva	va
<i>Mas.</i>					(L)			iya	a[the]	
<i>Brah.</i>	(G)	pakamasa	hi	iyam	phale	(H)	no	hiyam	sakye	
<i>Śidd.</i>	(G)	pakamasa	hi	iyam	phale	(H)	no	[h]i	iya	sake
<i>Ṭaṭ.</i>	(G)	.	.	[h]	i[yam]	.	.	.	.	.

<i>Rūp.</i>			p[ā]potave					khudakena	pi
<i>Sah.</i>	chakiye		pāv[a]ṭ[a]ve					khudakena	pi
<i>Bair.</i>	chakiye		.						
<i>Mas.</i>								[khu]dake[na	pi]
<i>Brah.</i>	mahātpeneva		pāpotave	kāmaṁ	tu	kho	khudakena	pi	
<i>Śidd.</i>	[ma]... [ne]va		pāpo[ṭa]ve	kāmaṁ	tu	kho	khudakena	pi	
<i>Ṭaṭ.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.

<i>Rūp.</i>	pa[ka]mam[i]nenā	sakiye	pipule	pā	svage	ārodheve
<i>Sah.</i>	palakamamīnēhā	vipule	pi	ṣ[u]g.	[k]iye	[ā]ā
<i>Bair.</i>	.. kamamīnenā	vipule	pi	śvage	[cha]kye	[ā]ādheta[v]e
<i>Mas.</i>	dhama-yute[na]	sake	adhigatave	(F)	na	hevam dakhitaviye
<i>Brah.</i>	paka[m]i . nena	vipule		svage	sakye	ārādhetave
<i>Śidd.</i>	[pa]..... na	[v]ipul[e]		svage	sak[ṣ]	ārādhetave
<i>Ṭaṭ.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.

<i>Rūp.</i>	(H)	etiya	aṭhāya	cha	sāvane	kate	kh[u]dakā	cha
<i>Sah.</i>	(H)	se	eṭāye	aṭh[ā]ye	iyam	sāvāne	khudakā	cha
<i>Bair.</i>	(H)	.	.	.	.	.	ka	cha
<i>Mas.</i>	[udā]lake	va	ima	adhigachh[e]yā	tī	(G)	[khudak]e	[cha]
<i>Brah.</i>	(I)	ṣ[ṣ]iāyathāya	iyam	sāvane	sāvāpīte			
<i>Śidd.</i>	(I)	[s]e	..... ya	[iya]m	sāvane	sāvite	yathā	kh[u]dakā
<i>Ṭaṭ.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	cha	

<i>Rūp.</i>	udālā	cha	pakamatu	tī	atā	pi	cha	jānamtu
<i>Sah.</i>	udālā	chā	pa[la]kamamtu	amā	amā	pi	ch[a]	jānamtu
<i>Bair.</i>	[u]ṭ[ā]lā	chā	[pala]kamatu	[t]i	[am]tā	pi	cha	janamtu
<i>Mas.</i>	[ud]ālake	cha	vataviyā	hevam	ve	kalamtam	bha[dak]e	
<i>Brah.</i>	mahāṭ[p]ā	cha	imam	pakame[ṣ]u	tī	amā	cha	mai jāneyu
<i>Śidd.</i>	[ma]hātpā	cha	imaṁ	[pa]kameyu	tī	atā	cha	
<i>Ṭaṭ.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.

<i>Rūp.</i>	iya	paka[rā	va]	kiti	chira-ṭhitike	siyā	(I)	iya	hi	aṭhe
<i>Saḥ.</i>	chila-ṭhit[īke]	cha		p[a]	[ā]kame	hotu	(I)	iya[m]	cha	[aṭhe]
<i>Bair.</i>	[ch]la-ṭhit									
<i>Mas.</i>	[se a]				t[i]k[e]	cha				
<i>Brah.</i>	chira-ṭhitike	cha	iyam	[paka]			(Ḫ)	iyam	cha	aṭhe
<i>Sidd.</i>	[chira]-ṭhi[t]k[e]	cha	iyam	pakame		hoti	(Ḫ)			
<i>Ṭat.</i>									[cha]	

<i>Rūp.</i>	vadhī	vadhisiti	vipula	cha	vadhisiti					
<i>Saḥ.</i>		vadhisati	vipulam	pi	cha	vadhisati			diyādhīyam	
<i>Bair.</i>			laṁ	pi		vadhisati				
<i>Mas.</i>						va[dhī]siti	chā		diya[dhī]yam	
<i>Brah.</i>		vadhisiti	vipulam	pi	cha	vadhisiti				
<i>Sidd.</i>		va[dh]isiti	vipu[la]m	p[i]	cha	vadhisiti				
<i>Ṭat.</i>		[dhī]	[p]ulam	pi						

<i>Rūp.</i>	apaladhiyēnā	diyadhiya	vadhisata	(Ḫ)	iya	cha	aṭhe	pavatis[u]	
<i>Saḥ.</i>	aval[a]dhiyēnā	diy[a]dhiyam	vadhisati	(L)	ima	cha	aṭham	pavatesu	
<i>Bair.</i>		diyadhiyam	vadhi[sā]ti						
<i>Mas.</i>	he[vaṁ]	ti							
<i>Brah.</i>	avaradhiyā	diyadhiyam	[va[dh]isiti						
<i>Sidd.</i>	[a]	[yadhiya]m	vadhisiti						
<i>Ṭat.</i>		[ya]dhiyam							

<i>Rūp.</i>	lekhāpeta	vāta	(K)	hadha	cha	athi	sālā-ṭh[abh]e	sila-
<i>Saḥ.</i>	[likhāpa]yāthā		(M)	ya . .	[vā]	ath[i]	hetā	sālā-tham[bh]ā tata

<i>Rūp.</i>	ṭha[m]bhasi	lakhāpetavaya	ta	(L)	etina	cha	vayajane	nā	yāvataka
<i>Saḥ.</i>	pi	[likhāpayatha	t]						
<i>Sār.</i>							(I)	āvate	

<i>Rūp.</i>	tupaka	ahale	savara	vivasetavā[ya]	ti				
<i>Sār.</i>	cha	tuphākam	āhāle	savata	vivāsayaṭha	tuphe	etena	viyamjanena	

<i>Rūp.</i>	(M)	vy[u]thenā	sāvane	kate					
<i>Saḥ.</i>	(Ḫ)	iyam	[cha	savane	v]vuthena	(K)	duve	sapamna	
<i>Brah.</i>	(K)	iyam	cha	sāvan[r]	sāv[ā]p[i]te	vyūthena			
<i>Sidd.</i>	(K)	i[ya]m	[cha]	sā[va]ne					
<i>Ṭat.</i>	(K)	i		s[āvane]		[th]e[na]			

<i>Rūp.</i>			(N)	200	50	6	sata	vivāsa	ta
<i>Saḥ.</i>	lati-satā	vivuthā	ti		200	50	6		
<i>Brah.</i>				(L)	200	50	6		
<i>Sidd.</i>				(L)	[200]	50	6		
<i>Ṭat.</i>				(L)	200	50	6		





ajā Kāl. IV, 9, 10.  
 -ajhakha- Gur. XII, 9  
 añ(a) Gur. IX, 5.  
 añam Shāh IV, 9, IX, 19  
 añata Gur. X, 1.  
 añatra Gur. VI, 14, X, 4, XIII, 5.  
 Shāh. VI, 16, X, 21, 22; Mān.  
 VI, 32, XIII, 6.  
 añatha Shāh. XII, 4  
 añani Shāh. IV, 8, VIII, 17, Mān  
 IV, 13, VIII, 34.  
 |a|ñamathāsa Gur. XII, 7  
 añamañasa Shāh. XII, 6  
 añamhu Gur. IX, 2.  
 añaye Shāh. III, 6, IX, 18; Mān.  
 III, 10, IX, 2.  
 añāni Gur. IV, 4, VIII, 1.  
 añāya Gur. III, 3 f  
 añe Gur. IV, 7, V, 8, XII, 9, XIII,  
 3; Shāh. XII, 9; Mān. IV, 15,  
 V, 22, 25, XII, 8  
 atavi Shāh. XIII, 7; Mān. XIII, 8  
 ataviyo Gur. XIII, 6  
 -atha- Shāh. X, 21.  
 atam Kāl. VI, 18, IX, 26; Shāh  
 VI, 14, 15, IX, 20; Dhau VI, 2,  
 Sep. I, 22; Jau. VI, 2; Sah. 7.  
 |a|tham Shāh. IX, 20.  
 atha-kamhe Kāl. VI, 17; Dhau  
 VI, 1; Jau. VI, 1.  
 atha-kramath Shāh. VI, 14  
 atha-bhagye Rum. 5  
 atham-pakhaye Ar. V, 10.  
 atham-pakhaye Tōp. V, 13.  
 athaye Shāh IV, 10, V, 13, VI, 14,  
 15, 16, XII, 8, XIII, 11  
 -athay[ā] Shāh. I, 2  
 |a|thav-sha-a[bbas]ita[sā] Shāh  
 XIII, 1  
 |a|thav-shabbasita[sā] Mān. XIII,  
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 athasa Shāh IV, 10, XIV, 13,  
 Dhau. IV, 7, IX, 5  
 atha-samitranā Shāh. VI, 15.  
 atha-sa[m]juranaye Shāh. VI, 15  
 |a|thasamitranā Kāl. VI, 20.  
 atha-sarhu[a]ñāye Kāl. VI, 19  
 atha-samitranā Dhau. VI, 5, Jau  
 VI, 5.  
 atha-samitranāya Dhau. VI, 4, Jau.  
 VI, 4.  
 athavi Dhau. VI, 3, Sep. I, 3, II, 2,  
 6, Jau. VI, 3.  
 athasa Tōp. VII, 25.  
 athāya Rūp. 3, Brah. 5.  
 athāye Kāl. III, 7, V, 16, VI, 19,  
 20, XII, 34, XIII, 15, Dhau  
 IV, 7, V, 7, VI, 6, Sep. I, 19, 21,  
 23, II, 8, 9; Jau. VI, 6, Sep. I,  
 10, II, 8, Tōp. II, 15, VII, 22,  
 Sah. 4.  
 athāye Kāl. I, 3, Dhau. I, 3; Jau.  
 I, 3, Tōp. V, 10, VII, 28  
 athi Jau. Sep. I, 4.  
 athe Kāl. IX, 27; Dhau. Sep. I, 7,  
 Jau. Sep. I, 4; Rūp. 4; Sah. 5,  
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ath[r]a Shāh. VI, 14.  
 athrasa Shāh. IX, 19.  
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 adhātīyāni Brah. 2; Śidd. 4.  
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 [anapayit]e Mān. III, 9.  
 [anapa]yit[ā] Mān. III, 11.  
 anapita Mān. VI, 29  
 anapita[rh] Shāh. III, 5, VI, 15.  
 anapemi Shāh. VI, 15; Mān. VI, 28  
 anapemāni Shāh. III, 7.  
 anamanava Mān. XII, 6.  
 ane Mān. VIII, 37, IX, 5.  
 ata (= atra) Kāl. XIV, 22.  
 ata (= antāh) Mān. II, 5.  
 ata (= yatra) Kāl. XIII, 6; Dhau.  
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 atata Dhau. II, 3; Jau. II, 3.  
 a[ta]ta Kāl. II, 5, 6.  
 atana Ar. VI, 4; Rum. 2; Nig. 3  
 at[a]nā Tōp. VI, 8.  
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 ata-patiye Tōp. IV, 4, 14.  
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 ata-pasada Mān. XII, 4.  
 ata-pasada-vadhi Shāh. XII, 9.  
 ata-pasāda Kāl. XII, 32.  
 ata-pasāda Kāl. XII, 32.  
 ata-pasāda Kāl. XII, 33.  
 ata-pasam[da]-bhatyā Kāl. XII,  
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 ata-pasam[da]-vadhi Kāl. XII, 35.  
 ata-pasam[da]ni Kāl. XII, 33.  
 ata-p[ra]sam[da] Shāh. XII, 4.  
 ata-prasam[da] Shāh. XII, 4, 6.  
 ata-prasam[da]-puja Shāh. XII, 3  
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 ata-prasam[da]-puja Mān. XII, 3  
 ata-prasam[da]-bhatyā Shāh. XII, 5  
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 atara Shāh. V, 11.  
 ataram Shāh. VIII, 17; Mān. IV,  
 12, VI, 26, VIII, 34.  
 atā (for atis) Rūp. 3; Śidd. 12  
 atā (= atra) Kāl. VIII, 23; Dhau  
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 |a|tā (= yatra) Kāl. II, 5, 6.  
 atānam Dhau. Sep. II, 7; Jau. Sep.  
 II, 10.  
 atikamāni Kāl. IV, 9, V, 14, VI,  
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 atikamāni Gur. IV, 1, V, 3, VIII, 1  
 atikamayam Dhau. Sep. I, 24.  
 atikamāni Shāh. IV, 7, V, 11, VI,  
 14, VIII, 17; Mān. IV, 12, V,  
 21, VI, 26, VII, 34  
 atikā[ra]ni Gur. VI, 1.  
 atyāyke Kāl. VI, 19; Dhau. VI, 3,  
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 atyok[ā] Kāl. XIII, 6; Mān. II, 6.  
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 atva-pasada-bhatyā Mān. XII, 5  
 atva-pasada-vadhi Mān. XII, 9.  
 atha Shāh. IX, 20; Mān. IX, 7  
 atha (= yathā) Mān. II, 5, XII, 2,  
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 -atha- Gur. X, 1; Kāl. X, 27.  
 atha-kamhe Gur. VI, 2.  
 athamhu Gur. IV, 10.  
 athasā Kāl. XIV, 22.  
 athasa Gur. IV, 11, IX, 6, XIV, 4;  
 Jau. Sep. II, 2.  
 atha-samitranā Gur. VI, 10  
 atha-samitranāya Gur. VI, 9.  
 athasā Kāl. IV, 12, 13, IX, 26  
 |a|thas[ā] Jau. Sep. II, 12.  
 athā (for athaya) Gur. XII, 9  
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 -atha Tōp. VII, 24.  
 -[a]thata Bar. III, 3.  
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 7, 12, XIII, 11.  
 -athāya Gur. I, 9, 11.  
 athāye Kāl. IV, 12; Jau. Sep. II,  
 14; Tōp. VII, 31.  
 athi Kāl. I, 3, XIII, 36, XIV, 19,  
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 2, Sep. I, 8, Jau. I, 2, XIV, 1,  
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 athra Mān. VI, 27, 28.  
 -athra- Mān. X, 9.  
 athrasā Mān. IX, 7.  
 athra-[krama] Mān. VI, 27  
 athraye Mān. III, 10, IV, 18, V, 26,  
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 -a[thraye] Mān. I, 4  
 athrasā Shāh. IV, 10; Mān. IV, 17,  
 18, IX, 6, XIV, 14  
 ath[r]a-sa[m]juranaye Mān. VI, 29.  
 athra-satirana Mān. VI, 30.  
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 ada (= atra) Shāh. VIII, 17; Mān.  
 VIII, 35.  
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 adamānā[sā] Kāl. VI, 17.  
 ada Dhau. I, 4, Sep. I, 24; Jau. I, 4  
 adikare Mān. V, 19.  
 |a|dikaro Shāh. V, 11.  
 |a|dife Mān. IV, 14, XI, 12  
 adisha Kāl. XI, 29.  
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 [Adha]-[Pa]lade[sh]u Kāl. XIII, 10  
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 adhugachh[ā]ya Mān. 6.  
 adhugatave Mān. 5.  
 adhugchya Calc. 6.  
 -adhutanā Shāh. V, 12; Mān.  
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- [illegible]



aṣvaṇyau Dhaṁ. Sec II, 8, 10,  
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 aṣvaṇyā Jāya V, Sep II, 9.  
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 ahintī Gur IV, 21  
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 $\bar{A}$ 

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 2 agamā Gir XII, 7  
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 2 ka[ha]si[ka] Rāsa Jat 18  
 2 ācharyas Brah 11, Sidd 18, 20,  
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 2 āntava Tōp VII, 25  
 2 āntava Brah I, 2, II, 4  
 2 ānapayāmi Gir VI, 6  
 2 ānapayāsi Gu III, 8  
 2 ānapayā Gir III, 1, VI, 8  
 2 ānapayāsi Brah 1  
 2 āpa-pāsanādam Gir XII, 4, 5, 6  
 2 āpa-pāsanā Gir XII, 3  
 2 āpa-pāsanā-vadhī Gir XII, 6  
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 20 dha Gir I, 2, VI, 12, XIII, 8, 9, Dhau IV, 8.  
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 29 mami Mān III, 10.  
 30 mami Gir IV, 11, Mān IV, 17; Dhau. IV, 7, Sep. I, 16.  
 31 mami Kāl. IV, 12, 13.  
 32 mami Töp III, 19, V, 2, VII, 30, Calc 4.  
 33 mami Gir. III, 3, Kāl. III, 7, Rūp 2.  
 34 mami Dhau III, 2, V, 7.  
 35 mami Gir IX, 8, 9, Brah. 3, Sidd 7.  
 36 mami Shāh III, 6, IV, 10.  
 37 mami Gir XIII, 5, Kāl XIII, 38, Mān XIII, 6, Dhau V, 7, Töp. VII, 25, 26, 27, Brah 10, Sidd 17, Jat 14.  
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 45 lokakā Gir. XIII, 12.  
 46 uaya Dhau. Sep I, 10, Jau Sep I, 5.  
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 54 uga(chha) Dhau Sep. I, 13.  
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 56 uchavucha-chhamdo Shāh VII, 3.  
 57 uchavucha-chhade Mān VII, 33.  
 58 uchavucha-rage Mān. VII, 33.  
 59 uchavucha-rage Shāh VII, 3.  
 60 uchavucha-rage Shāh VII, 3.  
 61 uchavucha-rage Shāh VII, 3.  
 62 uchavucha-rage Shāh VII, 3.  
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 66 uchavucha-rage Shāh VII, 3.  
 67 uchavucha-rage Shāh VII, 3.  
 68 uchavucha-rage Shāh VII, 3.  
 69 uchavucha-rage Shāh VII, 3.  
 70 uchavucha-rage Shāh VII, 3.  
 71 uchavucha-rage Shāh VII, 3.  
 72 uchavucha-rage Shāh VII, 3.  
 73 uchavucha-rage Shāh VII, 3.  
 74 uchavucha-rage Shāh VII, 3.  
 75 uchavucha-rage Shāh VII, 3.  
 76 uchavucha-rage Shāh VII, 3.  
 77 uchavucha-rage Shāh VII, 3.  
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 81 uchavucha-rage Shāh VII, 3.  
 82 uchavucha-rage Shāh VII, 3.  
 83 uchavucha-rage Shāh VII, 3.  
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 85 uchavucha-rage Shāh VII, 3.  
 86 uchavucha-rage Shāh VII, 3.  
 87 uchavucha-rage Shāh VII, 3.  
 88 uchavucha-rage Shāh VII, 3.  
 89 uchavucha-rage Shāh VII, 3.  
 90 uchavucha-rage Shāh VII, 3.  
 91 uchavucha-rage Shāh VII, 3.  
 92 uchavucha-rage Shāh VII, 3.  
 93 uchavucha-rage Shāh VII, 3.  
 94 uchavucha-rage Shāh VII, 3.  
 95 uchavucha-rage Shāh VII, 3.  
 96 uchavucha-rage Shāh VII, 3.  
 97 uchavucha-rage Shāh VII, 3.  
 98 uchavucha-rage Shāh VII, 3.  
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 105 [e]kam Shāh V, 11.  
 106 [e]kam Shāh V, 11.  
 107 [e]kam Shāh V, 11.  
 108 [e]kam Shāh V, 11.  
 109 [e]kam Shāh V, 11.  
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 112 [e]kam Shāh V, 11.  
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 123 [e]kam Shāh V, 11.  
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 125 [e]kam Shāh V, 11.  
 126 [e]kam Shāh V, 11.  
 127 [e]kam Shāh V, 11.  
 128 [e]kam Shāh V, 11.  
 129 [e]kam Shāh V, 11.  
 130 [e]kam Shāh V, 11.  
 131 [e]kam Shāh V, 11.  
 132 [e]kam Shāh V, 11.  
 133 [e]kam Shāh V, 11.  
 134 [e]kam Shāh V, 11.  
 135 [e]kam Shāh V, 11.  
 136 [e]kam Shāh V, 11.  
 137 [e]kam Shāh V, 11.  
 138 [e]kam Shāh V, 11.  
 139 [e]kam Shāh V, 11.  
 140 [e]kam Shāh V, 11.  
 141 [e]kam Shāh V, 11.  
 142 [e]kam Shāh V, 11.  
 143 [e]kam Shāh V, 11.  
 144 [e]kam Shāh V, 11.  
 145 [e]kam Shāh V, 11.  
 146 [e]kam Shāh V, 11.  
 147 [e]kam Shāh V, 11.  
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samghatī Calc 2  
samgha Sām. 2, 8, Sār 3, Brah  
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sa[m]gha Sām. 2, 8, Sār 3, Brah  
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sa[m]ghatī Jau Sep I, 7  
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-samturana Shāh VI, 15  
-sa[m]juranaye Šhāh VI, 15, Mān  
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-sa[m]l[aj]anaye Kāl VI, 19  
-santulanā Kāl VI, 10.  
-sa[m]l[aj]anaya Kār VI, 9  
-santulanā Dhau VI, 5, Jau VI, 5  
-sa[m]l[aj]anaya Dhau VI, 4, Jau  
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-santo Kār VI, 7, VIII, 2  
-sa[m]dh[Vy] Man XI, 12  
-sa[n]thaia- Kāl III, 8.  
-sa[n]thanet[er] Kāl IX, 25  
-sa[n]thanet[er] III 2  
sa[m]patipātjan Dhau Sep I, 10  
sa[m]p[atipajam][e] Dhau Sep  
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sa[m]p[atipajam][e] A. II, 4  
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-sa[m]patipatī Kāl IV, 9, Shāh IV  
7, Mān IV, 12, Dhau IV, 1  
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sa[m]patipatī Kār IV, 6  
sa[m]patipatī[aj]a[sam]jam Jau Sep  
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sa[m]patipatīyū[vje] Jau Sep. II  
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sa[m]pa[ju]pāda Dhau Sep I, 14

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-sampaṭṭipattāy Gir IV, 5,  
-samba[ ]n[ ]dha Shāh XI, 23  
-sa[m]b[ ]a[n]dhi[ ]c[ ] Mān XI, 12  
-sambuddho Gir XI, 1  
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samyame Kāl IX, 25, Tōp IV  
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sa[m]iyamo Shāh IX, 19  
-samyutt Man V, 25  
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-samvilihāga Mān XI, 12  
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-samvilihāge Ar IV, 10  
-samvilihāge Gān XI, 1  
sa[m]i[ ]samyikyo Kāl IX, 26  
samvalanasi Sār 6  
sa[m]vāsa[ ]s[ ]a- Gir XIII, 3  
-samvāsa[ ]c[ ] Shāh XI, 23  
-samvāstavo Gir XI, 1  
-samvāta- Gir III, 4, Shāh III,  
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-samvāstā[ ](e)jña Shāh XI, 24  
-samvāstena Mān IV, 6, XI, 3  
[ ]saka Gir IX, 8, XI, 6  
[ ]saka Jā dka- a[ ]y[ ]i[ ]jke (*read*  
-de[ ]byutika) Dhuu Sep II, 11  
sakyāe Gir X, 3; Kāl X, 28  
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sakyāe Jau IX, 6, Sep II, 7, Rup  
3,  
sake Mas 5, Sudd 9, 10  
[Sa]k[ ]i Rūp 1  
Sakyaṃṃṃṃṃ Rum 2  
sakyā Brah 4, 5  
[s]akhiṇṇāṇṇiṇṇiṇṇi Dhuu Sep I 2,  
saghi[ ]a Rūp 1  
saghe Han 3  
sachim Brah 9, Jat 11  
sachē Tōp II, 12, VII 28  
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-sadvassati- Tōp V, 19  
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-sata-sahāsa- Tōp IV, 3, VII, 22  
-sata-sa[ ]-sahas[ ]-mauram Gir XIII 1  
-sata-sah[ ]srami Gir I, 9  
-sata[ ] Sah 7

- satāni Gir IV, 1; Kāl. IV, 9, Dhau IV, 1, Jau IV, 1  
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 -satāna Mān VI, 30  
 -satchi Gir IV, 4; Kāl IV, 10; Dhau IV, 3, Jau IV, 3  
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 -sapa[ti]puti Mān IV, 12  
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 -samanānam Gir. III, 5, IV, 6, VIII, 3, IX, 5  
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 -samatam Shāh. XIV, 14  
 -samatā Tōp IV, 15  
 -samati Kāl XIV, 23, Dhau XIV, 3  
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 -samanānam Kāl III, 8, IV, 11  
 -samanā-[sa]māhanānā Kāl XI, 29  
 -samaneu Tōp VII, 29  
 -samanehi Dhau III, 3; Jau III, 3  
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 [sa]m[ay]a[pi] Shāh I, 1  
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 samājarmu Gir I, 5  
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 samājasa Kāl I, 2  
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 -samā[am] Gir XIV, 5  
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 [a]m[ya]-patip[ati] Kāl IX, 25  
 -sayake Tōp. V, 5  
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 -sayute Shāh. V, 13, Dhau. V, 7  
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 sarvatra Gir. II, 6  
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 sarva loka-sukhāhara Gir colophon  
 sarva-loka-hutam Gir. VI, 9  
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 sava-pāśamda Gir. XII, 7, Dhau VII, 1, Jau VII, 1, Tōp VI, 7  
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 sava-pāśamda Gir. XII, 1  
 sava-pāśamdesu Gir. V, 4; Kāl V, 14, Dhau. V, 3; Tōp VII, 25  
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 sava-loka-hitiya Kāl VII, 20, Dhau. VI, 7; Jau VI, 7  
 sava-loka-hite Kāl VI, 19, Dhau. VI, 4; Jau VI, 5  
 sava-loka-intena Shāh VI, 16, Dhau. VI, 5; Jau VI, 5  
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 -sare (read -sare) Shāh I, 1  
 -sare Tōp V, 5  
 -sastuta Gir. XI, 2, 3  
 -sastutena Shāh. IX, 19  
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 -sahaya Shāh XIII, 4, 5  
 -sahavani Shāh I, 2  
 -sahasāni Kāl I, 3, Jau. I, 3  
 -sahasau Jau Sep. I, 2; Tōp. IV, 3, VII, 22  
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 -sahas[ra]ni Mān I, 4  
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-sahasrāṇi Gir I, 9  
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-sahāya- Gir XIII, 3, 4  
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-sā[van]e Tōp VII, 23  
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-sālasa Gir IV, 20, Dhau IV, 7  
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-sākhāye Kāl V, 15, Dhau V 4,  
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sāpāthāy[e] Ar V, 3  
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sāpāthāy[e] Ar II, 2  
sāpāthāy[e] Dhau Sep I, 18 II, 11  
sāpāthāy[e] Dhau Sep I, 17, II, 10  
Jau Sep I, 9, II, 15, 16  
sāpāthāy[e] Gir VI, 4  
sāpāthāy[e] Shāh IX, 18  
sāpāthāy[e] Shāh XIII, 11  
sāpāthāy[e] Mān VI, 31  
sāpāthāy[e] Shāh VI, 16  
sāpāthāy[e] Shāh IX, 19 XI, 24,  
Mān IX, 5, XI, 13  
sāpāthāy[e] Shāh V 13  
sāpāthāy[e] Mān V, 24  
-sāpāthāy[e] Gir IV, 2, XI, 2



## CORRIGENDA

Introduction, pages xlv-xlvii.—Since I wrote chapter IV of the Introduction, I have lost my belief in the correctness of the meaning 'on tour', assigned to *vyushta*, and am now convinced that this past participle has to be taken in the same sense as 'g' in the *Baudhāyana-Dharmasūtra*, IV, 5, 30, viz 'having spent the night (in prayer)'. Cf. JRAS, 1904 361 f (Kielhorn), 1911. 1106 (Fleet), 1916 113 ff. (Thomas). I would now translate sections J-K of the Sahasrām edict (Text, p. 171) as follows 'And this proclamation (was issued) by (me after I had) spent the night (in prayer) Two hundred and fifty-six nights (had then been) spent (in prayer)'. The translations of the corresponding portions of the Rūpnāth and Brahmagiri edicts (Text, pp 169 and 177 f) have to be modified in a similar way. But *vi.āśayātha* at Sarnāth (section I, p. 162) and *vivāśatava[ya]* (read *vivāśatavaye*) at Rūpnāth (section I, p. 167) probably mean nothing but 'expel ye (schismatic monks or nuns)', and *viśāśapayāthā* at Sarnāth (section J, p. 162) would mean 'issue ye orders to expel (schismatic monks or nuns)'. See Thomas, JRAS, 1915 111 f.

Introduction, page li, lines 14, 15, 17. For instruction read exhortation

Introduction, page lxxvi, line 13 from bottom Read as follows The two Sanskrit masculines *piāna* and *epiksha* are used as neuters *pānāu* (I, 3, 1) and [*lu*]khāu (II, 6).

Page 2, note 6. Add According to the *Suttanipāṭa*, II, 7, verse 25, king Okkaka sacrificed many times 100,000 cows

Page 12, Roman text, line 12 For ta<sup>2</sup> (M) etāya read (M) ta ctāya

" " Cancel note 2

" 13, section (M). For. For the following purpose read Now for the following purpose.

" 15, note 7, line 4. For XIII, I read XIII, I 4

" 56, note 21. For the Rāshtrikas see the Introduction, p xxxviii, line 2 from bottom

" 69, section (M). For converts read exhorts

" " note 3 Add See also *Kā.yaprakāśa*, sec ed., p 57 महा इवनि occurs already in the *Mahābhāṣya* on Pan IV, 1, 48, *Uttika* 3

" 73, Roman text, line 9 For duva[ a]ka- read duva[da]ka-

" 95, line 3 For (thus) read (this).

" 96, section (N) For arise to you read arise in you

" " " (T). For badly fulfils this duty read fulfils this duty badly.

" 97, " (V). For edict read rescript

" " " (CC), line 3 For thus, as read just as

" 99, Translation, section (A) For (thus) read (this)

" " " (E), line 2 For thus read so.

" 100, section (I). For inspire confidence to them read inspire them with confidence

- Page 100, section (J). *For* entertain *read* maintain.
- " " " (K). *For* inspire confidence to those (borderers) *read* inspire those (borderers) with confidence.
- .. 100, section (M). *For* inspire confidence to those borderers (of mine) *read* inspire those borderers (of mine) with confidence.
- .. 119, Nāgarī text, line 4 *For* बुभुषावा *read* बुभुषावा.
- .. " Roman text, line 4. *For* su[sū]yāyā *read* su[sū]sāyā.
- .. 133, note 6, line 3 *For* kākāpāda *read* kakapada.
- .. 137, sections (JJ), (KK), and (NN) *For* conversion *read* exhortation.
- .. 142, Second Pillar-Edict, Roman text, line 4. *For* sukaṭaṁ *read* sukaṭaṁ.
- .. 145, Sixth Pillar-Edict, Nāgarī text, line 3. *For* सुव *read* सुव.
- .. 147, Second Pillar-Edict, Roman text, line 5 *For* sukaṭaṁ *read* sukaṭaṁ.
- .. 179, line 19. *For* . . . [ki]ṭi *read* . . . [ki]ṭi.
- .. 184, line 23. *For* tim *read* tim.
- .. 235, second column, line 22 from bottom. *For* [ā]as[y]e[na] *read* [ā]a[s]y[e]na]











